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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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### MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

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Tōkyō, October 12th, 1887.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, October 12th, 1887, N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

It was announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Ordinary Members:—Prof. W. K. Burton, H. von Jasmund, Esq., Dr. W. Van der Heyden, Captain Münter, Dr. S. Scriba, H. Watanabe, Esq., T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., P. Mayet, Esq., Dr. E. Baelz, Professor C. B. Storrs, Hon. R. B. Hubbard, E. Odium, Esq.

Dr. Edkins' paper on "Persian Elements in Japanese Legends" was read by Dr. Amerman.

The Chairman, after expressing the indebtedness of the Society to Dr. Edkins for his instructive paper, called on Dr. Amerman to read the next presented by Mr. Chamberlain, who was unfortunately prevented from coming himself to read it. The paper was an account of "Rodriguez' System of Transliteration."

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the Society to the author of the paper, remarked that, as usual, Mr. Chamberlain had treated with characteristic felicity what might in many hands have proved a very dreary subject.

The meeting then adjourned.

In the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Edkins' paper on "Persian Elements in Japanese Legends," in which Messrs. Amerman, Aston, Dixon, Knott, and Miller took part, the feeling was generally expressed that the evidence so far brought forward by Dr. Edkins was hardly sufficient to form a basis for any argument. One of the six resemblances was of no value whatever, as horses were not known in Japan before the 3rd century. In general too the resemblances mentioned seemed insignificant in comparison with the differences. Indeed, granting that the human race is descended from one stock, we should expect to find more striking resemblances than we do. Besides it has been recently demonstrated pretty clearly that similarity of myths does not imply community of origin, the only common element being human nature.

After the reading of Mr. Chamberlain's paper on "Rodriguez' System of Transliteration," quite a lively discussion followed, which was in great measure a sparring between the advocates of the phonetic and so-called historic systems of transliteration.

Professor Milne said it would be well to know if the Portuguese *x* of the 17th century was pronounced as it is pronounced now. This criticism was accentuated by Rev. Mr. Summers, who doubted if the Portuguese *x* was at the present time fitly represented by the English *sh*.

Dr. Knott argued that the comparison of the two systems, Rodriguez' and Hepburn's, led to the conclusion that the Portuguese *x* had not changed its phonetic value since Rodriguez' days. In 1603 a certain Japanese *kana* was the equivalent of the Portuguese *xi*; in 1887 the same *kana* was the equivalent of *shi*, and therefore of *xi* as at present pronounced by the Portuguese. Either then *xi* was so pronounced in 1603, or since that time Japanese and Portuguese pronunciation had changed, with respect to this sound, in exactly the same manner. No change at all was infinitely more credible than an exactly same change in two such different languages. In his opinion, Rodriguez' transliteration system proved constancy of pronunciation in both the Portuguese and Japanese languages.

The Rev. E. R. Miller drew attention to Rodriguez' series *fa fi fu fe fo*, and asked if any one could tell to what extent that pronunciation existed now.

Mr. Aston replied that *fi* and *fu* were distinctly so pronounced near Nagasaki, but that in the other cases there could not be said to be any true approximation to our *f* sound. As to the general conclusions of the paper, he was in perfect agreement with Mr. Chamberlain. There could be no reasonable doubt that Rodriguez was transliterating a language whose phonetic elements had the same value as they have to-day. He was also quite in accord with the position taken up by Mr. Chamberlain with reference to the various rival systems of transliteration which had been advocated in our day.

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Tōkyō, November 9th, 1887.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, November 9th, 1887, at 4 p.m.

N. J. Hannen, Esq., President, occupied the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

It was intimated that Dr. J. N. Seymour had been elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. J. Batchelor read a paper "On the Ainu Term Kamui." A lively discussion followed.

The President, after congratulating Mr. Batchelor on having given rise to one of the most animated and interesting discussions that he had ever witnessed in the Society, declared the meeting adjourned.

After the reading of Mr. Batchelor's paper on the Ainu term Kamui, the President invited discussion from those present.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was prevented by ill health from attending the meeting, send some written remarks which have been printed as a separate paper (p. 33).

Mr. J. C. Hall said that the new array of facts which Mr. Batchelor had brought before them had, in his opinion, a distinct bearing upon the question of the origin of natural religions. In this country we were brought into close contact with Chinese religious ideas, which, at the time of their introduction, found in the Japanese ideas a lower stratum of religious thought. Now we learn of a lower stratum still. What elements, if any, are common to these three forms of religion? Herbert Spencer believes that natural religion finds its origin in dreams; while others maintain that there is a still lower religious phase, namely Fetishism. Fetishism was simply the incapacity to recognise the difference between activity and life. It was surprising how tenacious fetishistic ideas had been in the history of mankind. The case of the ancient Greeks, who combined strong fetishistic ideas with philosophical conceptions of a very high order, was one of the most striking. There had been a long controversy as to whether the Chinese had any true idea of "God," and it is now generally admitted that they had not—that the word *T'ien* really signifies the sky, regarded fetishistically as a living thing, and not used metaphorically, as we sometimes use Heaven as a synonym for God. The failure of many eminent students of Chinese literature to appreciate this fact, and their persistency in reading into the Chinese terms the religious ideas of the West, are perhaps more surprising even than the persistence of this fetishism. He believed that Japanese religion was originally of the same character, although Hirata, under the influence of more modern ideas, concludes after a long discussion that the Sun-goddess was always regarded as a being residing in the Sun. The truth of the fetishistic theory seemed also to be borne out by an account recently given by Mr. Batchelor of the effect produced upon an Ainu by an eclipse of the sun. The Ainu at once remarked, "the luminary is dying." Perhaps Mr. Batchelor could give other facts, either supporting this theory, or controverting it.

Mr. Batchelor remarked that the Ainu really regards the sun as a body in which the deity resides, distinguishing, so to speak, between a body and a soul.

Professor Milne suggested that the Ainu and Japanese might have borrowed their respective words *Kamui* and *Kami* from the same source. He sided with Mr. Batchelor in the spelling of the name Ainu, contending that Mr. Chamberlain's illustrations were not really parallel cases. Ainu studies are now, strictly speaking, only making a commencement. Let us, then, at all events begin as correctly as possible.

Professor Dixon argued that it was useless at this date to try to alter a spelling which had so firmly established itself. We know how futile had been the attempts of the Saxon School to change the recognised spelling of Saxon names to what they certainly were originally. He therefore sided with Mr. Chamberlain as to the spelling of *Aino* in European literature. At the same time it would be best of course to use *Ainu* in Ainu literature.

Mr. Batchelor maintained that *Ainu* had been spelt *Aino* because of ignorance. It was all very well to talk of the usage of two hundred and fifty years, and of the literature on the subject. How much of that is really reliable? Now that we had but recently made a true beginning in *Ainu* studies, are we not then to try and start right?

The Rev. H. Waddell thought it was quite a mistake to regard the Chinese as having no true idea of God. What was the idea of God? Was it not the mysterious, the wonderful? And to regard heaven as a protecting power, raising up nations and pulling them down, and in general superintending human affairs, is a sentiment very akin to our own. Without entering into the question as to the origin of the religious idea in man, we can surely easily understand how, the idea of God once formed, anything extraordinary in nature should come to be worshipped as a God; and certainly all nations have more or less worshipped nature.

Mr. Aston wished to call attention to one or two minor points that had been referred to by Mr. Batchelor. First, the *gohei* in Shintō temples do not represent the *kami*; they are the survivals of the bits of cloth which were originally brought as offerings. Then as to the general argument based on the improbability of the *Ainu* word *kamui* with all its associated ideas being derived from the Japanese *kami*, even granting that they were not originally identical, it might clear our notions a little if we considered a somewhat parallel case in the development of European religious ideas. Thus the Greek word *diabolos* means originally simply a calumniator; but our words, devil, devilish, derived therefrom, are used in ways that never could have been imagined by the Greeks. The adjective is indeed sometimes used to emphasise a good quality. Even if the *Ainu* term *kamui* differed more than it does from its supposed parent the Japanese *kami*, it would give little cause for surprise.

Mr. Mayet expressed his opinion that nature worship is the real origin of all natural religions, and that much of it still survived in Japanese rites, the *gohei* for example being, he believed, the symbol of the lightning. He was therefore surprised to learn that the *Ainu* recognises no star-god, thunder-god, or lightning-god. Could Mr. Batchelor offer any explanation of this?

Mr. Batchelor remaked that the facts of the *Ainu* religion were very simply stated. They had one chief god, and all the others were officers or messengers of this supreme being. The sun, moon, and stars were certainly not worshipped, and there was no lightning or thunder god. These were the facts, but the explanation of them was beyond him.

Tōkyō, December 4th, 1887.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, December 14th, 1887, at 4 p.m.

Dr. Divers occupied the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced that Messrs. H. L. Fardel and C. H. Hinton had been elected ordinary members of the Society.

The Chairman informed the meeting that the Society's Library had, by the permission of the President of the Imperial University, been accommodated with a room in the College of Engineering; that the Library was open on week-days from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sundays from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m.; and that members and visitors, wishing to make use of the Library, either for reading or borrowing books, were to apply to the Librarian of the College.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Hall to read Mr. Aston's paper on "Early Japanese History," the author himself being unfortunately unable to be present.

The Chairman, in asking the Secretary to convey to Mr. Aston the thanks of the Society for his paper, remarked that there could be but one sentiment as to its great value. It was an important addition to those valuable historical contributions, which had already made the Society's record so satisfactory. He would also, in the name of the Society, thank Mr. Hall for his kindness in having undertaken the reading of the paper.

A prolonged discussion followed the reading of the paper.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was prevented by ill health from attending the meeting, sent the following written remarks:—

The destruction of the fables that are current under the name of early Japanese history, and the partial reconstruction of a true early history of this country being one of my special hobbies, it need scarcely be said how great appears to me to be the value of the paper which has just been read. Mr. Aston seems to have a special talent for finding his way about in dark and misty places. He also has the talent of making the driest subject interesting. Dates themselves become, under his handling, much more than mere dates,—as when, for instance, by his remarkable discovery of the often recurring error of just 120 years, he shows us how unexpected are the elements which must be taken into account in judging whether a Japanese date is probably true or probably false. He has perhaps exhausted the subject from the outside. It now remains for other scholars,—or, better still, for himself,—to treat it in equal detail from the point of view of internal evidence,—the evidence, that is of the books, the customs, the place-names of Japan itself. Mr. Satow's work on the early Shintō Rituals, contained in an earlier volume of this Society's "Transactions," is an instalment of what we require. But the *Nihongi*, the old topographical works entitled *Fudoki*, and the poems of the *Man-yoshū*, still remain without a critic. Nor is it only the early history and the pre-history of

Japan which await their Niebuhr. We are scarcely better off when we tread the solid ground of the last twelve hundred years. What a recent writer in the *Saturday Review* termed "the poor halting Japanese Clio" has, with eyes ever fixed on the throne and the battle-field, told us scarcely anything beyond the accessions and abdications of puppet-emperors, the year, month, and day when certain great officials were appointed to certain posts or vacated them, and the hand-to-hand fights of feudal chieftains. The dates seem to be correct. But what are they worth in so meagre a context? Surely a reliable, well-written, edifying history of the Japanese people is the greatest desideratum of the enlightened Japan of the present day. It is a work which one of the Government Departments should set itself to with a will. The materials are there. The only embarrassment is the *embarras de richesse*. The whole classical literature, the poems, the romances, the court diaries and diaries of travel, the biographies of Buddhist saints, the memoirs which the Middle Ages and more recent times have left in such abundance,—all this, and much more, is there, waiting only to be sifted by a critical hand. This will supply the flesh wherewith to clothe the dry bones of the official annals. Then, too, for the last three centuries, there are European sources which must not be neglected. What may, for instance, be called the Catholic episode of the seventeenth century would stand a poor chance of being fairly appreciated, if Japanese sources alone were relied on. Nevertheless, the Japanese sources are the chief sources, and their voluminousness almost negatives the possibility of any European ever properly ransacking them. This is a task which must be left to the Japanese themselves. Two obstacles still bar the way to Japanese success in this direction. One,—a serious one,—is the ignorance which still prevails in Japan concerning the methods of criticism, especially of the criticism of sources. It vitiates all that has hitherto been done by native Japanese scholars in this field, even down to the *Nihon Tsugan* published in this very year by men from whom better things might have been looked for. The other obstacle sounds to our ears rather ludicrous, but yet undoubtedly has real weight with the Japanese even in these outspoken days. It consists in a fear of offending the powers that be, by digging for facts instead of respectfully repeating fables. Japanese in good positions have frequently told me that they would not dare publicly to assert that the Mikado was not descended from the Sun-goddess, or that Jimmu Tennō had never existed, although privately they entertained no objection to the foreign books in which the denial is made. Surely it is time to have done with all this make-believe. If the imperial dynasty depended for its safety on such airy nothings, its fate would long ago have been sealed. To make use of the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, to permit the study of Mill, Darwin, and Spencer, to establish newspapers and popular assemblies, in fact to navigate in the mid-current of nineteenth century thought, and at the same time to put a veto on history, and to perpetuate in its stead the childish legends of Jimmu Tennō, Yamato-dake, and their compeers, is surely a piece of inconsistency, which only needs a little ventilating to be discarded. Discarded it will be. But the honour of

discarding it and of setting the study of Japanese history on a legitimate basis, will fall to some private individual, if the Bureau of History or some other of the great Government Departments does not very soon step into the breach.

Mr. Gubbins, after expressing his general accord with all that had been said, by both Mr. Aston and Mr. Chamberlain, related an experience he had had when pursuing his special studies in the historical romances. It was his fortune once while searching through the book-shops of Ōsaka, to come across a manuscript of an historical romance purporting to contain a detailed account of the conquest of the Loochoo Islands by the Satsuma clan about 250 years ago. At first sight it seemed to be just the thing he had been wanting. It gave a detailed correspondence between the Shōgun and the Satsuma chief, and represented the invasion of Loochoo as having resulted from a private intrigue. Before making any definite use of the manuscript, however, he took the opinion of Mr. Ichiji, the chief Japanese authority on subjects connected with Loochoo, and he then found that, with the exception of the numerous dates,—and here his experience tallied with that of Mr. Chamberlain,—there was not a single word of the whole romance which was founded on fact. In regard to the special excellence of Mr. Aston's paper, regarded from a literary point of view, to which Mr. Chamberlain had drawn attention, he thought it should be remembered that it was one thing to give dry facts dryly and another thing to put them into an attractive form. To the making of the latter there went a vast amount of labour, which perhaps only students of Japanese history were able thoroughly to realize. The special thanks of the Society were therefore, he thought, due to Mr. Aston for the attractive literary form into which he had cast his facts.

Mr. Denning thought that Mr. Aston's testimony might be of special value in its effect on certain native Japanese critics. It was a rare thing indeed for a scholar to possess, as Mr. Aston did, an intimate knowledge of the language and history of Korea as well as of Japan; and in these circumstances Mr. Aston's testimony was calculated to have great weight with many Japanese of advanced views. He believed many such would be quite willing to express their true sentiments in English, although refraining from doing so in Japanese for the reasons already touched upon by Mr. Chamberlain. It would be noticed that Mr. Aston's criticism was in the main destructive. This must necessarily come first, but the constructive should not be long in following; and he felt sure that if the Society set itself to try and do something towards this, its efforts would be fully appreciated by native Japanese scholars. These all feel that a true history, written by themselves, is impossible at present. It is certainly a curious spectacle to see Japan, which is so eager in the acquisition of all knowledge in other departments of life and thought, drawing back from all attempts to advance the correct interpretation of the history of the past.

Mr. Milne remarked that Mr. Aston's very suggestive paper gave an illustration of what is found in all histories. The further one goes back in time, the less

reliable all history becomes, passing ultimately into the mythical stage, and behind that into absolute darkness. It was here, however, that the anthropologist stepped in, and constructed a kind of history from pre-historic remains. Thus anthropology had proved that the Ainu had once occupied Japan as far south as Kyūshū; and that must have been previous to the arrival of the Japanese race on the island. He should like to know if the Korean or Chinese records, of which Mr. Aston had made so much, contained any reference which might be applicable to the Ainu. In regard to Mr. Aston's critical methods, he was not quite sure in his own mind as to how far the Chinese and Korean records were authentic. Might not some scholar, for instance in Shanghai, who compared the Japanese records with the Chinese, draw the conclusion that the latter were erroneous? At present Japan is showing a far higher appreciation of the truth of things than China is, and might it not so have been in earlier days?

Mr. Hall said that the enquiry, which had been so ably opened up by Mr. Aston, had a far deeper and wider bearing than the mere question of historical criticism might seem to involve. The opinions that had just been expressed might, in their effects and consequences upon the Japanese, be of very serious import indeed. For historic dogma to be inextricably involved in the deep-seated religious beliefs of a nation, and so become part of the national life, was a fact familiar to all students of history. In Japan this had especially been the case. The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* might truly be called the Japanese Scriptures; and all who are familiar with the events which ended with the Mikado's restoration to power know what an important part the sacred writings took in the development of these. A strong religious sentiment permeated the whole movement, a fresh interest was taken in these ancient books, and the old doctrine of the divine descent of the Mikado was officially adopted, and remains to this hour the great dogma of the Imperial Court. It therefore behoved the Japanese Government to consider what would be the effect of trying to bolster up those dogmas in the face of unbelief, secret and silent though it might now be. Of one thing he was sure, that native Japanese critics would not treat these dogmas with a rude hand, but would, in the spirit of Mr. Aston, give to them the reverence that was their due.

Bishop Bickersteth added a few words on the general question of historic methods. No doubt the earlier work of the historian was to destroy that which had been believed; but after that there arose a second stage, in which criticism was constructive. Mr. Milne had spoken of the anthropologist as a constructor of history; but the archaeologist and historian proper were quite as important in their special sphere. Each contributed something towards the faithful reproduction of the past.

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Tōkyō, January, 18th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on January 18th, 1888, in the College of Engineering, Tōkyō, N. J. Hanner, Esq., President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the reprinting of Vols. IV., V. (Part 1), and VI. (Part 1) of the Society's Transactions had been taken in hand, and that the following gentlemen had been elected members of the Society:—A. H. Lay, Esq., M. A. Arrivet, Esq., F. Satow, Esq., and D. Fearing, Esq.,—the last a non-resident member.

Mr. Dening then read a paper on "The Japanese Education Society," after the reading of which the following discussion took place:—

The President, in conveying the thanks of the Society to the author of the paper they had heard, remarked that Mr. Dening had opened up a field of great interest to us all. Thus it was instructive to hear from one of the Japanese themselves such outspoken views upon the mental equipment of his race. Another interesting point which had been touched upon was the question of how best to carry out a needed reform. Is it to be done gradually, or is the new method to be adopted at once, regardless of the old method which it is desired to supersede? Many years ago the wonderfully rapid political change which came over Japan used to be a frequent subject of conversation between foreigners and Japanese statesmen; and it was Iwakura, one of the leading men of the day, who gave it as his opinion that to do things by a rush was the simpler and more effective method of reform amongst the Japanese. What had been deemed best in politics should also prove best in education; and whatever educational reforms were to be carried out, should therefore be considered on their own merits only, without any regard to what had been.

Dr. Knott said that the paper just read had touched upon many points of special interest to those practically engaged in educational work in Japan. As to the lack of originality referred to by Mr. Takei,—that certainly was a fact admitted by all. Of all classes of students, perhaps the students of science might be expected to display to most advantage the rational imagination spoken of. Compared to a similar class of western students, the Japanese did seem defective in this faculty; but for this several special reasons might be given. There was plenty of evidence, however, that there was distinct capacity for original thought, which only required a congenial environment for its development.

Dr. Eby, after making some enquiries as to the number of members in the Japanese Education Society, and to the influence it exerted on the schools of the country, observed that, however much a sweeping reform in educational methods might be desired, there was one thing which compelled the present time to be a period of transition. That was the simple fact that the great majority of school teachers were themselves Japanese, who were necessarily still imbued with the spirit of the old methods.

Dr. Divers thought that the Japanese might well be regarded as being intellectually comparable to the Europeans when they had just been enlightened by the Baconian philosophy. Being, so to speak, hardly beyond the stage of infancy in

scientific things, they could scarcely be expected to show as yet much fruit of any originality. He, however, believed them to be gifted with this mental faculty to much the same extent as other folk. They lacked the early associations and experience of the things told them by their foreign teachers; and this was one chief obstacle in teaching them. For this reason lectures and book work were of themselves useless as a proper mental training. The Japanese student above all required practice, working as an apprentice under a master engaged in the prosecution of original research. In regard to the Japanese Education Society itself, he had been struck by the marvellous organization which had been described, the multitude of councillors, the supply of clerks, and so on—more like a Government Department than a Society. He should like to know if the work done by the Society was at all commensurate with its official magnificence, and if the Society as such had any influence with the Government.

Mr. Dening, in reply, said that the work done by the Society was both varied and valuable. It sent out speakers to different parts of the country to rouse an interest in educational matters; it was also made use of by country gentlemen to regulate the expenditure of their sons who were being educated in the city. Its influence was certainly great upon the schools of Japan. It could hardly be otherwise, seeing that its officials were for the most part also officials of the Mombushō. At the same time he doubted if the work done was really proportionate to the large body of councillors set apart to do it. Probably only a few of the two hundred were at all energetic in their labours for the Society.

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TOKYO, March 14th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on March 14th, 1888, in the College of Engineering, Tokyo, Professor J. Milne in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated that Mr. Hannen, in view of his approaching departure from Japan, having resigned the Presidentship, Mr. Aston had been elected President of the Society. He also announced the election of the Rev. A. Hardie and Mr. C. S. Meik as members of the Society.

The Chairman referred to the great loss the Society had sustained in the recent death of Mr. Pryer, who had been an active member of the Society and a valuable contributor to its Transactions. Mr. Pryer had been essentially a practical naturalist; and probably no other single man had a more thorough knowledge of the natural history of Japan.

Mr. C. S. Meik then read a paper entitled "Around the Hokkaidō."

The Chairman, in thanking the author for his interesting account of the Hokkaidō (Yezo), spoke of the special attractions which the island had as a summer resort. It was curious how different in almost all respects Yezo was from Japan proper. This difference applied to shape, to geological structure, to flora, and to fauna—a fact first pointed out by Captain Blakiston.

In the absence of the Rev. J. Batchelor, his paper on "Some Specimens of Ainu Folk-lore" was read by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, after the reading of which the following discussion took place.

The Chairman said he had often heard the Ainu crooning away to himself in a soft low tone, quite pleasing to the ear, although he had never suspected that their songs and recitations were of such interest. Mr. Chamberlain had referred to the vexed question of Ainu or Aino, and he could not let the occasion pass without expressing strongly his opinion that the Asiatic Society of Japan, through whose Transactions the first true knowledge of the Ainu language and traditions were being given to the world, should say *Ainu*, which meant something, and not *Aino*, which meant nothing.

Mr. Chamberlain declined to re-commence the *Ainu* versus *Aino* controversy, but remarked that this was the first instalment of what he believed Mr. Batchelor purposed giving to the Society, although for some time to come most of his time would probably be taken up in preparing a dictionary, for which some seven or eight thousand words had already been collected. Such a dictionary would in all likelihood be a kind of tomb in which the rapidly dying language would remain enshrined for the benefit of future philologists. Even now it was striking to observe how all except the oldest men and women were really bi-lingual, speaking Japanese almost as easily as their native tongue.

In reply to a question by Dr. Divers, as to the presence of historical characters in any of the Ainu legends, Mr. Chamberlain said that Oki-Kurumi seemed to be the only personality about whom any definite traditions existed. Mr. Batchelor after having formerly rejected, had recently adopted the view that Oki-kurumi was the Japanese Yoshitsune, who went to Yezo towards the end of the 12th century. Yoshitsune was probably the first civiliser of the Ainos, although they themselves assert that he really robbed them of their books. This tradition is, however, probably simply an invention to explain why it is they do not have any books. Excepting these tales of Oki-kurumi and perhaps some legends bearing on cosmogony, there is nothing that can be regarded as historical until we come to traditions referring to comparatively recent events. Such, for instance, seem to be the story of a certain plague, and the account of a frightful massacre of the Ainos by the Japanese.

The Rev. E. R. Miller drew attention to one of Mr. Batchelor's notes in connection with a remark made by Mr. Meik, who had spoken of the Ainu woman as being ashamed of the tattooing of her lip. Mr. Batchelor, however, had mentioned that an Ainu woman put her hand before her mouth as a sign of respect. It was this action perhaps which Mr. Meik had seen.

Mr. Chamberlain was of opinion that the Aino woman was really proud of her lip adornment, which we thought so ugly. He knew indeed of one case in which an Aino girl of 7 or 8 years of age, contrary to the desire of her parents who had become so far emancipated, got herself tattooed, being apparently put to shame by her Aino companions of like age.

TOKYO, April 18th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the College of Engineering, Tokyo, on April 18th, 1888, at 4 p.m., Dr. Divers, F.R.S., in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman, having expressed the regret which all must feel at the enforced absence of Mr. Aston, their President, from the meeting, called on the Corresponding Secretary to read the remarks which the President had hoped to deliver. The Corresponding Secretary read as follows:—"Before proceeding to the ordinary business of the meeting, it is my sad duty to give expression to the regret which is felt by this Society at the loss by death of one of its oldest, indeed one of its original, members—Mr. Russell Robertson. He was a man of solid attainments, but the powers of his mind were chiefly devoted to practical work connected with his position as H.B.M's Consul at Yokohama. The fruits of his studies are to be looked for rather in the admirable trade-reports compiled by him yearly, and in other similar papers, than in the Transactions of this Society. I speak only the language of literal fact and not of eulogium when I say that his equal as a British Consul has not been known in this country. We are nevertheless indebted to him for two important papers, one an account of the Caroline Islands, communicated by him although written by a different hand, and another, a very full and interesting description of the Bonin Islands. Mr. Robertson was also for some time a member of the Council of the Society, and, although I cannot bear personal testimony to the fact, I cannot doubt that the Society owed much to the sterling common sense which so eminently characterized him. Of our personal relations to him I cannot trust myself to speak. His manly, simple, modest character, free from every atom of pretension or affectation, had endeared him to many of us, and we feel that the words—the poor conventional words—in which our regrets are clothed are fraught with a far deeper sense than they usually bear, when they are used of Russell Robertson—*nam cari capitit.*"

The election of Mr. A. B. Walford as a member of the Society was announced.

Dr. Knott then read a biographical note on Inō Chūkei, the great Japanese surveyor and cartographer.

A paper on *Jūjutsu* by the Rev. T. Lindsay and J. Kanō, Esq., was read by the former gentleman.

The Chairman, having thanked the authors for their interesting papers, the meeting adjourned to the large hall of the college, where Mr. Kanō gave some practical demonstrations of the art.

Tōkyō, May 16th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, May 16th, 1888, in the Engineering College, Tōkyō, Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary made the following announcements:—Dr. O. Hering and Mr. J. Kanō had been elected members of the Society. A list of old Spanish books bearing on Japan had been presented to the Society by the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Carrère, for publication. A letter had been received from Mr. Watanabe, President of the Imperial University, referring to the paper read by Dr. Knott at the last meeting, giving an account of the life and labours of Inō Chūkei, the Japanese Surveyor and Cartographer. It would interest the members of the Society to know that a monument was soon to be put up at Shiba in honour of Inō. A hope was expressed that members might see their way to aid the project materially by giving subscriptions, which would be received by the Secretary of the Imperial University or by the Secretary of the Society. The card issued to the members announcing the present meeting had advertised a paper by Mr. Hall “On the Phenomena of Mood in the Japanese Verb.” Mr. Hall's recent removal to Shanghai had prevented him from putting his paper into fit form for presentation. The Council were, however, able to substitute for it a paper “On Chinese and Annamese,” by Mr. E. H. Parker, which had lately come to hand. As this paper had no special reference to Japanese subjects, an abstract only of it would be read.

The Chairman then called on Dr. Knott to read the abstract of Mr. Parker's paper on “Chinese and Annamese.”

Mr. Chamberlain then read a paper on “The Earliest Known Form of the Japanese Language,” in the preparation of which he had been assisted by Mr. M. Ueda.

After some discussion, the Chairman thanked the authors in the name of the Society for their instructive papers.

The meeting then adjourned.

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Tōkyō, June 6th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, June 6th, 1888, in the Engineering College, Tōkyō, the Rev. Dr. Amerman, Vice-President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the election of Colgate Baker, Esq., and Major-General H. S. Palmer, R. E., as ordinary members of the Society. It was also announced that, owing to the illness of Professor Burton, his lecture on

“ Sanitary Problems in Japan,” which had been advertised for this meeting, could not be delivered; but that the Council were fortunate in being able to substitute for it a paper on “ Christian Valley,” by Professor Dixon, who had kindly agreed, on very short notice, to read it to the Society at that time.

Professor Dixon then proceeded to read his paper, which was illustrated by photographs of the rough tombstone in Christian Valley, of Christian Yashiki, of Christian Slope, and of the tomb of Father Guiseppe Chiara.

The Chairman, in thanking the author for his paper, remarked that Mr. Dixon deserved an extra vote of thanks for his kindness in reading it at a few hours' notice.

The meeting then adjourned.

TOKYO, June 20th, 1888.

The annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, 20th June, at 4 p.m., in the Physics Theatre of the Imperial College of Engineering. Rev. J. L. Amerman, D.D., in the chair. It was announced that the reprint of Vol. V., part 1, was already issued, and that the reprint of Vol. VI., part 2, would shortly appear. The report of the council for the year just ended was then read by the Corresponding Secretary, and adopted on the motion of Rev. W. J. White. The following office-bearers for the coming session were elected by ballot:—

PRESIDENT:—W. G. Aston, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:—Rev. Dr. Amerman (Tōkyō), F. S. James, Esq. (Yokohama).

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARY:—Dr. C. G. Knott, (Tōkyō).

RECORDING SECRETARY:—W. J. S. Shand, Esq. (Yokohama).

TREASURER:—M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.

LIBRARIAN:—Rev. J. Summers.

#### COUNCILLORS.

Rev. Dr. Cochrane.	J. H. Gubbins, Esq.
W. Dening, Esq.	N. Kanda, Esq.
Dr. E. Divers.	J. Kanō, Esq.
J. M. Dixon, Esq.	J. Milne, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Eby.	H. Watanabe, Esq.

A paper entitled “ A Literary Lady of Old Japan,” the joint production of the late Dr. Purcell, and of Mr. W. G. Aston, was read by Mr. Chamberlain.

In short discussion which followed, Mr. Chamberlain remarked on the great difficulty of the style of Sei Shōnagon's writings, and on the great variety of readings that existed;—indeed, the text was singularly corrupt. Her writings were full of minute descriptions of clothing, and often read like a French fashion paper. Another feminine trait was to be found at the close of a list of pleasant things enumerated in one of her essays: "How pleasant is the putting together of the bits of a torn letter!"

In reply to a question, by Mr. Odlum, Mr. Chamberlain stated that Sei Shōnagon's writings must have remained in manuscript for many centuries after her death, probably until about 1600 A.D. An unusual number of MSS. of her works are extant.

The Report of the Council for the year just ended was then read by the Corresponding Secretary:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION OCTOBER,  
1887—JUNE, 1888.

In coming before the Society, as usual at the close of the Session, the Council is glad to be able to report that the state of the Society's affairs is in all ways flourishing. The expenses have, it is true, been great this year, owing to the necessity for an unusual amount of reprinting, in addition to the printing of a new volume, which, when completed, will consist of two good-sized parts. Nevertheless the Treasurer's Report (Appendix C) shows a balance of \$458.96 on the credit side; and though there are some bills which will be presented for payment soon, there is about an equal sum of money owing to the Society, which will probably soon be collected.

The literary activity of the Society is evinced by the size of the new volume just alluded to, and by the originality of the papers composing it. The number of general meetings held during the Session and of papers read at those meetings is fourteen. The list of papers, as given in Appendix A, evidences the peculiar ardour with which the Society has thrown itself into the study of the Island of Yezo and its hitherto little-known aborigines, while at the same time there has been no falling off, but rather increased activity, in the researches instituted into subjects more specially Japanese, and particularly into the ancient history and language of the Japanese people.

With great sorrow the Council has to record the death of two of the Society's most valued members,—H. Pryer, Esq., in whom ornithology and the kindred zoological sciences have sustained an irreparable loss, and Russell Robertson, Esq., C.M.G., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Kanagawa, some time member of the Society's Council, and always one of the Society's most loyal supporters. Neither can we pass over without a word (though this Society did not count him among its members) the death of the octogenarian Japanese scholar, Dr. August Pfizmaier,

of Vienna, who did so much to render Japanese and Aino studies popular in Europe, and who obtained results which were wonderful indeed when we consider that he laboured under the disadvantage of never having personally visited Japan, nor acquired a colloquial knowledge of its language. Furthermore should be mentioned the fact of some half-dozen resignations of membership during the course of the session.

Leaving our losses and turning to our gains, the Council is happy to be able to announce the election of no less than twenty-six new members, while the increased interest felt in the Society's work by Orientalists and the public generally in Europe and America has been evidenced in the most practical of all manners by increased purchases of the Society's "Transactions," not only in the English-speaking countries, but likewise in Germany.

It should furthermore be noticed, before closing this report, that the Society now possesses that which was so earnestly desired for it by one of the most active of its past Presidents, viz., a local habitation as well as a name. The kind courtesy of H.E. Mr. H. Watanabe, President of the Imperial University, has enabled us during the past session not only to meet in the Imperial College of Engineering, but also to establish our library there. We are happy to be able to announce that H.E. Mr. Ōtori Keisuke, President of the Nobles' School, which is now removing to the premises of the College of Engineering, has consented to continue this favour, thereby enabling the Society to meet in one of the most central and convenient localities of the capital, and to throw open to the members a reading-room where the books and periodicals received by the Society have been arranged and catalogued in such a manner as greatly to increase their utility. Moreover, printed catalogues are in preparation, and copies will be distributed among the members. The Council has already expressed its warmest thanks both to Mr. Watanabe and to Mr. Ōtori Keisuke, being confident that in so doing it has but interpreted the sentiments of all those members who, being resident in Tōkyō, can avail themselves of the privilege thus offered.

#### APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1887-1888.

- " Persian Elements in Japanese Legends," by J. Edkins, D.D.
- " Rodriguez' System of Transliteration," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
- " On the Ainu Term *Kamui*," by Rev. John Batchelor.
- " Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the Words *Kamui* and *Aino*," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
- " Early Japanese History," by W. G. Aston, Esq.
- " The Japanese Education Society," by Walter Dening, Esq.
- " Round Yezo," by C. S. Meik, Esq.
- " Specimens of Ainu Folk-lore," by Rev. John Batchelor.
- " *Jūjutsu*, the Old *Samurai* Art of Fighting without Weapons," by Rev. T. Lindsay and J. Kanō, Esq.

“ Inō Chūkei, the Japanese Surveyor and Cartographer,” by Dr. C. G. Knott.  
“ Chinese and Annamese,” by E. H. Parker, Esq.  
“ The Earliest Known Form of the Japanese Language,” by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.  
“ Christian Valley,” by J. M. Dixon, Esq.  
“ A Literary Lady of Old Japan,” by W. G. Aston, Esq., and the late Dr. T. A. Purcell.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.  
Academy of Sciences of Finland (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae.)  
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.  
American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.  
American Chemical Journal.  
American Geographical Society, New York, Bulletin and Journal.  
American Oriental Society.  
American Philological Association.  
American Philosophical Society.  
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.  
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.  
Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.  
Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.  
Australian Museum, Sydney.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Notulen.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Tidjschrift.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap: Verhandelingen.  
Boston Society of Natural History.  
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports, Washington.  
Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, Washington.  
California Academy of Sciences.  
China Review; Hongkong.  
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.  
Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances, Saigon.  
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.  
Canadian Institute, Toronto, Proceedings and Reports.  
Geographical Survey of India; Records.  
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.  
Handels Museum, Wien.  
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology: Bulletin.  
Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Reports, Moscow.  
Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow); Section of Anthropology and Ethnography, Transactions.

Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.  
Johns Hopkins University, Publications, Baltimore.  
Journal Asiatique. Paris.  
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher  
Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.  
Mittheilungen des Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,  
Tōkyō.  
Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.  
Mittheilungen des Ornithologischen Vereins in Wien.  
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Révue, etc.  
Muosum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass.  
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia.  
Observatorio Astronómico Nacional de Takubaya, Anuario Mexico.  
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.  
Ornithologischer Verein in Wien.  
Ofversigt af Finskap Societen.  
Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei ; Bulletin des Observations, Mexico.  
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.  
Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Dublin Society ; Scientific Transactions.  
Royal Geographical Society ; Proceedings.  
Royal Society, London ; Proceedings.  
Royal Society, New South Wales.  
Royal Society of Tasmania.  
Royal Society of Queensland.  
Seismological Society of Japan, Transactions.  
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C. ; Reports, etc.  
Sociedad Geografia de Madrid ; Boletin.  
Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.  
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.  
Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.  
Société des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.  
Société d'Anthropologie de Paris ; Bulletins et Mémoires.  
Société d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.  
Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.  
Société des Etudes Indo-Chinoises de Saigon ; Bulletin, Saigon.  
Sydney, Council of Education, Report, Sydney.  
United States Geological Survey.  
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle.

## APPENDIX C.

## ASIATIC SOCIETY in account with M. N. WYCKOFF.

	Dr.	Cr.
To R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing .....	\$589.05	By Balance from last year.....
" Hakubunsha for printing .....	117.25	" Sales of Transactions .....
" Corresponding Secretary, Current Expenses	60.86	" Subscriptions of Resident Members .....
" Library Expenses .....	52.01	" Subscriptions of Non-Resident Members .....
" Treasurer, Current Expenses .....	7.05	" Subscriptions of Life Members .....
" F. H. Kochler, account balance.....	18.62	" Entrance Fees .....
Balance in hand .....	<u>458.96</u>	<u>\$1,303.30</u>
		<u>\$1,303.30</u>

E. &amp; O. E.

Respectfully submitted,  
M. N. WYCKOFF, Hon. Treasurer.ARTHUR LLOYD,  
H. A. HOWE, <sup>j</sup> Auditors.

Examined and found correct, 28th May, 1888.

Tōkyō, May 28th, 1888.

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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### HONORARY MEMBERS.

Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.  
Rear-Admiral W. Arthur, c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London.  
Professor Geo. E. Day, Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.  
Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D., Peking.  
A. W. Franks, British Museum.  
Baron A. Nordenskjöld, Stockholm.  
Professor J. J. Rein, Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.  
Ernest M. Satow, C.M.G., Montevideo.  
Rev. E. W. Syle, D.D., Surbiton, Surrey, England.  
Sir Thomas F. Wade, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London.  
Professor W. D. Whitney, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

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### LIFE MEMBERS.

Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., St. Thomas' Hospital, London.  
Bisset, F.L.S., J., care of Messrs. A. J. Macpherson & Co., 5 East India Avenue, London, E. C.  
Burty, Ph., 11 bis, Boulevard des Batignolles, Paris.  
Carson, T. G., Bamfield, Colersaine, County Londonderry, Ireland.  
Cooper, B.A., LL.B., C. J., Bromwich Grange, Worcester, England.  
Dillon, E., 18 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S.W.  
Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, 137 Victoria Parade, Fitzroy, Melbourne, Australia.  
Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S., A.  
Gowland, W., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.  
Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.  
Lyman, Benjamin Smith, State Geological Survey Office, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.  
MacLagan, Robert, 9 Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London.  
Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.  
O'Neill, John, Trafalgar House, Selling, Faversham, Kent, England.  
Parker, E. H., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Shanghai.  
Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.

## ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Amerman, D.D., Rev. Jas. L., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.

Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomachi, Tōkyō.

Aston, M.A. W. G., Villa Malbosc, Grasse, Alpes Maritimes, France.

Atkinson, B. sc., R. W., Cardiff, Wales.

Baelz, M.D., E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Baker, Colgate, Kōbe.

Batchelor, Rev. J., Hakodate.

Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, Tōkyō.

Bigelow, Dr. W. S., 6 Hongō, Kaga Yashiki, Tōkyō.

Bonar, H., c/o H. S. King & Co., London.

Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.

Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.

Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.

Brinkley, R.A., Capt. Frank, 50, Naka Rokubanchō, Tōkyō.

Brown, A. R., Nippon Yūsen Kaisha, Tōkyō.

Brown, Jr., Matthew, 6 Yokohama.

Burton, W. K., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Carrère, H. E. Don Pedro de, Spanish Legation, Tōkyō.

Center, Alex., 4-a Yokohama.

Chamberlain, B. H., 19, Akasaka Daimachi, Tōkyō.

Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.

Clement, E. W., Mito.

Cochran, D.D., Rev. G., 13 Higashi Toriizaka-machi, Azabu, Tōkyō.

Cooking, S., 55 Yokohama.

Conder, J., Government Architect, Tōkyō.

Cruickshank, W. J., 35 Yokohama.

Dautremer, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.

De Becker, J. E., 142 Bluff, Yokohama.

Dening, Walter, 15, Hongō, Masago-chō, Tōkyō.

Dietz, F., 70, Yokohama.

Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Dixon, M.A., F.R.S.E., James Main, 85, Miyogadani, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.

Du Bois, Dr. Francis, c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., London.

Duer, Yeend, Shanghai.

Eaves, Rev. Geo., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

Eby, D.D., Rev. C. S., 18 Kasumi-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.

Ewing, B. sc., F.R.S., J. A., University College, Dundee, Scotland.

Fardel, C. L., Victoria School, Yokohama.

Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.

Fenollosa, Prof. E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Flowers, Marcus, New Club, Cheltenham, England.

Fraser, J. A., 143 Yokohama.

Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.

Georges, M. sc., C. C., Komaba, Tōkyō.

Giussani, C., 90-b Yokohama.

Glover, T. B., 53 Shiba Sannai, Tōkyō.

Goodrich, J. K., Kōbe.

Green, James, 118 Concession, Kōbe.

Green, Rev. C. W., Hakodate.

Greene, Rev. Dr. D. C., Kyōto.

Gregory, G. E., 1 Hikawachō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.

Gribble, Henry, 66 Pine Street, New York.

Griffiths, E. A., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.

Gring, Rev. Ambrose D., c/o Daniel Gring, Lancaster, Penn., U. S. A.

Groon, A. H., 35 Yokohama.

Gubbins, J. H., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.

Hall, J. C., H.B.M. Consulate, Shanghai.

Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.

Hannen, N. J., Judge, H.B.M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.

Hardie, Rev., A., Gakushuin, Tōkyō.

Hattori Ichizō, Educational Department, Tōkyō.

Hausknecht, Dr. E., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Hellyer, T. W., 210 Yokohama.

Hering, Dr. O., 28, Kōjimachi, Hirakawa-chō, 5 chōme, Tōkyō.

Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., 245 Bluff, Yokohama.

Hinton, C. H., Victoria School, Yokohama.

Hubbard, Hon. R. B., U. S. Legation, Tōkyō.

Hunt, H. J., 62 Concession, Kōbe.

Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.

Isawa, S., Educational Department, Tōkyō.

James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.

James, Capt. J. M., 416 Minami Bamba, Shinagawa, Tōkyō.

Jamieson, G., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.

Jaudon, Peyton, 2 Sannen-chō, Tōkyō.

Kanda, Naibu, Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Kanō, J. 1, Kōjimachi, Fujimichō, 1 chōme, Tōkyō.

Keil, O., 12 Yokohama.

Kenny, W., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkiō.

Kirby, J. R., 8 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

Kirkwood, M., Nakanochō, Azabu, Tōkyō.

Knott, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Imperial University, Tōkyō.

Knox, Rev. Dr. G. W., c/o Dr. Imbrie, 16 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.  
Lambert, E. B., Kyōtō.  
Larcom, A., Foreign Office, London.  
Lay, A. H., H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.  
Lindsay, Rev. Thomas.  
Lloyd, Rev. A., Keiō Gijiku, Mita, Tōkyō.  
Longford, J. H., H.B.M.'s Vice-Consulate, Tōkyō.  
Lowell, Percival, 40 Water St., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.  
Macdonald, Dr. Davidson, 5, Tsukiji, Tōkyō.  
Macnab, A. J., Nishi-Kōbai-chō, Surugadai, Tōkyō.  
MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.  
Malan, Rev. C. S., West Cliff Hall, Bournemouth, England.  
Marshall, Prof. D. H., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.  
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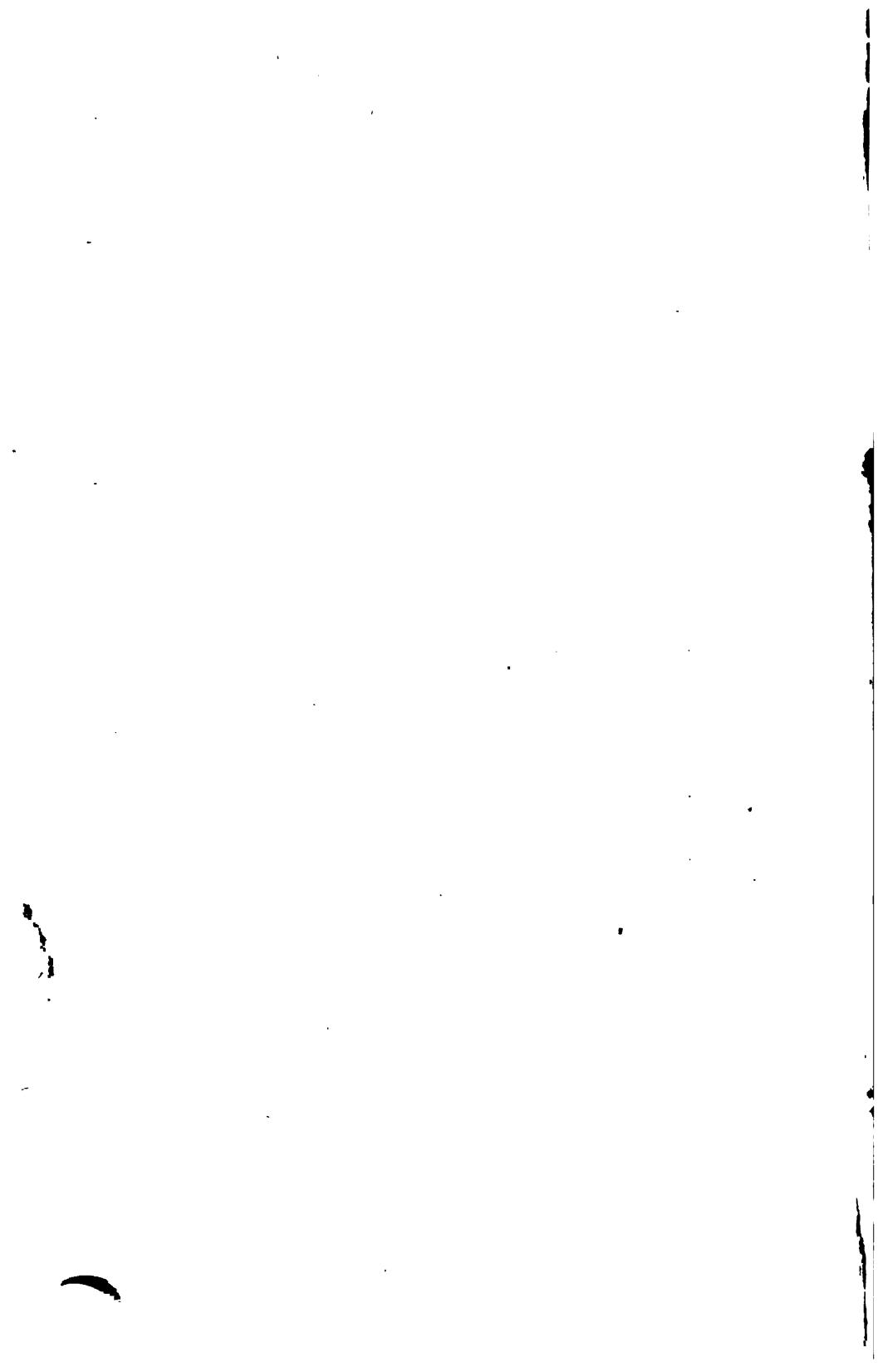
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## PERSIAN ELEMENTS IN JAPANESE LEGENDS.

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By J. EDEINS, D.D.

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[*Read October 12, 1887.*]

There are several resemblances between the Persian religion and that of Japan, which I now proceed partially to point out.

1. Japan has a Mithras, but a female one. Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess, is either of purely native creation, or the ancient Japanese were taught by visitors from the continent to worship the sun, and to frame national legends which exalt the name, origin and achievements of "her who shines (terasu) from heaven" (ama).

2. In the old Parseeism the departments of nature, metal, fire, water, trees, earth, each had an angel. Spiegel, in the "Schaff Herzog Encyclopædia," article Parseeism, says the spirits first created by Ormuzd were " Bahman, protector of all living beings, Ardibihisht, spirit of fire, Sharevar, spirit of metals, Spendarmat, spirit of earth, Chordad, spirit of water, Amerdad, spirit of trees." They were created to aid Ormuzd in governing. Let Japanese legends be consulted. In the "Nihon Shoki" we find a wood god, a water god, a fire god, a wind god, an earth god, a metal god, a sea god, a mountain god, all created by Izanami and Izanagi. These divinities were a creating pair arrived at, as Mr. Griffis says in the same Encyclopædia, article Shintō, by evolution through several pairs of gods. There were several legends, and I suggest that a Persian element exists in them. The metal god is less frequently mentioned than the other elemental divinities of Japan, but it exists on an equal footing with the rest in China, where the spirits of the five elements are worshipped as gods of the highest grade (帝 *ti*), and have their place assigned as north, south, east, west, and central. The Persians viewed the five elements as gods to be adored. The Chinese viewed them not

only as gods to be adored, but as principles influencing all nature, as powers controlling the human body and as visible essences in the five planets.

8. The Japanese dedicate white horses to the goddess of the sun. Strabo mentions an ancient custom of sacrificing white horses to the sun, but we are without details on this point.

4. In the legend of creation and the order in which creation was made, there is a resemblance in Japanese and Persian ideas. The legends of the Japanese indicate no philosophical power: they show an unbridled imagination and an admiration for nature of a rough kind. The only philosophical ideas in these legends are of obviously Chinese origin. But we observe a lively exercise of the imagination in these tales of long ago, and they exhibit a peculiar type of mythological invention. Whence did it come? Was it only the effect of the Inland Sea, the boundless ocean, the volcanoes, the mighty Fujiyama, the many lively harbours and nooks of hill and lake scenery working on an impressionable nation just arrived from Corea? A nation in its infancy was here wandering in Wonderland, and the child's imagination can do much in weaving marvellous creation out of the wonders which the world presents to the eye and ear. But in the present instance this does not seem sufficient to account for what we see. We have a progressive creation of angels and men and the world they occupy. Creation takes an evolutionary form, and yet there is the distinct ascription of creation to divine beings. It is well worth our while to notice, too, the early creation of spirits in seven generations, finishing with Izanami and Izanagi. One legend creates heaven and earth first, and then these spirits. Another says that the spirits appeared at the first separation between heaven and earth. After the creation of Japan, Tsushima and other islands, eight in all, the sea was created, then the rivers, then the mountains, then tree gods, and lastly gods of grass and herbs. In proceeding to describe the creation of the sun, the legend-maker draws particular attention to this divinity. Then he describes the appearance of the moon and the birth of Hiruko, a son who causes sorrow to his divine parents.

Possibly if there is hidden in these legends the teaching of followers of the Persian religion, it may be in some more than others. Thus we have in the 12th leaf of the 1st chapter of the "Nihongi" or "Yamato-

fumi no maki," the change of *iki* or breath into the spirit of wind. Then the sea god, the mountain god, the wood god, the earth god and the fire god appear. Here the names of the elements suggest that the Japanese had help from some strangers who knew the philosophy of the five elements. Otherwise it is hard to explain how they should have the same five elements as the Parsees, and all in the form of divinities.

The order of creation by Ormuzd in the old Persian books was: spirits, heaven, water, earth, trees, cattle, man. Creation continued for three thousand years.

5. There is in the Shintō and Parsee religions an under-world of darkness where departed spirits reside. In the visit of Izanagi to *Yomi*, the Hades of Shintō, as described by Mr. Satow in the "Revival of Pure Shintō,"<sup>1</sup> we perceive a resemblance to the Legend of Ishtar descending to Hades, translated by H. F. Talbot, F. R. S., in "Records of the Past," Vol I. It is an Assyrian legend; and from it the Greek legend of Adonis entrusted by Aphrodite to Persephone, Queen of the lower world, may have been formed, since Ishtar corresponds to Aphrodite and to Venus. The Queen of Hades, Proserpina or Persephone, becomes Ninkigal in the Assyrian story. The Assyrian Hades has seven gates, through each of which in succession Ishtar is received on her way to see the Queen. After the waters of life had been poured out for Ishtar, she was dismissed through the same gates. In Parseeism the under-world is represented as depths of darkness, above which is the bridge of Paradise. When the souls of the departed pass along this bridge, their deeds are weighed by the angel of justice. If the evil deeds are heaviest, the soul tumbles into the depths of darkness to be tormented there by Ahriman and the Devs till the day of judgment. In the Japanese story, Izanagi and Izanami are the Tammuz and Adonis of the Syrian legend.

In the *Tso chwen* (佐傳) of the Chinese, we have an echo of the same story in the 6th page of Legge's Classics, Vol. V. A certain duke had taken an oath in B.C. 721 that he would not see his mother again till he met her under the "yellow fountain." He had no way of evading the fulfilment of this oath, till a councillor persuaded him to dig a deep

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<sup>1</sup>"Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan," Vol. III, Appendix.

passage underground till he reached a spring of water. Here he met his mother, and both sang snatches of songs to express their joy at meeting. This is the first instance of the occurrence in Chinese of the phrase "yellow fountains" for the Hades of departed souls. It shows that, as early as B.C. 721, the Chinese had received from the west the notion of departed souls meeting in a future state. Subsequently the Japanese adopted the Chinese "yellow fountain" to express their *yomi*. As to the word *yomi*, there is no apparent objection to our taking it to be the word 墓 *yim*, "darkness," in Chinese, and *tan*, "hell," in Mongol.

6. In the Parsee doctrine that the five elements are to be kept pure, we see the possible origin of Shintō usages and legends in regard to purification. Mr. Satow says, in "Revival of Pure Shintō," page 78, that the god of fire hates impurity. Izanami was afraid to return to the world of day, because she was defiled by eating food which had been cooked with unclean fire and might offend the god. In casting metal there will be a failure if the metal is not pure. Izanagi, on returning to earth, hastened to wash himself in the sea from the foulness he had contracted in *yomi*. The pollution which he washed away produced two gods, whose names Mr. Satow gives. In Parseeism the five gods of the five elements keep the elements over which they rule, pure from contamination. The good Parsee must keep himself always clean, especially from the contamination of a corpse.

The preceding six resemblances between the Shintō and Parsee legends and traditions will be sufficient for the present purpose, if it can be shown that the Persian religion spread much in eastern Asia in former times.

In the Tso chwen (Legge's Chinese Classics, Vol. V., p. 176) it is said "the Viscount of Tseng came too late for the covenant in T'sau. Being fearful probably of the consequences, he followed at least some of the covenanters to Choo, and would appear there to have taken the covenant. This did not however avail to save him from a terrible fate." "The people of Choo seized him and used him as a victim." Tso remarked on this statement in the Confucian history, "the duke of Sung induced duke Wen of Choo to sacrifice the Viscount of Tseng at an altar on the bank of the Suy to awe and draw to him the wild tribes of the east." Further on it is said that the victim was offered to an irregular

spirit. Tu Yü says that the altar belonged to the Persian religion, or, as he calls it, the *Hien shen* or god of heaven adored there by the eastern barbarians. In the "Kwang yü" the *Hien shen* is called a foreign god.<sup>3</sup> Later Chinese critics agree in the opinion that this was the Persian religion. This instance of human sacrifice belongs to the year B.C. 640. The river Sui is in the province of Honan, and the barbarians said to have honoured the Persian god were the Tung yi of Shantung bordering on the Yellow Sea.

There are many allusions in Chinese History to the Persian religion. Thus in the History of the Tang dynasty (T'ang shu), in the notice of Khoten near Kashgar, it is said the people are fond of the Persian worship 喜事沃神. The same worship prevailed in the Kangcha Kingdom, as we learn in the chapter, Account of the Western Kingdom. By this Kingdom is meant Khokand and Khiva. The Turks were at that time powerful in Ili, and they also worshiped the *Hien shen*. They did so without temples and they had human sacrifices. These statements are found in Yeu yang tsa tsu, a work by a T'ang dynasty author. The same writer says that the people of the Kingdom called 孝儀 Hian yik were unacquainted with Buddhism and followed the Persian worship. They had three hundred altars of this religion, and yet their kingdom was not more than a thousand miles in circuit. In the Liau History we learn that the emperor, at the end of the year, offered sacrifices to the god of fire. Salt and mutton fat were used. These offerings were burnt in an iron furnace. At the same time wizards chanted songs in praise of the god. The emperor prostrated himself before the fire, the emblem of the god. This kingdom embraced Manchuria and the Chinese province of Chili, and the time when this worship of fire was, as thus recorded, a part of the Imperial ceremonial, was the eleventh century.

In the first and second centuries we find the doctrine of the continued existence of the soul extending in China and in Manchuria in advance of the period when the Buddhist missionaries arrived in these regions teaching a future state. In China the mountain in Shantung known as Tai shan came to be known as the favourite residence of a god

<sup>3</sup>In the "Shwo wen" it is said that in Kwan chung heaven is called *hien*. Kwanchung seems to mean Chinese Turkestan.

who had under his jurisdiction the souls of men, and at death men's souls were believed to go there.<sup>8</sup> This is the reason that in the present day Chinese build temples to the god of the eastern mountain outside of the east gate of their cities, and that in them the seventy-two courts of judgment for all the dead are represented in painted clay. The Manchurian people of the same age, called Uhwan or Owan, believed that souls went to the Red Mountains some thousands of miles north-west of their home in Liau tung. The mountains meant may have been the Altai mountains, in the vicinity of which the Turkish and Indo-European races then residing there would have no religious guides so zealous as the Persians. It is said of the Owan people (烏桓) that they had the doors of their tents to the east in order to face the sun. Also they sang joyful hymns at the death of persons, not regarding them as having suffered a misfortune in dying, and firmly believing them to be still living; they burned their favourite horses, clothing and other possessions, together with a well-fattened dog, which was led with a many-coloured silk string and otherwise decorated with elegant silk trappings. This Manchurian nation, so near Japan, was accustomed to worship at that time heaven, earth, the sun and moon, the stars, rivers, mountains and the souls of ancestors. In sacrificing to men of high reputation, they burned the oxen and sheep used as victims when the act of offering was completed.

Among the ancient usages of the Chinese, the worship of the god of fire is very prominent. The worship of the sun preceded, it. But in the Chow dynasty there was a special worship of fire, and there was probably a like order of evolution in Persia. The worship of the powers of nature preceded the worship of fire, as a pure monotheism preceded the worship of the gods of the elements. The Persian and the Chinese religions were both branches of the Old Asiatic religion, which ultimately becomes identical with that of Babylonia and that of the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. In worshipping the elements, the Chinese were contented with adoring the spirits of the sun and moon, the mountains and rivers, without any biographic or individualistic detail. The Persians

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<sup>8</sup>"Heu Han Shu" 後漢書 90, 1. The god of the mountain is, in the modern Tauist hell of China, made one of the ten judges before whom the dead appear for judgment.

thought of the spirits of the elements as great angels clothed with characteristic attributes; but the Chinese gods of the wind, of rain, of thunder, in the Chow dynasty, are to be viewed the same as the Persian, though looked on by the people as passionless divinities. Among the Chinese gods of the Chow dynasty was the god of fire, the kitchen god, the domestic divinity of every household. In this fire worship of the Chinese, accompanied in aftertimes with bonfires and fire-works, and the burning of paper houses, money, clothing, horses, and the like, we see partly the fruit of native invention, and partly the effect of Tartar and Persian notions connected with fire worship. Probably the modern custom of burning paper for the dead is more foreign in its origin than native; so we may suppose that the notions on a future state prevailing among the Chinese anterior to Buddhism were also more indebted for their origin to foreign religious ideas than to native Confucian thought.

There is another book, 西漢書 ("Si hi tsung yü"), by Yau kwan of the Sung dynasty. It says that "the god intended by the Hien shen is 摩薩首羅," Mahaishwara, the supreme God according to the opinions of the later Hindoos as occurring in Buddhist books, where it is translated by the words 大自在天 *ta ts'i tsai t'en*, "the self-existent one." Yau kwan further says the Hien Shen was taught by Zoroaster the Persian (蘇魯支 Zerdusht), who had a pupil 宇真 Huien chen. Having become familiar with his master's system, he became patriarch 天總長 in Persia. He came afterwards to China to propagate his religion, and in the eastern capital (Kai feng fu) had a temple called the Hien Shen Miau in the Ning Yuen street. On a monument there erected, it is said that in the Kang kingdom there is a god called Hien, and in the whole extent of the kingdom there are 火天殿祠 (temples for the worship of fire). This is the same as the Kang cha above-mentioned, and refers to Bokhara and Khiva. In China in the ninth century the Persian religion was persecuted; and in the year 845 more than sixty of their monasteries were condemned to be closed and the monks compelled to return to ordinary life.

The Persians, beginning with monotheism we may suppose, drew from the Babylonians a dual philosophy and the teaching of a physical theory of five elements. This would be in the third millennium before Christ; and as early as this there would probably be schools of instruction in the Bokhara country, which would have some effect on the usages

and beliefs of neighbouring nations. At any rate at that time the Chinese came to know the arts of writing and the observation of the stars. The Persians proceeded to weave a mythology, of which Ormuzd and Ahriman were the chief personages. Ormuzd the creator reigns among a multitude of angels whom he made. We see in the Chinese worship of *Shén* (神) that at that time in China also a like step had been taken, by which the various parts of nature were believed to be governed by spirits and to represent and exemplify the nature of their activity. We see the beginning of a dual philosophy at this time in the "Yi ching" of China, and a philosophy of the elements in that work and in the remaining documents of the Hia dynasty. At the end of the second millennium before Christ we find the Chinese studying and expanding the dual philosophy, and acquiring a great accession of literary power, of legislative thought, and of scientific progress. Some centuries after, the future life,—evidently as a Persian doctrine,—creeps in unobserved, and we learn that the Persian religion is propagated among the barbarous tribes of eastern China in the horrible form of human sacrifices. The idea of the future life becomes more distinct, and by the beginning of the Christian era it is widely spread in China and Tartary. It is beyond doubt that the agency of propagation would be in the first instance the priests of the Persian religion, physicians and workers of enchantments, who, by the cures they could perform and the science they possessed, as well as by divination and other arts, ingratiated themselves with the chiefs of tribes wherever they went. At this point the Japanese legends present themselves as a further contribution to our knowledge of the effects of the Persian propaganda in the beautiful islands lying to the east of the continent. They belong to different periods. The earlier may have arisen four or five centuries before Christ; the later, especially those containing doctrines of Chinese cosmogony and philosophy, would enter Japan with the art of writing in the third or fourth century after Christ. Mr. Satow places the first committal to writing of the "Kojiki" and the "Nihongi" in the eighth century.

The Asiatic cosmogonies have all originated in the Babylonian and Biblical account of creation and the first history of the human race. It is a matter of extreme interest to find that, just as the Japanese language is distinctly akin to the language of the continent, so it is

with the legends which profess to describe the origin of the world and of the Japanese islands and population. After the decipherment of the tablets of the creation unearthed from Babylonian mounds, we ought no longer to hesitate to regard the first chapters of Genesis and the first faith of the Babylonians as in general accord. It is quite possible to shew in the same way that the religious ideas of Persia and Mesopotamia had a powerful effect in India, and in fact form the basis of the mythology and cosmogony of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

From the Laws of Manu it appears that the Hindoos looked on the elements, at a date about B.C. 1000, as five, namely, ether, air, fire, water and earth. As this agrees nearly with the four elements as taught by the early Greek philosophers before Socrates, and by Plato and Aristotle, we may assign two groups of elements to western Asia, of which the Hindoos and the Greeks adopted one, and the Persians and Chinese the other. The Zendavesta mentions, near the beginning, the cities of Balkh and Mero, as well as some in Media. Tradition assigns Zoroaster to Bactria. Thus we may infer that the philosophy of the five elements reached China from Bactria, as the Buddhist group of elements (which is the same as the Greek) was certainly imported into China from India.

Mr. Satow says, at the end of his very valuable article on Shintō, "the most effectual means of conducting the investigation would be a comparison of the legends in the "Kojiki" and "Nihongi" and the rites and ceremonies of the "Yengishiki" with what is known of other ancient religions."

## RODRIGUEZ' SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

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BY BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

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[*Read October 12, 1887.*]

We suffer in Japan from the want of old books of reference, even of books referring to Japan itself. I therefore greatly appreciated the courtesy of the Fathers of the Société des Missions Etrangères in permitting me to examine a copy of Rodriguez' Japanese Grammar in the original Portuguese. The original manuscript of this work is (or was till the year 1865) in the possession of a British nobleman, Lord Lindsay. The copy, which I had the advantage of perusing some months ago, was made in Paris by two French priests and collated by the well-known Japanese scholar, Monsieur Léon Pagès, by whom it was entrusted to the care of Monseigneur Osouf, the Present Apostolic Vicar of North Japan, with a view to the possibility of some practical use to students from a new edition of the work. The plan of issuing a new edition was (as I think, wisely) abandoned. But though no longer of much practical use at a time when Hoffmann, Aston, Satow, Imbrie and others have been enabled by favourable circumstances to publish works more consonant with modern requirements, the grammar of the old seventeenth century Jesuit is still a mine of interest to the theoretical student of the language. Various things might be said in connection with it. For instance, we might dwell on the curious information it gives us concerning the state of the colloquial speech of the epoch at which it was composed, or we might enlarge on the terminology used, and show, among other things, that it is to Rodriguez that Japanese grammar owes the convenient term "Postposition." But the only point to which I would direct your attention to-day is its system of transliteration.

The French edition of Rodriguez, printed in 1825, is utterly untrustworthy on this point. For the editor (Landresse) has not only altered the spelling so as to suit French usage, but has tampered with it in other ways.

Transliteration is a subject which must always be felt to be important to all students of the Japanese language. During the last two or three years we have heard particularly much about it, à propos of the Romanisation Society. Now the peculiar interest of the original Portuguese draft of Father Rodriguez' Grammar is that it shows conclusively that the pronunciation of his time scarcely differed at all from that of the present day. A favourite argument with those who advocate a historical spelling, with those who wish us to write, for instance, *tuti* for *tsuchi*, "earth"; "*tiya*" for "*cha*," "tea"; "*sisi*" for "*shishi*," "lion," etc., is that the pronunciation of the syllables *ツ* as *tsu*, *チ* as *chi*, *ヲ* as *cha*, *シ* as *shi*, etc., is but a recent and unimportant innovation. *Well, this innovation is at least 283 years old!* If allowance be made for the fact that Rodriguez took Portuguese, and that Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society take English consonantal usage as the standard of transliteration, and for the further fact that Rodriguez took the Nagasaki, and that Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society take the Tôkyô pronunciation as the standard to be transliterated, the two orthographies of the disputed series are identical. Where Dr. Hepburn has

サ	シ	ス	テ	ヨ
sa	shi	su	te	yo
タ	チ	ツ	ト	ト
ta	chi	tsu	to	to

Rodriguez has

sa	xi	su	xe	so
ta	chi	tçu	te	to

Now Portuguese *x*=English *sh*. Rodriguez' s series therefore agrees with Hepburn's, except in so far as *xe* is *she* (*xe*), as still pronounced by the Nagasaki people. Rodriguez moreover adds a note to say that *xe* is pronounced *se* in the east of the Empire, so that the Yedo pronunciation of those days was the same as that now current. In the *t* series there is absolute identity, Portuguese *ç* being equivalent to English *s*.

Rodriguez specially mentions the syllables *xa*, *xo*, *xu* (i.e. *sha*, *sho*, *shu*), representing the *kana* combinations  $\check{x}\check{a}$ ,  $\check{x}\check{u}$ ,  $\check{x}\check{e}$ , and *cha*, *cho*, *chu*, representing  $\check{c}\check{a}$ ,  $\check{c}\check{u}$ ,  $\check{c}\check{e}$ . His way of writing the corresponding *nigori*'ed syllables shows the same close agreement with the pronunciation of the present day, Dr. Hepburn's *j* being represented by (French) *j* for the *s* series, and for the *t* series by *g* directed to be pronounced as in Italian, i.e. like English *j*. *Tsu* similarly becomes *dzu*, precisely as in the second edition of Hepburn's dictionary, while *su* becomes *zu*, a distinction which, though not usually made by modern transliterators, can still be perceived in the pronunciation of some careful speakers. Nor is the absence of the syllables *ti* and *di*, *tu* and *du*, *si* and *zi* to be simply *inferred* from the spelling which Rodriguez adopts. He expressly states, and he returns to the statement more than once, that those sounds are not found in the language, but are replaced by *chi*, *gi* (our *ji*), *tzu* (our *tsu*), *dzu*, *zi* (our *shi*), and *ji*. Nothing in the world could be more explicit.

In the *f* series alone does Rodriguez' usage differ from that with which we are familiar. He spells this series consistently with an *f*, viz.:

$\wedge$     $\mathfrak{v}$     $\mathfrak{f}$     $\wedge$     $*$   
fa   fi   fu   fe   fo

where Hepburn, the Romanisation Society and our own ears give us

ha   hi   fu   he   ho.

But even here the difference is more apparent than real; for Rodriguez learnt his Japanese at Nagasaki, where, even at the present day, people sound an *f* where the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Japan sound an *h*. And to leave no doubt on the question, Rodriguez' Spanish successor Collado, whose "Dictionarium Linguæ Japonicæ" and "Ars Grammaticæ Japonicæ Linguae" were published at Rome in 1632, expressly states that the Nagasaki *f* was already then pronounced *h* in certain provinces.

A consideration of the vowel series and of the *y* and *w* series brings us to a similar conclusion. Rodriguez, in common with other early Catholic writers, wrote *v* for *u*. Naturally enough, there being no *w* in Portuguese or in any of the languages of Southern Europe, he used this same *u* (written *v*) to represent the closely similar, though not identical, sound which we are enabled, by the greater fullness of our English alphabet, to distinguish by means of the letter *w*. Thus he has *va* for *ua* or *wa*, and *vo* for *uo* or *wo*.

The distinction originally obtaining between  $\approx$  and  $\approx$  (*ye* and *we*) had already vanished in Rodriguez' time, as we see from his transcription of both these *kana* letters by the simple Roman letter *c*. Indeed the fact of the coalescence of *ye* and *we* at a considerably earlier period is known to us independently from Japanese sources. Similarly Rodriguez admits only one sound of the *i* series (originally  $\text{† } i$ , and  $\# \text{ ui}$ ) which he writes *i*, and one of the *u* series, which he writes *v* when it occurs alone or before the vowels *a* and *o*, as already stated. It seems strange that his French editor, Landresse, should not have perceived that the *v* (*u*) was to be sounded as a vowel, not as a consonant. Instead of perceiving and explaining this, Landresse confirmed European investigators in the erroneous idea that the Japanese language possesses the letter *v*, a consonant which it is almost impossible to get modern Japanese organs to form, and which there is no good reason to suppose that the language ever possessed in the past.

What I would suggest as the result of these considerations, is that the advocates of the phonetic spelling of Japanese may claim, as against the historical spellers, that the phonetic spelling itself has no mean antiquity to boast of. It is itself historical as well as phonetic. The study of Rodriguez may also help us to repel another taunt, which is that we have been misled by English analogies, that for instance Japanese  $\text{し}$  and  $\text{つ}$  are not exactly English *shi* and *tsu*, and might therefore as well be written *si* and *tu*. Now doubtless Japanese  $\text{し}$  is not exactly English *shi*; nor Japanese  $\text{つ}$  English *tsu*. No two nations pronounce sounds *exactly* in the same manner. Indeed it is probable that no two individuals do so, just as no two watches keep exactly the same time, and no two colours exactly match. The already quoted Spanish priest Collado, writing in 1682, becomes quite pathetic over the difficulty of pronouncing *ts* (or, as he writes it, *tç*) correctly. The best means he can bethink himself of, is to advise students to pray to Almighty God to guide their lips aright! But he adds (what is still true at the present day) that, of the two elements of the consonantal compound, the sibilant is heard more distinctly than the dental. Granting, however, the impossibility of establishing complete identity between the phonetic units of any two countries, the fact that the chief authority, writing two hundred and eighty-three years ago in a language totally distinct from

English, uses letters as nearly approximating to the English *shi* and *tsu* as any written signs can be made to approximate, shows that *shi* and *tsu* were then and are now the Roman letters most appropriate for transcribing Japanese *し* and *つ*, if our object is to write phonetically with English consonantal usage as the standard. And if our object is not to write phonetically, what is it? Doubtless it would be a little easier to learn the paradigms of some of the Japanese verbs, if the terminations of Japanese sounds were more regular than they actually are. Thus the classical past of *kuramu* would look easier to a beginner, if it were *kurasitu* than it does now as *kurashitsu*. But it is pronounced *kurashitsu* now, and it was pronounced in exactly the same manner two hundred and eighty-three years ago,  *teste Rodriguez' orthography curaxitçu*, which (substituting English usage for Portuguese) represents *kurashitsu* letter for letter;—and that Rodriguez had no specially and viciously constituted ear, is proved by the agreement of his directions for pronunciation with those of the Spaniard Collado who wrote twenty-nine years later. That it is not only Englishmen who, at the present day, perceive *し* to resemble *shi* rather than *si*, *つ* to resemble *tsu* rather than *tu*, etc., is proved by the spelling of Japanese current among the French community in Japan. Frenchmen resident here spell チンブン as *chimboun*, ツク as *tsouki*, and so on, showing that their ears recognize exactly the same sounds as ours do. The German residents have, for the most part, followed Hepburn without change, as a fair representation of the sounds they hear.

So far, then, as the actual pronunciation of the living language, as taken from the lips of the natives, is concerned, the so-called corruption of *f* into *h*, of *t* into *ts* and *ch*, and of *s* into *sh* has existed ever since the time when Europeans first began to reside in Japan. Those who came to Japan in 1608 heard exactly the same sounds as do those who come to Japan in 1887. It was reserved for the systematisers of a later date to discover that these corruptions were corruptions, and to suggest that, theoretically speaking, certain sounds ought to be certain other sounds which they are not.

The question then is: are we to transliterate actual Japanese, or are we to transliterate a sort of artificial Japanese? Some eminent scholars in Europe would have us believe the latter plan to be the more

scientific of the two. For my own part, I cannot help thinking that it is more scientific, as well as more practically useful, to represent things as they are, rather than as they might, could, should, or ought to be. Moreover, if we once begin to spell historically, why stop half-way? The regularisation of the *s*, *t* and *f* series is by no means all. In order to obtain a picture of the earliest state of the Japanese language to which justifiable inference may lead us back, we must be much more radical in our departure from modern pronunciation. We must reinstate all the omitted *w*'s of which the old *kana* spelling has preserved the remembrance, e. g. in [*w*]*eru*, "to grave;" [*w*]*ido*, "a well;" "*[w]onna*," "a woman;" and the omitted *y*'s as in *o[y]iru*, "to grow old," which the *kana* spelling has not preserved, but which etymological reasons demand. We must strike out all the *f*'s and *h*'s, and put *p*'s in their stead, substituting for instance *papa* for *haha*, "mother;" *puruki*, for *furuki*, "old." In fact we must write in a manner which would make plain folks wonder whether we were writing Japanese at all,—a manner which would certainly have interest for the etymological student, but with which no etymological student has yet been bold enough to propose to saddle the general public. It seems therefore a matter of regret, in view of all the circumstances of the case, that many Japanese scholars in Europe should adhere to methods of transliteration (e. g. that proposed by the International Congress of Orientalists in 1878), which fall between two stools,—which are neither truly historical, nor yet representative of the modern pronunciation as it has existed for at least two hundred and eighty-three years, and as it strikes the ears of a majority of persons of all nationalities resident in Japan itself, be they French, German or English.

(*Note*.—A friend, looking over this paper before it is sent to press, accuses me of inconsistency: "How," says he, "can you, the former zealous advocate of Satow's so-called *Orthographical Transliteration*, come forward to-day as the champion of phonetic spelling?"

To this I reply: "Yes, I am inconsistent to a certain extent, and I am not ashamed to confess it. Progress along any line of investigation naturally brings about changes in the point of view, and especially in the relative importance which one is inclined to attribute to different considerations. Properly speaking, Mr. Satow's system, too, was meant to be phonetic. But the sounds which it aimed at representing were those of that phase of the Japanese language which the *kana*

spelling itself represents, whereas Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society aim at representing the pronunciation of our own day. A knowledge of the older phonetic spelling of the *kana* is indispensable to the theoretical student of the language. No one who has it not at his fingers' ends is qualified to discuss any question of Japanese etymology. At the time when Mr. Satow wrote, Japanese was chiefly interesting as a dead language. To picture the sounds of that dead language seemed, therefore, more important than to indicate modern usage. To-day, on the contrary, there is a fair prospect of Japanese being rejuvenated,—of its coming out clothed in the Roman letter, which will save millions of people years of unproductive study. It would be unwise, even were it possible, to hamper so beneficial a reform by peculiarities interesting to none but half a dozen philologists, and with which, moreover, those philologists have other means of making themselves acquainted. For this reason Mr. Satow himself, as I believe I am not indiscreet in stating, is now willing to sacrifice the ancient to the modern rather than the modern to the ancient, and indeed all private preferences to the convenience of the majority. If inconsistency there is, it is the times which force it on us. In Japan nowadays no one can afford to stand still.")

## ON THE AINU TERM "KAMUI."

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By J. BACHELOR.

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[*Read November 9th, 1887.*]

1.—A mere cursory examination into the nature of the various objects which by the Ainu race are designated *Kamui*, together with a consideration of the acknowledged reasons why that name is given to them, will not only show us that the word is of exceedingly wide and diversified application (and admits therefore of various modifications of meaning), but will, by throwing some degree of light upon what passes in the Ainu mind when he uses that term, possibly lead us to conclude that, after all, it is a *bona fide* Ainu word, and is not (as one would naturally suppose it to be) derived from the possibly more organic and (when compared with this) certainly more circumscribed Japanese term *Kami*.

2.—That *Kamui* is an original Ainu word is merely a suggestion of my own, and is founded rather upon a psychological than a philological consideration of the question. It is my intention in this paper to present you first with a list of the objects to which the term *Kamui* is applied, together with the reasons for so applying it; then to make a few deductions therefrom, leaving the final settlement of the question to those able to decide such matters.

3.—But, before passing on, allow me to correct just one little error which I have heard vented somewhere, and which is, though perhaps but slightly, connected with the present subject. It is a statement to the effect that the *inao* which the Ainu make are *Kamui*, i. e. "gods"; nay, not only are they said to be gods, but it is also said that some represent male and others female gods. Such statements are as far removed from the truth as was that of a certain sagacious photographer

who, I am told, sold photographs of Ainu storehouses with the remarkable words "Aino Temple" written beneath them. *Inao* are whittled pieces of willow wood having the shavings left attached to them. They are merely offerings to the object worshipped. They are not supposed to have anything of deity-nature about them, and differ greatly from the Japanese *Gohei*; for, while the *Gohei* represents the *Kami* (*see Hepburn's Dict.*), *inao* never does the *Kamui*. It is, as the Ainu say, a mere sign or proof to the gods of the sincerity of the worshipper, and generally bears his mark. When offered, the name of the object for whom it is meant is pronounced, as well as the name of the giver. The words run—"from the man *so and so* to the god *so and so*." *Inao* are certainly of different patterns, but that has nothing whatever to do with gender.

4.—It may be remembered by some that, in my "Notes on the Ainu" (*see Transactions, Vol. x. part II*), I invariably wrote *Kamoi*, whereas now the word has been changed into *Kamui*. The explanation I have to offer is:—When those "Notes" were penned, I was but a novice in this particular field of study and had neither caught the true sound of the word, nor was aware of the importance of making that sharp distinction between the sound of the vowels *o* and *u* which it is absolutely necessary to observe if one wishes to speak and write the Ainu language correctly. Since then I have learned that the true sound of the word is *Kamui*; moreover, *Kamoi* means something unmentionably disagreeable, and should for that reason be studiously avoided. I have therefore taken this opportunity of correcting myself. Here also I will take the liberty to remark that, as I have elsewhere stated, the name of this people should be spelt *Ainu* not *Aino*. It is as easy to say or write one form as the other, and *Ainu* is certainly correct, whilst *Aino* is a Japanese corruption of the proper term, and carries in it the absurd idea, invented by the ancient Japanese, of the descent of the race from a human being and an animal. The Ainu themselves do not like to be called *Aino* or *Ainos*, for by it they understand the full form *ai no ko*, "children of the middle" or "mongrel," but by the term *Ainu* they understand "men" and "descendants of *Aioina*."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>It is often said that the Ainu people are called *Aino* by the Japanese because the word *Ainu* is so similar to the word *Inu*, which is the Japanese for "dog." The

5.—But to return to the subject in hand. In looking over the list of the names of the *Kamui* which I now proceed to give, it will be found that alphabetical arrangement has not been adhered to in this case. The nature of the subject would not allow of such an arrangement. It has been my chief aim to note the order of *Kamui* as they appear to be arranged in the Ainu mind; i. e. according to their degree of dignity, awe, respect, power or usefulness; to look at them, so to speak, from an Ainu point of view. But the Ainu themselves are not altogether in unison as to which so-called god should, in every case, take the precedence; but as the wants of men differ according to times and circumstances, so certain particular beings or objects, real or imagined, are universally called upon under any given conditions or exigencies, or in cases of special need or requirements. This is perfectly natural and what might be expected; but it may be well to remember from the beginning that, the *good* always preceeds the *evil*, and that the *bad* is never worshipped.

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similarity is by no means real, for the difference in sound between *ai* and *i* is very marked indeed. *Ai*, it should be remembered, has the sound of the English vowel *i*, but *i*, as here in the word *ainu*, has the sound of the Italian *i*, i. e. it is pronounced like the vowel *i* in the word *machine*. As regards derivation, the word *Aino* is not so frequently supposed by the Japanese to be from *ainu* as from *ai no ko* as above stated, and to assert that Ainu is from either would be futile, childish and insulting to the Ainu race. *Aino*, whatever be its derivation, is regarded by the best of the race as a term of reproach, but they are proud of the name *Ainu*.

The word *Ainu* is really thus accounted for by the ancients of the race:—The name of the ancestor of the *Ainu* people (*Ekashi mak un ekashi*, "the ancestor behind the ancestors") is said to have been one named *Aioina*. He existed long before *Okikurumi*; in fact, *Okikurumi* is not so universally known as *Aioina*, neither is he worshipped, though *Aioina* is an object of divine worship. In short, I have some very strong grounds for supposing that *Okikurumi* is no other than *Minamoto no Yoshitsune*. The proofs of this will be forthcoming in a future paper. *Aioina*'s immediate descendants were called *Aioina rak guru*, "persons smelling of *Aioina*" (i. e. descendants of *Aioina*). Afterwards this name became contracted into *Ainu rak guru*, thence into *Ainu* merely. The *Ainu* delight to be called *Ainu rak guru*, and are proud of the name *Aioina*. Other *Ainu* say that *Ainu rak guru* was but one of the sons of *Aioina*, and that the present race is a remnant of his children.

6.—The generally received order of the *Kamui* is as follows:—

I.—*Moshiri kara Kamui, kotan kara Kamui*. This is supposed to be the highest being to whom the term *Kamui* is applied. He has no special name, the above words being merely a description of his works, and they mean, "The maker of worlds and places." He is also often spoken of as *Kando koro Kamui*, i. e. "The possessor of heaven." He is worshipped as being the chief of all *Kamui*, and is said to be the dispenser of all power and authority to the lower orders of gods. He is the source of all life and being and the head of all that may be included in the term "good."

II.—*Aioina Kamui*. This is said to be the name of the progenitor of the Ainu race, and from whom they derive their name. He is the only human being worshipped by the people,<sup>2</sup> and it is his special work,

<sup>2</sup> The following note written by me appeared in the *Japan Mail* at the beginning of June this year, and I reproduce it here as bearing upon this point.

#### THE WORSHIP OF YOSHITSUNE BY THE AINU.

It appears to be a generally received opinion among those persons, whether Japanese or foreign, who have written or made any special inquiries respecting the subject, that the Ainu people are in the habit of worshipping the image or spirit of Kurōhonguwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who it will be remembered was driven to Yezo by his elder brother in the twelfth century of our era. And indeed, when we call to mind that there is a little shrine upon a cliff at the village of Piratori containing an idol representing that great personage; that some Ainu residing at and immediately round Piratori itself actually tell inquirers that some few of their number do at times, though not often, worship at the said shrine; and when we note the fact that most, if not all, of the Ainu men recognize the name Yoshitsune, then we see that this generally received and constantly asserted opinion has, apparently, a good degree of foundation in fact. The writer of these lines formerly shared, in common with many others, the generally received views on this subject; but after long residence with the people themselves, having spent many months in the village of Piratori—at, so to speak, the very doors of the shrine in question—he has been obliged to change his opinion, or at least very considerably to modify it in regard to this as well as many other subjects connected with the Ainu. The following remarks contain a few facts bearing upon this question, and the writer's reasons for believing that the Ainu do not, in the commonly received meaning of the term, actually worship either the spirit or image of Kurōhonguwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune.

In the first place, it must be clearly understood that when persons say the *Ainu* worship Yoshitsune, they mean that people not as a nation, but merely a

given him by the Creator, to preside over the affairs of men, i. e. the Ainu. For this reason he is designated *Kamui*.

III.—*Chup Kamui*. The word *Chup* signifies "luminary."

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few individuals resident in the Saru district. Again, the facts are still more narrowed when we make strict inquiries; for it is not even pretended that all the Saru Ainu worship him, but only those of Piratori. Now, there are two Piratoris, viz. Piratori the upper, and Piratori the lower. These two villages were once united, but are now situated from about a quarter to half a mile apart. The shrine of Yoshitune (and there is but one shrine in Yezo) is at the upper Piratori, and the inhabitants of the lower village will tell an inquirer that it is the people of the upper Piratori who worship the person in question. Now, the upper village contains only about thirty-two huts, and we find that not even ten persons out of these families really worship Yoshitsune. It is clear then that the Ainu considered as a race or nation, do not at the present day deify that hero.

Then again, it should be noted that the present shrine is decidedly of Japanese make and pattern: in all respects it is like the general wayside shrines one may see anywhere in Japan. It was built about ten years ago by a Japanese carpenter resident at a place called Sarabuto (Ainu *San-o-butu*). Previous to this there was also a Japanese-made shrine on the same spot, but a much smaller one. The idol in the shrine is both small and ugly; it is a representation not so much of a god as of a warrior, for it is dressed in armour and is furnished with a pair of fierce-looking, staring eyes and a horribly broad grin; it is just such an idol as one might expect in this case, seeing that Yoshitsune was a warrior. Besides this, the Ainu have treated the image to an *inao* or two. There is nothing more, and the shrine is too small for a person to enter.

Now, it is a fact not generally known, I believe, that according to Ainu ideas and usages, it is absolutely necessary to turn to the east in worshipping God (the goddess of fire excepted). Hence the custom of building all huts with the principal end facing the east. The chief window is placed in the east end of the hut, so that the head of a family may look towards the east when at prayer. It is considered to be the height of impoliteness and disrespect to look into a hut through the east window. But the shrine of Yoshitsune is placed in such a position that the worshippers would have to sit or stand with their backs to the east. In every other matter (and why not in this also), assuming such a position in prayer would be a great disrespect to the object worshipped.

The image of Yoshitune is looked upon from the east, hence, speaking from analogy, it would appear that it is not the Ainu worshipping Yoshitsune, but either Yoshitsune worshipping the Ainu, or the Ainu insulting Yoshitsune. Such a conclusion may appear to be somewhat far-fetched, but is, when compared with other things, at any rate a logical one. The writer does not intend to say that the Ainu, in the present case (for with them religion is a serious thing), place such a

These are two in number, called respectively—*Tokap chup Kamui* and *Kunne chup Kamui*, i.e. "day luminary" and "night luminary," or "sun" and "moon." Stars are called *Nochiu chup*, but the term *Kamui* is not

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construction upon the form of the shrine, though they dearly like to play upon a person sometimes. All he wishes to remark is, that the position of the shrine of Yoshitsune does not come up to the acknowledged requirements of the Ainu ideas of Deity worship.

Again, it is said by the people that they would not worship an idol, because it would be directly against the expressed command of *Aitoina Kamui*, their reputed ancestor. The Ainu are, in many things, a very conservative people, and in the matter of religion, particularly so. Note the following incident. In the days of the Tokugawa régime—so runs the tale—the Ainu were ordered by the Government, or rather by the authorities of Matsumai, to cut their hair Japanese fashion. The result was a great meeting of the Yezo chiefs, which ended in sending off a deputation to beg that the order be countermanded, or at least suffered to lapse. For, say the Ainu, we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without it bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods. And, though a few Ainu, particularly those at Mori, did cut their hair as ordered, the people as a whole were let off. If then a mere change in the fashion of cutting the hair should be such a weighty matter, what would the institution of idol-worship involve?

But notwithstanding all this, there is still not only the fact of the shrine being at Piratori to be accounted for, but also the fact that some Ainu do tell us that Yoshitsune is worshipped by a few of their number, though very seldom. What is the explanation?

An Ainu himself shall answer the first question. "You know," says he, "we have for a long time been subject to the Japanese Tono Sama and Yakunin; and it has been to our interest that we should try to please them as much as possible so as not to bring down trouble upon ourselves. As we know that Yoshitsune did come among our ancestors, it was thought that nothing would please the officials more than for them to think that we really worship Yoshitsune, who was himself a Japanese. And so it came to pass that the shrine was asked for and obtained." This statement was made to the writer quite spontaneously and confidentially, along with many other matters. Taken by itself, this statement might not be worth much, but viewed with other things of the sort, it speaks volumes. The spirit here unwittingly shown is happily fast dying out, for the Ainu begin to see that there is now but one law for both peoples, and that there is justice obtainable even by them. Nevertheless, the spirit above exemplified has been a real factor in the life and actions of the Ainu people.

The whole secret of the second question turns upon the meaning of the word "worship." The word used by the Ainu is *ongami*, and the meaning is, "to bow to," "to salute." The Ainu are delightfully sharp in some things, and this is one of

generally applied to them. By some the sun is considered to be the female principle and the moon the male, but by others vice versa. The sun and moon are not themselves supposed to be gods, but each a vehicle of some special ruler. They are not generally worshipped. They are called *Kamui* on account of their usefulness in the system of nature, particularly out of regard to their usefulness in providing light and warmth for human beings. For, it should be remarked, a thing is thought to be good only in so far as it benefits men.<sup>3</sup>

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them. An Ainu told me one day, with a most benign grin, reaching almost from ear to ear, that he did *ongami* (salute) Yoshitsune's shrine or idol; but as for *otta inonno-itak* (praying to that person), neither he nor any one that he knew, did so; and, as regards (*nomi*) the ceremony of offering *inao* or libations of wine to him, both he and many others were always ready to do so providing some one else would find the *sake*! Here, then, is the point; the Ainu do not worship Yoshitune in the sense of paying him divine honour, any more than the people of England worship Lord Beaconsfield; but some Ainu do worship him in the sense of honouring him, in the same sense as Lord Beaconsfield is honoured by the members of the Primrose League, only not in anything like the same degree. Some London cabmen would be just as pleased to worship Mr. Gladstone by drinking his health, and in the same sense, too, as an Ainu would be to hold libations in honour of Yoshitsune; for after all, the said libations are neither more nor less than a drinking of *sake*. The real god worshipped is the person's own stomach.

Such then are my reasons for dissenting from the generally received opinion on this subject. On the contrary, I believe that Yoshitsune is merely honoured by the people. And this opinion rests, not upon the argument of question and answer, but upon that together with actual observation and spontaneously given information.

<sup>3</sup> The following note, written by myself and published in the *Japan Mail* of 30th August this year, I reproduce here, as bearing upon the nature of Ainu ideas regarding the sun.

#### THE AINU IDEA OF AN ECLIPSE.

The writer of these lines having been asked by several friends what the Ainu think of an eclipse of the sun or moon, it was thought by him that the appearance of the late solar eclipse would be a most favourable time for making special inquiries concerning this subject, and so finding out what the Ainu idea of these phenomena really is, and what genuine traditions they have respecting the matter. But the Ainu is a very matter-of-fact race, and does not, as a race, generally allow itself to be carried away by imagination; nor do the people speculate greatly in any way or upon any subject, unless it be as to how they may obtain a cup of strong drink (*sake*).

IV.—*Abe Kamui*. *Abe* is the common word for "fire." The fire is often spoken of as being of feminine gender and is known by the

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The results of my investigations are not so satisfactory as I had hoped, yet there is something that may be curious, interesting, and instructive, and therefore worth noting and a passing thought.

On the morning of the 19th instant we proceeded to blacken some glass so as to enable the Ainu to see the eclipse when it took place. At the proper time we produced the glass, and bade the Ainu to look at the sun. The result was worth seeing, for immediately the exclamation rang out—*Chup rai, chup rai*, "the luminary is dying," "the sun is dying." Another person called out—*Chup chikai anu*, "the sun is fainting away" or "the luminary is suddenly dying." This is all that was said; silence ensued, and only now and then an exclamation of surprise or fear was to be heard. But it was plainly evident that the people were in fear lest the eclipse should be total. The Ainu greatly fear a total eclipse of the sun, lest that luminary, having once quite died away, should not come to life again, and so all living beings perish.

One would expect the Ainu people would worship the sun at this particular time, but such is not the case. The Ainu are here consistent, and treat the sun as they do a dying or fainting person. When a person is dying (on one occasion I myself was present), one of the company will either fill his mouth with fresh water and squirt it into the sufferer's face and bosom, or will bring water in a vessel of some kind and sprinkle him with his hand, thereby attempting to revive him. So we find that, when there is an eclipse (particularly a total eclipse) of the sun, the people will bring water and sprinkle it upward towards that luminary, thinking thereby to revive it, at the same calling out—*Kamui-atemka, Kamui-atemka*, "O god we revive thee, O god we revive thee." If the water is sprinkled with branches of willow, it is supposed to have special efficacy and power in bringing the sun back to life, for the willow is the sacred tree of the Ainu, and all *inao* or religious symbols are made of that wood. But when there is a visible eclipse of the sun, the Ainu may be said to go fairly off their heads through fear, so that they have not always presence of mind or sufficient coolness of head to wait to get the willow boughs. The all-important thing is to get the water to the sun to heal its faintness. Hence, some persons may be seen squirting water upwards with their mouths, others throwing it up with their hands; some again may be using a common besom, whilst a few will be seen with the orthodox willow branches in their hands; a few (particularly women and girls) will be seen sitting down and hiding their heads between their knees, as if silently expecting some dreadful calamity to suddenly befall them. Such is the Ainu method of bringing the sun back to life.

The sun having been restored to his normal condition of brightness and glory, the cunning old *sake* drinkers have a fine pretext for getting intoxicated. Of course libations of wine must be held in honour of the sun's recovery from faintness and

special names, *Kamui*<sup>4</sup> *huchi*, "Grandmother" or "old woman"; *Iresu huchi*, "the grandmother who rears us"; *Iresu Kamui*, "she who rears us," and *Ekashi Kamui*, "the male ancestor." By the latter word the fire appears as a male god, but mostly it is spoken of as being feminine. This god is worshipped because of its general usefulness in the matter of cooking food and giving out heat. The fire is also supposed to be a great purifier of the body from disease. Hence it is worshipped on all occasions of sickness or death, always when there is a festival, and, without fail, when a newly-built house is first occupied. It should also be noted that the fire is considered to be a special mediator between gods and men, frequently being spoken of as *Shongo Kamui*, "the messenger."

V.—*Wakka-ush Kamui*. *Wakka-ush* means "watery," and is a term applied to the goddesses who are supposed to preside over all springs, ponds, lakes, streams, rivers and waterfalls. With *Wakka-ush Kamui* is associated another goddess called *Chiurash ekot mat*, "the female possessor of the places where fresh and salt waters mingle." It is her special province to guard the mouths of rivers, and it is she who admits the spring and autumn salmon in and out of them.

These goddesses are worshipped because they benefit men, particularly in allowing fish to ascend and descend the rivers, for fish is the staple food of the Ainu race.

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return to life, and the subject must be duly talked over and ancient instances of a like occurrence recited. But a few cups of *sake* soon cause the talkers to speak what is not true or reliable, and they are not long before they begin to show signs of being in a somewhat maudlin state.

Sober Ainu traditions of eclipses are all of one stamp, and run thus:—

"When my father was a child he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people wore an aspect of death; and, as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

Such is a sample of Ainu traditions concerning solar eclipses. It only remains for me to remark that total eclipses, or, in fact, eclipses at all, are quite unaccountable to the Ainu; nor have I heard a single theory advanced with reference to their causes.

<sup>4</sup> Among the Karafto Ainu *Huchi* is the common word for fire.

VI.—*Rep un Kamui.* These are the gods of the sea. They are two in number. One is thought to be good and the other to be evil. Their names are *Shi acha* and *Mo acha*, and they are brothers. *Shi acha*, who is the elder, is ever restless and is continually pursuing and persecuting his brother. He is the originator of all storms and bad weather, and is the direct cause of all shipwrecks and deaths from drowning in the sea. He is much feared, but never worshipped. *Shi* means "rough," "wild," strong," and *Acha* "uncle." The corresponding river evil deity is called *Sarak Kamui*,<sup>6</sup> and she is the cause of all river accidents, and is bitterly hated.

*Mo acha*, which means "the uncle of peace," is said to be the god of fine weather. He it is who is worshipped at all the sea-side fishing-stations, and it is to him that the clusters of *inao* (called *nusa*) one may often see upon the sea-shore are generally offered.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarak* is a word meaning accidental death, and *Sarak Kamui* appears to be a god or demon who presides over accidents. Its evil deeds are not confined exclusively to the fresh waters, but it is also thought to be the cause of all land accidents. When an accidental death has taken place on shore, either from drowning or otherwise, the Ainu, as soon as they find it out, proceed to perform a certain ceremony frequently called *Sarak Kamui*. The ceremony is as follows:—The inevitable *sake* is of course first procured by the relatives of the victim of *Sarak Kamui*. Then messengers are sent round to the different villages to invite the men and women to join in the ceremony. The men bring their swords or long knives with them and the women their head-gear. On arriving at the appointed hut, the chiefs of the people assembled proceed to chant their dirges and worship the fire-god. Then, after eating some cakes made of pounded millet, and drinking a good proportion of *sake*, they all go out of doors in single file, the men leading. The men draw their swords or knives and hold them point upwards in the right hand close to the shoulder, and then altogether they take a step with the left foot, at the same time stretching forward to the full extent the right hand with the sword, and calling, as if with one voice, *wooi*; then the right foot is moved forward, the sword at the same time being drawn back and the *wooi* repeated. This is continued till the place of accident is reached. The women follow the men; and with disheveled hair, and their head-gear hanging over the shoulders, they continue to weep and howl during the whole ceremony. Arrived at the place of accident, a continual howling is kept up for some time, and the men strike hither and thither with their swords, thus supposing to drive away the evil *Sarak Kamui*. This finished, the people return to the house of the deceased in the same order as they came forth, and, sad to say, feast, drink *sake*, and get intoxicated. The ceremony attending *Sarak Kamui* is properly called *Niwen-horebi*.

VII.—*Kim un Kamui*. This term is generally applied to bears. Bears are designated *Kamui* and worshipped for two reasons. *First*, because of their greatness, and *then* on account of their usefulness. The Ainu know of no greater animal than the bear; to them he is the "king of the forest." Nor is there, in the Ainu idea, a more useful or powerful animal in the world, for it is at once both food and clothing to them; and that appears to be all these hairy sons of nature care about.

Foxes and moles and a few other animals have the appellation *Kamui* applied to them, but they are not worshipped, because they cannot be turned to much account.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the Ainu worship no animal from which they can derive no present benefit. Nor is a "man-eating" bear, if known to be such, ever worshipped; nay, the very term *Kamui* is taken from him, and his name is changed into that of *Hokuyuk*. It is also perhaps worth remembering that, any animal, though called *Kamui*, has also its particular specific name.

VIII.—*Kamui chep*. This is a name given to the autumn salmon. It is so called because it is the largest fish which ascends the rivers. It is not worshipped. Its proper name is *Shibe*. The flesh is used for food, while the skins are converted into shoes for winter wear, they being of a rough nature, and so adapted to prevent slipping.

IX.—Many of the larger kinds of the feathered tribe are called *Kamui*, as: *Kamui chikap* and *Chikap Kamui*. But they do not appear to be worshipped. Some of these *Kamui chikap*, I may here remark, are said to be birds of ill-omen, and others birds of good omen.

X.—We often hear too of *Kamui kotan* and *Kamui nupuri*. *Kamui kotan* generally indicates a very beautiful locality or a place where fish or animals, or both, are plentiful; sometimes also it signifies "heaven." *Kamui nupuri* is generally applied to either a very rugged or high mountain, or to a mountain range where bears abound.

XI.—It is also to be taken into consideration that the term *Kamui* is sometimes applied to human beings. For instance, the Emperor of

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<sup>6</sup>This statement, though generally true, does not hold in every case, for at one Ainu village I came across a cage having three wolf cubs in it and another containing a young fox. These will next year be worshipped, killed and eaten, as bear cubs are. But this practice is not general. It is occasionally resorted to because bears are now scarce.

Japan has been called *Cho un Kamui*, the word *Cho* being the Japanese word for "chief" or "head." Officials too are frequently called *Tono Kamui*, especially the prefects of districts and the mayors of villages. Other persons also, who are specially respected, have the term *Kamui* applied to them. Thus *Kamui* comes to be a mere title of respect.

XII.—A beautiful flower may be called *Kamui nonno*; a pleasant secluded dell *Kamui moi*; a very large tree, *Kamui chikuni*; a gentle cool breeze upon a hot day, *Kamui rera*; large waves of the sea, *Kamui ruyambe* or *Kamui riri*; a "man-of-war" ship, *Kamui chip*; a dog which has saved life, *Kamui seta*; an elephant or lion, *Kamui chikkip*; and so on *ad infinitum*.

XIII.—Lastly we find that devils, evil spirits and reptiles also have the term *Kamui* applied to them, though they are never worshipped, but always greatly feared. Thus Satan and evil spirits are called *Nitne Kamui* and *Wen Kamui*; snakes are called *Okokko Kamui* or *Tokkoni Kamui*, whilst adders and vipers are termed *Paskuru Kamui*. Such diseases as small-pox and cholera have the word *Kamui* given to them. This is because they are very much dreaded.

7.—Such then is a list containing the names of the principal objects to which the Ainu race applies the term *Kamui*. These objects are so varied in their nature, and the acknowledged reasons for applying that term to them are so manifold, that in this paper I have not felt at liberty to translate it by any special particle, noun or adjective. Such words as "divine," "mighty," and so forth, would without doubt, in many instances, admirably express the idea a person intends to convey when he uses that term, but in many cases it could not be so translated, as a careful consideration of the foregoing examples will show. But it should be remembered that, when the word *Kamui* is used alone and without reference to any specified object, it generally indicates either the chief God, i.e. the Creator and Governor of the world, or bears. When therefore the word *Kamui* is used, it is necessary to specify, directly or indirectly, what object is referred to.

8.—Now, by our comparison of the various objects bearing the name *Kamui* with one another, we are led to the following conclusions:—

(a) When applied to gods supposed to be good, *Kamui* expresses the quality of being useful, beneficent, exalted or divine.

- (b) When applied to supposed evil gods, it indicates that which is most to be feared and dreaded.
- (c) When applied to devils, reptiles and evil diseases, it signifies the most hateful, abominable and repulsive.
- (d) When applied especially as a prefix to animals, fish or fowl, it represents the greatest or most fierce, or the most useful for food and clothing.
- (e) When applied to persons, it is a mere title of respect expressing honour, reverence or rank.
- (f) We see too that, because an object is termed *Kamui*, it by no means necessarily follows that it is divinely worshipped, or in many cases even revered.

9.—Thus it will be seen that the various ideas expressed by the word in question enter very largely into the every-day thoughts and expressions of the people. Much more indeed than a passing observer would imagine. Psychologically considered, it is very difficult to understand how the people could ever get along without this word, for it expresses thoughts very peculiar and antique for which we can find no equivalent or synonymous terms in their vocabulary. Language, we know, grows as nations come into contact with one another, and ideas are mutually introduced into the minds of each other. But if we once admit that the word *Kamui* was introduced by the Japanese, and is, in fact, nothing more or less than the Japanese word *Kami*, immediately the question arises, had the Ainu no deity before they heard of the word *Kami*? And has the word *Kami*, or the Japanese people, been the instrument of introducing all the ideas into the Ainu mind which they express when using that term? To me this appears to be highly improbable, though, no doubt, it is not impossible. The objects to which the Ainu apply that term are, in very many cases, totally different from those to which *Kami* is applied; and the idea expressed by the word *Kamui* also, in many cases, differs very considerably from *Kami*. If one should apply the word *Kami* to such objects as the Ainu apply the term *Kamui*, it would sometimes make perfect nonsense and would certainly provoke laughter amongst the Japanese. It may be replied to this, that among such a people as the Ainu, a people who possess no literature whatever, the original idea intended by the word in question has, as the ages have

rolled by, most likely grown into what it is now. That may be so; but is it not improbable that a borrowed word should have grown into such gigantic proportions? Nay, has it not therefore grown out of all reasonable dimensions? It covers a great deal more ground, if I may use the expression, than the Japanese word *Kami*, and, if derived from it, has expanded beyond all reasonable bounds.

10.—Again, the word enters so much into the very life—so to speak—of the people, that there appear to be some very strong grounds for suspecting it to be an original Ainu word. Thoughts or ideas are naturally prior to language, for language is but the expression of ideas. My position therefore is this:—*In the same degree as it is probable or not improbable that the Ainu race had many of the ideas expressed by the word Kamui before they came into contact with the Japanese people, to that degree is it probable or not improbable that they also had a word to express those ideas.* But the Ainu vocabulary, so far as it is at present known, gives us no word synonymous to, or that express many of the ideas contained in, the term *Kamui*. There is no other word for "God"; the idea "demon" cannot be expressed without it. Why therefore should not *Kamui* be a *bona fide* native word? And why, if it be necessary to derive one word from the other, should not *Kamui* be the parent of *Kami*? No less an authority than Prof. B. H. Chamberlain has shown us clearly that scores of the place-names of Japan proper are but corruptions of the Ainu names; so it would not appear unreasonable to suppose, even without the arguments now produced, that the Japanese term *Kami* may have been taken from the same language. What the Ainu themselves say about this may not be worth much; but I ought perhaps to remark that many of the oldest of the Ainu to whom I have spoken on the subject, state positively that *Kamui* is not from the Japanese word *Kami*, but is a word belonging intrinsically to their own language. But as they can give no derivation for the word, their mere statement can count for very little.

11.—Nor, when we examine closely into the construction of the word in question can we discover any certain grounds that would justify us in stating positively that *Kamui* is the offspring of *Kami*. Things are not always what they seem. We know of but one exact analogy to which to compare the term, and that goes to show that it was not borrowed from the

Japanese language. The word I refer to is *Kami*, "paper." This word has become in Ainu, *Kambi*, not *Kamui*. Hence, if the word for "god" was really borrowed from the Japanese, it should, according to analogy, have been *Kambi*, and not *Kamui*, as it is pronounced. The Ainu, when adopting a Japanese word, never place the letter *u* between *m* and *i*, though they frequently do between *sh* and *i*. Note for example the Japanese word *Hashi* which has been adopted by the Ainu. In Ainu this word becomes *Hashui* or *Pashui*, often changed into *Bashui*. Thus:—*Pera bashui*, "a spoon"; *Ibe bashui*, "chop-sticks"; *Abe bashui*, "fire-tongs." The form of the word therefore, in our opinion at least, gives us no solid grounds for concluding that the Ainu term *Kamui* is derived from *Kami*.

12.—A curious solution was once suggested by some one, by which *Kam rui*, said to mean "thick-fleshed," was supposed to be the parent of *Kamui*. This somewhat fanciful exposition appears to belong to that class of things one sometimes hears spoken of as "Mare's nests." For *firstly*, the adjective *rui* is generally applied (I had almost said *only* applied) to inanimate objects, and means "great," "large," "loud," "rough," "expensive," the meaning in each case being determined by the noun it qualifies. An animal is never correctly spoken of as being *Kam rui*, but *Mim-ush*. In the Ainu language, if it is necessary to say thick-fleshed, the words should be *Ironne kam* and not *kam rui*. *Secondly*, the Ainu are very fond of the letter *r*, so that there is but a very low degree of probability that they should have dropped it; nor are we able to produce any one example to show that a like omission has ever taken place.

18.—I, myself, have no suggestion to make as to the derivation of the term, nor have I yet met any Ainu who could explain it. But it is interesting to remark that the root of the word, namely *Ka*, is perhaps significant, its meaning being "top," "over," "upon." *Mui*<sup>7</sup> is still to be accounted for. I once heard the word *mui* applied to the very topmost point of a high conical mountain, but as I heard it but once so used, I can draw no conclusions therefrom.

<sup>7</sup> If it could be clearly shown that the letter *m* in *Kamui* was merely inserted for the sake of euphony, thus leaving *Kau* as the original word for "God," all difficulty in the matter would immediately be at an end; for *Kau* would mean "he who" or "that which is highest."

Such then are the considerations which have disposed me to gravely doubt the wisdom of having in a certain place put down the word *Kamui* as being of Japanese origin. I must consider it at least doubtful, until more convincing proofs are brought forward showing the word to be of Japanese origin, as to whether the term *Kamui* is not after all a real Ainu word. My opinion is that it is truly so.

REPLY TO MR. BACHELOR ON THE WORDS "KAMUI"  
AND "AINO."

By B. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Read November 9th, 1887.*]

Mr. Batchelor's details, derived from his unequalled experience, concerning the various uses to which the Aino word *Kamui* is put, or rather the various objects to which it is applied, are extremely interesting on account of the light which they throw upon the workings of the mind of the uncultured race, which he has done so much to raise to a higher level. "The God who created the world," the Sun and Moon Gods, the Gods of Sea, Fire and Water, the God or Demon of Sudden Death,—what natural ideas these are! Every thing very great and strange, very powerful, very beautiful, very terrible, in fact, *very* anything, is apt, all over the world, to be looked upon with awe. I therefore see variety, not so much in the *ideas* conveyed by the word *Kamui*, as in the *objects* to which it can be applied. "God," "supernatural," "wonderful," are perhaps our nearest approximations to it; but we have no exact equivalent, for the simple reason that we are no longer in the stage of thought out of which such a word grows. The Japanese were, at the dawn of history, not far removed from that stage; and the great Shintō scholar Hirata's account of the uses of the word *Kami*, as summarised by Mr. Satow in Vol. III, Appendix, pp. 48-49 of the present "Transactions," is as follows:—

"As to the signification of the word *kami*:<sup>1</sup>—it is applied in the first place to all the *kami* of heaven and earth who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the temples where they are worshipped. Further, not only human beings, but also

<sup>1</sup>This passage is copied by Hirata almost word for word from vol. iii. of the Ko-zhi-ki Deñ, without any acknowledgment. [This and the two following footnotes form part of the quotation from Mr. Satow's paper.]

birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which possess powers of an extraordinary and eminent character, or deserve to be revered and dreaded, are called *kami*. Eminent does not mean solely worthy of honour, good or distinguished by great deeds, but is applied also to the *kami* who are to be dreaded on account of their evil character or miraculous nature. Amongst human beings who are at the same time *kami* are to be classed the successive Mikados, who in the Mañ-yefu-shifu and other ancient poetry are called *towo-tsukami* (distant gods) on account of their being far removed from ordinary men, as well as many other men, some who are revered as *kami* by the whole Empire, and those whose sphere is limited to a single province, department, village or family. The *kami* of the Divine Age were mostly human beings, who yet resembled *kami*, and that is why we give that name to the period in which they existed. Beside human beings, the thunder is called the ' sounding god' (*naru-kami*). The dragon, goblins (*teñ-gu*) and the fox are also *kami*, for they are likewise eminently miraculous and dreadful creatures. In the Ni-hoñ-gi and in the Mañ-yefu-shifu the tiger and the wolf<sup>3</sup> are spoken of as *kami*. Izanagi gave the name of Oho-kamu-dzu-mi no mikoto to the fruit of the peach-tree, and the jewels which he wore on his neck were called Mi-kurata-ma no mikoto. In the *Zhiñ-dai-no-maki* and the *Oho-barahi no kotoba*, rocks, stumps of trees, leaves of plants and so forth are said to have spoken in the Divine age; these also were *kami*. There are many cases of the term being applied to seas and mountains. It was not a spirit that was meant, but the term was used directly of the particular sea or mountain,—of the sea on account of its depth and the difficulty of crossing it, of the mountain on account of its loftiness."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Oho-kami*, literally, great god.

<sup>4</sup> *Kami*, god, is evidently the same word as *Kami* applied to a superior, as to a master by his servant or to the sovereign by his subjects, to the chief officer of a sub-department of the administration, and in ancient times to the governor of a province. Its primary meaning is 'that which is above,' and hence 'chief.' So that Izanagi no Oho kami would mean Great Chief Izanagi. *Mikoto*, which is a title applied to gods, and forms part of the word *Sumera-mikoto*, the ancient name of the sovereigns of Japan, is composed of the honorific *mi* and *koto*, word, and hence, thing. It might be rendered augustness, and Izanagi no mikoto would mean His Augustness Izanagi.

So far Hirata and Mr. Satow.—Naturally enough, the Japanese left several of these applications of the word *Kami* behind them as they advanced in civilization; but all were current in early days, and traces of them may still be found in literature.

So far then as signification is concerned, the Japanese word (and idea) *Kami*, and the Aino word (and idea) *Kamui* seem to me to be identical. With regard, however, to the question of the existence of an etymological connection between the two terms, the position is somewhat different. It is dangerous to assume too positively, and unless further evidence is forthcoming, that one word is derived from another, simply because the two sound alike. Japanese *aru* has nothing to do with English "are," though it has the same meaning, nor Japanese *hone* (sometimes *bone*) with "bone." Mr. Batchelor may therefore possibly be correct in rejecting the theory that Aino *Kamui* comes from Japanese *Kami*. At the same time, the example of the insertion of a *u* in the word *pashui*, "chopstick," which is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese *hashi*, would seem to be another index pointing in the same direction. The absence of the *b*, which Mr. Batchelor thinks we should find inserted after the *m* of *Kamui*, were the latter a borrowed word, seems to me likewise far from conclusive. What indeed is the *vera causa* of the Aino distortions of Japanese words? Simply the fact that the Ainos borrow their Japanese from the Northern *patois*, which has corrupted the standard Japanese pronunciation of certain letters. But the Japanese word *Kami* has, I venture to think, not suffered any change in the northern *patois* of Japanese (though I cannot be quite positive on the point),—possibly owing to the sacredness of the word. Such exceptions to general rules of phonetic change occur in all languages under certain exceptional circumstances. This argument, if valid, would account for the form being *Kamui* rather than *Kambi*, which latter we should otherwise have expected. Or else we may appeal to the probability (if there was any borrowing on the part of the Ainos) that the borrowing took place many hundreds of years ago, further south in the main island. I do not, as before said, mean to state that I consider it certain that the Ainos did borrow the word in question from the Japanese,—for indeed somewhat like-sounding names for "God" occur in other parts of Asia, and we may therefore have before us a case

of mere coincidence,—but merely to suggest that such a loan does not seem improbable, philologically speaking, much less impossible.

Mr. Batchelor's argument from the psychological side appears to me much more subtle and ingenious,—his question, viz., "Had then the Ainos no deity before they heard of the word *Kami*?—Is it not improbable that a borrowed word should grow to such gigantic proportions?" Nevertheless borrowed words and borrowed ideas do unquestionably often grow into gigantic proportions, as the whole religious history of the Western world may testify. Ingenious as Mr. Batchelor's pleading is on behalf of his favorite islanders, I cannot therefore, on the psychological side either, see any sufficient reason for attributing to them originality in this matter. Surely originality is the rarest thing in the whole world. *Ceteris paribus*, similarity always finds a more likely explanation in borrowing than in independent invention, especially when the similarity is between two races living side by side, fighting together, marrying together, as we know the Japanese and the Ainos to have done for centuries, if not for millenniums past. History is there to prove that religious ideas and terms, though touching the inmost spring of a nation's life, are almost as easily borrowed as are the most superficial material inventions. We do not find, however, that barbarous races communicate their religious ideas and terminology to more civilized races; or if they ever do so, as might be alleged in the case of the Arabs proselytizing Syria and Persia, the circumstances, as well as the genius of the race, must be altogether peculiar. We find no trace, in the history of the Far-East, of such an upsetting of the usual course of nature. The rule is for the richer to lend to the poorer, not the poorer to the richer. Early Japan, for instance, gave nothing to China, just as the American Indians have given nothing to the New-Englanders. If, therefore, we are to reject on *a priori* grounds, as Mr. Batchelor would have us do, the notion of a loan made by the Ainos from the Japanese, then very much more are we bound to reject the notion of a loan by the Japanese from the Ainos. We know with absolute certainty that the Japanese were already far advanced in civilization fourteen hundred years ago; and it is simply incredible that they should have borrowed their word (and idea) *Kami*, which occurs over and over again in the most ancient documents, from

the Aino word (and idea) *Kamui*,—if indeed *Kamui* existed at all at that early date, a fact which we have no means of knowing. The only thing which we are justified in holding with regard to Aino culture is that it was still more meagre in ancient days than it is now; and few, I think, who have mixed with the Ainos, will assert that the latter are ever now the sort of people likely to start new ideas and communicate them to others.

I fear I am taking up an unconscionable amount of the Society's time. But pray bear with me a few moments while I touch, as briefly as possible, on another point of disagreement between Mr. Batchelor and myself. He wishes us to say "Ainu." I am for "Aino." Why? Simply because Europeans have said "Aino" for the last two hundred and fifty years. What is the good of purism? We do not say "Nihon"; we say "Japan." We do not say "Wien"; we say "Vienna." Neither do we consider it necessary to upset our established habit of saying "Calcutta" and "Bombay," and to enthrone in their place "Kalkatte" and "Bambai." Nor, though our knowledge of the Maoris of New Zealand is much more recent than our knowledge of the Ainos of Yezo, and it might therefore be supposed easier to upset existing usage in their case, do we give up our pronunciation of "Maori," and say "Maui," as some enthusiastic New Zealand scholars may perhaps wish us to do, on the ground of that being the real native sound of the name. This question of native purism *versus* established English usage has been fought over and over again in every part of the world, with the almost invariable result that usage,—ignorant usage, if you will,—prevails over the purists. It is too much trouble to say, for instance, "Thoukudidēs" when "Thucydides" is just as clear, and has long been in everybody's mouth. If we followed the plan advocated by Mr. Batchelor and by several other eminent authorities in various special lines,—Carlyle, for instance when treating of German names, simply because the Germans were his special pets, as the Ainos are Mr. Batchelor's—we should have to do nothing less than turn all our old associations topsy-turvy, from "Adam" and "Eve" downwards. Just imagine "Eve," for example, as "Khavvâh!" Yet that is the Hebrew word which we mispronounce "Eve;" and surely there is ten thousand times more to be said in favour of preserving Hebrew words intact than of

preserving Aino ones. Moreover, which of the purists was ever consistent? Each purist is a purist only within his own small domain. Carlyle is particular about German names only. The "Thuokudidès" man lets "Calcutta" slide. The "Kalkatte" man says "Thucydides" along with the rest of mankind; and so on right round the ring. No! I, for one, am very fond indeed of Oriental studies; but I am still fonder of English, and of our established habits of speech and pronunciation. I cannot therefore side with Mr. Batchelor in this matter, though I know that in venturing to disagree with him, I, the merest of tyros in Aino—or Ainu—am so rash as to run counter to the chief authority on the subject, the man on whom are founded all our hopes for the further investigation, as well as for the mental and moral raising of that race whose name, in order to end by trying to keep the peace, I will not now pronounce again.

## EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY.

By W. G. ASTON.

[*Read 14th December, 1887.*]

**Preliminary.** Kaempfer, in his well-known History of Japan, tells us that since the time of Jimmu Tennō the Japanese have “been accurate and faithful in writing the history of their country, and the lives and reigns of their monarchs.” Most subsequent writers repeat this opinion with little variation. Even so recent,<sup>1</sup> and on the whole, so well-informed a writer as Dr. Rein, in giving a brief sketch of the early history, expresses no doubt of its accuracy except in one solitary instance.<sup>2</sup> A view which has the support of so eminent an authority can hardly be summarily set aside as altogether obsolete. It is true that it was pointed out by the late Mr. Bramsen in 1880, and since then conclusively shown by Mr. Chamberlain,<sup>3</sup> that no reliance can be placed on the so-called histories of Japan before A. D. 400. Mr. Satow has expressed himself to the same effect.<sup>4</sup> But error dies hard, and there is reason to believe that there are many, even among scholars, who still cling to a belief in the quasi-historical tales of the Kojiki and Nihongi, though they may endeavour to minimize the miraculous element which they contain. It may therefore be not

<sup>1</sup> The English edition of Dr. Rein's work, published under the author's supervision, bears date 1884.

<sup>2</sup> He declines to believe that Ōjin Tennō lived to the age of 100.

<sup>3</sup> See the Introduction to his Translation of the Kojiki, which forms a supplement to Vol. X. of the Transactions of this Society.

<sup>4</sup> He says: “Nearly all European writers who have occupied themselves with this subject have confidently accepted impossible dates, fabulous tales and other inconsistencies as of undoubted authenticity.”—Handbook for Japan, Introd. p. 68.

altogether superfluous, even now, to fight over again some of the battles of my predecessors in this field, and to examine more in detail some of the evidence which compels us to refuse the name of history to the annals of Japan for more than a thousand years. While doing so, it may be possible occasionally to point out sources of error, or perhaps to distinguish here and there some solid ground of fact amid the general chaos.

The period previous to the Christian epoch need not Japanese History B.C. occupy us long. It has been pointed out by Mr. Bramsen

that the lengths of the reigns and of the lives of the sovereigns at this time are far too great for real history, and if little faith can be placed in the existing records for 400 or 500 years after that epoch, it is in the last degree improbable that more remote events should have been related with greater accuracy. The chronicles of this early period stand also self-condemned by the numerous miraculous occurrences which they record. During this time the contemporary histories of China and Corea afford us little information with respect to Japan, but something may no doubt be done towards piercing the mist of confused tradition by an examination of the Japanese records themselves in the light of modern principles of historical criticism, of philology, and of antiquarian research. I leave to others a task which presents no common difficulties and which will yield, I fear, but scanty and precarious results in proportion to the labour bestowed on it.

Chinese writers mention a belief that the Japanese are Chinese, i.e. descended from the Chinese Prince, T'ai Peh of Wu, and gends relating to Japan. that a colony from China under Sü-she settled in Japan,

B. C. 219. It has also been thought that the Pusang country of the Shan-hai-king is identical with Japan. None of these views seems to rest on any solid foundation. But the work just named contains what is probably the oldest authentic notice of Japan which we possess. It reads as follows : —“ The Northern and Southern Was “ are subject to the Kingdom of Yen ” (燕). ” It does not seem probable that Japan was ever subject to a kingdom whose capital stood on or near the site of the present City of Peking, but the statement that the Japanese were in early times divided into Northern and Southern is

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<sup>5</sup> Yen, a Kingdom of Northern China, had an independent existence from B.C. 1122 to B. C. 265.

deserving of attention. It is known that during the Han Dynasty there were Was not subject to the King of Yamato, and embassies were received from princes who could not have ruled the whole country. The ancient legends of Japan, as has been shown by Mr. Chamberlain, are connected with three distinct centres, viz., Yamato, Idzumo, and Tsukushi,<sup>6</sup> a fact which also points to the conclusion that at one time Yamato was not the seat of Government for all Japan.

A word as to the term Wa used for Japan by the Shan-wa & Nippon. hai-King, and often met with in subsequent Chinese literature.

The Chinese character is 倭, now pronounced Wo in the Mandarin dialect, but I have retained the Japanese sound, which also agrees with an ancient Chinese pronunciation. It is thus defined in Williams' Dictionary :—“ From man and bent. The Japanese, Japan : “ a term used by themselves as the equivalent of Yamato : it is defined by “ Chinese as the country of dwarfs.” The Japanese deny that they ever used this term for themselves or their country, except in words confessedly borrowed from China. One writer suggests that the first Japanese who visited China, when asked what they called their country, replied “ Waga kuni,” i.e. “ our country.” “ Waga ” being taken for a proper name, first became Wanu (倭奴), and then by the Chinese habit of putting foreign words on the Procrustean bed of their own monosyllabic tongue, “ Wa.” I lean rather to the hypothesis that Wa or perhaps Wani was the name of the ruling tribe or family from which the sovereigns of Japan were at one time taken. Wani appears not unfrequently as a proper name in the Kojiki and Nihongi. The Japanese subsequently conceived a dislike to this word, probably on account of the Chinese characters with which it was written. No nation would like to be known as the “ yielding ” or “ compliant slaves,” the literal meaning of 倭奴, or even as the compliant country or people, and it is not surprising that the Japanese should have rejected this character first in

<sup>6</sup>The northern part of Kiushiu. We shall see later that the Chinese in early times imagined that Yamato lay to the south of Kiushiu. By the Northern Was therefore were probably meant the Kumasons, the Yamato Japanese being the Southern Was. In the third century we hear of a third independent Kingdom which was called Konu, and which lay to the east of Yamato, beyond the sea (the Owari gulf?).

favour of 大和, or Great Wa, but oftener read "Yamato," and afterwards of Nippon (日本). The latter term, as we are informed by the Corean history known as the "Tong-kuk-thong-kam" (東國通鑑) or more briefly as the "Tongkam," was substituted for Wa in A.D. 670. There is a Chinese authority to the same effect, and the practice in official documents and other writings bears similar testimony. But it may be asked, is not Nippon merely a translation of an older native term, viz., Hi no moto? It seems more probable that the contrary is the case, and that Hi no moto is a translation of Nippon. Both terms bear the unmistakeable stamp of Chinese influence. They mean "the origin of the sun," in other words "Land of Sunrise." To a Japanese his own country is just as much the land of sunset as it is the land of sunrise. It is only to a mind imbued with the notion that China is the great, the central country, that it would occur to call Japan the Land of Sunrise or the Eastern Land. Our oldest histories of Japan, the Kojiki and Nihongi, were compiled soon after the term Nippon was officially introduced, and it may be suspected that the opportunity was taken of substituting many 大和s and Yamatos for the 和s and Was of the older records. Of the 和s which remain, some should doubtless be read Wa and not Yamato.

To return from this digression to the history of the Corea & Japan B.C. period before the Christian era. The Corean records of

this time are very scanty. The Tongkam, however, mentions a Japanese descent on Silla (Shinra in Japanese) which is stated to have taken place B. C. 50. The Japanese, hearing of the virtues of the Silla monarch, went away again. From other passages in the same work it would appear that a Japanese held high office in the Silla Government at this time. But it is doubtful how far reliance can be placed on Corean history at this early date.

Japanese history contains two notices of Corea which, Mimana and according to the accepted chronology, fall within the period Kara.

before Christ. One, which is dated B. C. 83, states that "Mimana sends Sonakashichi with tribute. Mimana is more than 2000 ri to the north of Tsukushi, from which it is divided by the sea. It lies to the S. W. of Kirin" (i.e. Silla). Five years later "Sonakashichi asks leave to return to his own country. The Emperor rewards

"him, and entrusts him with a present of red silk for his King. The "Silla people waylay him, and rob him of the presents. This was the "origin of the enmity between the two countries of Silla and Mimana."

The word Mimana, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is purely Japanese. No country of that name is mentioned in Corean history. There may possibly be some truth in the statement that the Japanese gave it a name derived from that of their Emperor Mimaki, like our own Victoria, Carolina or Queensland. There is no doubt, however, as to the part of Corea which is intended. Mimana included all the S. Western half of the present province of Kyöngsyangdo. The great river Samlanggang formed the boundary between it and Silla. The Corean name for this little state was Kara or Karak. It is first mentioned in Corean history in A. D. 42, which is given as the date of the accession of the first King, Kimshuro. Before that time, says the Tongkam, there were nine savage tribes without a regular government or fixed abode. Kimshuro was one of six brothers miraculously produced from golden eggs, whence the name Kim, i.e. gold. The eldest ruled Great Karak, also called Kaya.<sup>7</sup> The other five became chiefs of the five Kaya, named respectively Ara-kaya, Kon-yöng-Knya, Great Kaya, Syöngsan-Kaya, and Little Kaya. This description is suggestive of a confederation of states under the leadership of one of their number, but the relationship between them is by no means clear. In later times we find Kara and Kaya independent of each other, and Mimana seems then to correspond to the latter and not to the former. Kara was incorporated with Silla A. D. 532, and the same fate befel Kaya thirty years later, the last date agreeing with that given in the Nihongi for the downfall of Mimana. The name Kara was changed to Keumkwon on its becoming a province of Silla. Its chief town has been identified, I think rightly, with the present Keum-hé (金 海), near the mouth of the Samlanggang.

Kara was in after times used by Japanese writers as the equivalent of the Chinese character 姜 (Han), which properly means the whole country of Corea, and in modern times it is often employed in a still wider sense. But in the Nihongi there does not seem to be sufficient reason for transliterating, as is usually done, 姜 by the kana for Kara.

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<sup>7</sup>This must be a mistake for Kara.

If the author had intended the word Kara, the proper Chinese characters were ready to his hand, and indeed are actually used by him on occasion. There seems to have been quite a rage with the transliterators of the Kojiki and Nihongi for rejecting all words of Chinese origin, and substituting for them native terms, or even, as in the case of Kara, words which have only a superficial resemblance to Japanese.

The statement quoted above from the Nihongi that there was enmity between Silla and Mimana is confirmed by <sup>ability of</sup> ~~early Japa-~~ Corean History. But the first hostilities recorded in the ~~Japanese&Corean~~ Tongkam between these two Kingdoms are dated A. D. 77.

Fighting between Silla and Kaya is mentioned in A. D. 94 to 97, and again A. D. 115 and 116, after which time their relations seem to have been friendly. There can be little doubt that these notices in the Japanese and Corean annals relate to the same event, but it will have been observed that the dates differ by a whole century. Which authority must we follow? In this particular instance there is no direct evidence in favour of either from independent sources. There are however some general considerations bearing on the relative credibility of the early Japanese and Corean records to which I would now invite attention.

Passing over everything previous to the Christian era, let us begin by taking up a similar line of inquiry to that followed by Mr. Bramsen with regard to the lengths of the sovereigns' reigns. We find that in Japan, during the first four centuries, there were only seven accessions to the throne, while for the same time there were in Silla sixteen, in Kokuli (Japanese Koma or Kōrai) seventeen, and in Pèkché (Japanese Hiakusai or Kudara) sixteen. The average age of these seven Japanese sovereigns was 102, one having reached the truly patriarchal age of 148 years. The ages of the Corean Kings are not usually recorded, but none of the reigns was of exorbitant<sup>8</sup> length. The longest is that of a King of Kokuli, who reigned 70 years, and died at the age of 98. His posthumous name means "the long-lived King."

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<sup>8</sup> Kimshuro, the first King of Kara, is said to have reigned 108 years, and to have died A. D. 199, aged 150. Kara, however, lies rather outside the sphere of Corean history, which is properly that of the three Kingdoms of Silla, Kokuli, and Pèkché.

The following table will give some idea of what may be regarded as a reasonable number of accessions to the throne during a space of four hundred years.

Country.	A. D.	No. of accessions.
Japan .....	1-400 .....	7
Silla .....	do. .....	16
Kokuli .....	do. .....	17
Pèkché .....	do. .....	16
China .....	do. .....	88
Japan .....	400-800 .....	88
Silla .....	do. .....	22
China .....	662-1062 .....	86
do. .....	1062-1462 .....	85
do. .....	1462-1862 .....	17
France .....	1000-1400 .....	16
do. .....	1400-1800 .....	15
England .....	1087-1487 .....	15
do. .....	1487-1897 .....	21
Scotland .....	1167-1567 .....	19
Wales .....	840-1240 .....	17

It appears therefore that the number of accessions recorded in the Corean annals during the period A. D. 1-400 is by no means without precedent, whereas Japanese history stands alone in having only seven accessions during this time, the lowest number which I have been able to discover in any other country for a similar period being fifteen. This fact speaks volumes for the superior credibility of the Corean chronicles.

Let us now compare the means of recording events writing in which existed in the two countries during this period. Corean and Japan.

Setting aside, with all competent judges, the so-called "Kami-yo no moji" as an invention of a much later age, it seems clear that until the introduction of Chinese learning, oral tradition alone must have been depended on both in Corea and Japan. Without some artificial aids to the memory, no history is possible for more than a very few generations, and it is therefore important to inquire into the circumstances under which the two countries first became acquainted with the art of writing. There are clear indications, to which

I shall advert presently, that the Chinese character was not entirely unknown either in Corea or Japan previous to A. D. 872, but the first direct and positive information which we possess on the subject belongs to that year. After relating the first introduction of Buddhism into Kokuli from the Kingdom of Tsin in Western China, the Tongkam goes on to say "Kokuli established a High School where pupils were "instructed." Three years later (A.D. 875) the same work contains the following notice. "Pèkché appoints a certain Kohung as Professor. "It was not till now that Pèkché had any records. This country had no "writing previous to this time."<sup>9</sup> No similar record has reached us in regard to Silla, but it is probable that the systematic study of Chinese was established in that Kingdom about the same time. It will be shown later that the arrival in Japan of Wauí, the Corean teacher of Chinese, must be assigned to A. D. 405 instead of A. D. 285, the date according to the accepted Japanese chronology.

But although these notices may be regarded as recording the first regular and systematic study of Chinese in Japan and Corea, there is good reason to believe that some knowledge of the Chinese written character existed in both countries from a considerably earlier date. Corea was conquered by China in the second century before Christ. Part of the country remained for some time longer a Chinese province, where official records were doubtless kept, and which must have been to some extent a centre for the propagation of Chinese learning. We find further traces of Chinese influence in the establishment of ancestral shrines in Pèkché (B. C. 2) and Silla (A. D. 6), and in the worship of the five Emperors in Pèkché (A.D. 2) and of Heaven and Earth in the same Kingdom (A.D. 20). The King of Kokuli is stated to have had a Chinese lady as consort B. C. 16. The King of Silla sent a writing to Pèkché A.D. 125, and towards the middle of the next century we find Chinese Governors at Lolang (now Phyöngyang in Phyöngando) and at Thépang, (now Namwön in Chöllado), the latter of whom is stated to have communicated by letter with the ruler of Japan. A written communication was made to Japan from the court of China

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<sup>9</sup> Curiously enough, the Tongkam states, only a few pages before, that in A. D. 873, the King of Pèkché sent a letter to Silla.

about the same time, and a written reply received. A postal service via Corea is even mentioned, by which communications were exchanged between the two countries.

The Silla annals state that a letter was received by the King of that country from the King of Wa A.D. 845, i.e. sixty years before Wani's arrival there.

We gather from these facts that what may be called the established study of Chinese began in Corea thirty years before it reached Japan, and that while both countries had already some acquaintance with the Chinese character, Corea had plainly better opportunities than Japan of acquiring its use.

Nengō (年號) or year-periods were introduced in Silla A.D. 536, but in Japan not until A.D. 645, a fact of some importance, if, as I suspect, time had previously been reckoned chiefly by the sexagenary cycle, a system which affords much opportunity for error whenever long periods are concerned.

The matter-of-fact character of the early Corean history as compared with that of Japan, and the circumstance that it comprises the annals of three independent Kingdoms, which must have been to some extent a check on each other, tend also to confirm the view of its superior credibility.

Agreement of Corean and Chinese chronology. But the most decisive proof of this is the confirmation which Corean history derives from that of China. A comparison<sup>10</sup> of sixteen notices by Chinese writers of events in Corea during the first five centuries of our era with the corresponding Corean accounts yields the following results.

During the first century, one date (A.D. 82) agrees, one seems to disagree, and in one Corean history is silent.

During the second century, three dates agree, one disagrees wholly, and in one, Corean history is silent.

During the third century, there are two cases of agreement, in a third the Tongkam is silent.

In the fourth century, there is agreement in one case; in one the Tongkam is silent.

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<sup>10</sup> Materials do not exist for a similar comparison of Chinese and Japanese dates.

In the fifth century, there are three cases in all of which the same dates are given by Chinese and Corean history.

I submit that the above considerations entitle us to assume that whenever Japanese and Corean history are in conflict, as they often are during this period, the balance of probability is much in favour of the Corean version of the occurrence, more especially in the matter of chronology. The absolute authority, however, of the Tongkam and other Corean records is another question. For the first century at least, they contain much that is suspicious.<sup>11</sup>

To return to Sonakashichi, the Mimana envoy to Japan. There can now be little hesitation in placing his arrival there a century later than the date assigned to it by the Nihongi.

The same authority mentions under the date B.C. 27 the arrival in Japan of a Silla prince named Amanohihoko (a suspiciously Japanese-looking name) with presents for the Mikado of precious stones, a sword, a mirror, etc. Corean history makes no mention of this embassy, and much that is related in connection with it bears a very mythical aspect.

From the history of Corea during the first two centuries Corean notices of the Christian era a few scanty notices may be gleaned of Japan, A.D. 1 to 200. of events connected with Japan. Japanese descents on the

East Coast of Corea are mentioned in the Silla annals under the dates A. D. 14, 78 and 121. The last was sufficiently formidable to require an army of 1,000 men to repel it. Friendly intercourse between Silla and Japan is noted in A. D. 59, 122, and 158. I have not found anything in Japanese history which can be clearly identified with any of these events.

The last year of the second century was distinguished, Jingō Kōgu's Invasion of Corea. according to the Nihongi, by an event of capital importance in Japanese history, viz., the celebrated invasion of Corea

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<sup>11</sup> I was in hopes that a notice in the Tongkam under A.D. 302 would have enabled me to fix decisively one date in Corean history. It is as follows: "Summer, 4th month (began May 14-15) Pèkéhé: Comet visible daytime." But Dr. Knott, who has been good enough to examine for me the European notices of important comets about this time, informs me that the nearest to A.D. 302 appeared in April A.D. 295. The Corean date must therefore be wrong, or, what is probable enough, a comet was seen in 302 of which no other record has reached us.

by the Empress Jingō-Kōgu. The Nihongi tells us<sup>12</sup> that the Empress Jingō, grieving for her husband's death, which he had brought on himself by his disobedience to the divine command, resolved to atone for his misconduct by conquering the "land of riches"<sup>13</sup> herself. After causing various propitiatory ceremonies to be performed, she proceeded to subdue the rebellious Kumaso, one of whom gave some trouble, as he had wings and was a good flyer. She next visited Matsura<sup>14</sup> in Hizen, where she drew a favourable omen for the projected enterprise from her successful trout-fishing in a stream there. To this day the trout in that stream will not take the bait offered by a man. Women are the only successful anglers. Passing over another miraculous occurrence, and a speech made by the Empress to her Ministers, we are further informed that in the autumn the Empress commanded ships to be assembled from all the provinces, and arms to be prepared. But a sword and spear had to be offered in one of the shrines before this order could be obeyed. When this was done, the fleet assembled of its own accord. She then ordered a fisherman to go out on the western sea, and spy if any land was to be seen there. He returned and said, "I see no land." Another fisherman was sent, who returned after several days and said, "To the Northwest there is a mountain extending across the horizon, and partly hidden by clouds. This is perhaps a country." A lucky day was then fixed upon. When it arrived the Empress took her battle-axe in her hand, and thus addressed her troops, who formed three divisions: "If the drums are beaten out of time, and the signal-flags are waved confusedly, order cannot be preserved in the army; too eager a desire for booty will lead to your being taken prisoners. Despise not the enemy, though his numbers may be few; shrink not from him though his numbers be many. Spare not the violent; slay not the submissive. The victors shall surely sooner or later be rewarded; those who run away shall surely be punished." Two deities were to accompany the expedition, one of gentle disposition,

<sup>12</sup> I have somewhat abridged the original narrative.

<sup>13</sup> A strange name for Corea! Had the circumstance that Keumsyōng, the name of the Silla capital means "Golden City," anything to do with it?

<sup>14</sup> The Nihongi says it was then called Matsura 摩豆羅. An embassy from a King of 高士國 in Japan is mentioned in Chinese History.

whose duty it was to watch over the Empress's safety; the other, a more warlike spirit, who was to lead the van of the squadron and guide it over the sea. The birth of an heir to the throne of Japan was expected at this time, but the event was postponed to a more convenient season by an expedient unknown to modern science. In the tenth month, the expedition started. The Wind-God sent a breeze: the Sea-God raised the billows: all the great fishes of the ocean rose to the surface and encompassed the ships. A great wind filled their sails, and borne on the waves, without the labour of the oar, they arrived at Silla. The tide-wave following the ships reached far up into the interior of the country, greatly to the alarm of the king, who called to him his people, and said, "No such deluge from the sea has ever been known since the state of Silla was founded. Has fate decreed that our country is to become a part of the ocean?" Scarce had he spoken, when a warlike fleet overspread the sea. Their banners were resplendent in the sunlight; the mountains and rivers thrilled to the sound of the fife and drum. The King of Silla felt that the last day of his country had come. Then one of his courtiers said, "I have heard that in the East there is a divine country named 'Nippon,' ruled by a wise King whose title is Tennō. This fleet must belong to that country." The King felt that resistance was useless, so he went down to the ships and bowing his head to the ground, said, "Henceforth so long as Heaven and Earth endure, the helms of my ships shall not become dry, reverently furnishing fodder for your horses. Every Spring and every Autumn I will send tribute of horse-combs and whips, and notwithstanding the distance of the voyage, will pay annual dues of male and female slaves." The King confirmed this by an oath, saying, "When the sun rises in the West, and ceases to rise in the East; when the Arinare<sup>15</sup> River turns its current backwards, and the pebbles of its bed ascend to the sky and become stars, then, and not till then, will I fail to pay annual homage; then, and not till then, will I neglect my yearly tribute of combs and whips." The Empress, after accepting his submission, proceeded inland, where she placed seals on the treasuries, and took possession of the

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<sup>15</sup> The Am-nok-kang, which forms the boundary between China and Corea, is thought to be intended.

books. Her staff and spear were set up at the King's gate, as a memorial for after ages. There, says the *Nihongi*, they remain until this day.

The King *Hasa-mukin* gave *Nishi kochi hatori Kamuki* as a hostage, and sent to Japan eighty ships loaded with rich presents. The two Kings of *Koryō* and *Pékché*, hearing of these events, offered their homage, and their Kingdoms were incorporated with the Japanese dominions. On her return to Japan the Empress gave birth to a son at a place thereafter called *Umi*, i. e. birth.

Such is the story related by the *Nihongi* of *Jingō Kōgu*'s conquest of Corea. The signs and wonders, the poetic diction, the speeches, the ample food for national vanity, even the attempts to account for the names of places are all characteristic of legend rather than of genuine history, for which indeed no one at the present day is likely to mistake it. There may nevertheless be some difference of opinion as to its historical value. The late Dr. Hoffmann thought that by the simple process of "stripping the native accounts of poetical and religious ornament" he could obtain from them "a sketch for the domain of history," and he has accordingly given us an account of the expedition compiled from the *Nihongi* on this principle. But might not one as well attempt to extract a true narrative from the story of Cinderella by leaving out the mice, the pumpkin coach and the fairy godmother? Some may be content with less, and may regard the legend as a proof that Corea was conquered by an army led by a Japanese Empress in the third century A. D. But I fear even this is more than we can accept. A closer examination leads to the conclusion that the whole story is a fiction suggested by the two facts that there really existed an Empress of Japan at this time, and that Corea was invaded and partly conquered by Japanese at a much later period. The language of the *Nihongi* is of course Chinese, but more than the mere words has been affected by Chinese influence. The advice for instance about the drums and flags, the three divisions of the army, and the oath to Heaven and Earth are all Chinese touches. A still more definite proof of the comparatively recent origin of the legend in its *Nihongi* form is the use of the word *Nippon*, which, as we have already seen, was not introduced till A. D. 670, only fifty years before the *Nihongi* was written. "Tennō," too, must date from a period long after *Jingō Kōgu*, and the use of *Koryō*

for Kokuli also betrays a recent origin. The mention of books (by which official archives seem to be meant) nearly two centuries before the regular study of Chinese was introduced either in Corea or Japan, is, to say the least, a very suspicious circumstance. That the author of the story knew very little about Corea is shown by the fact that the King of Silla named by him reigned A. D. 80 to 112, or about 100 years before Jingō Kōgu, and that the name of the hostage sent by him is identical with that of the Prince sent A. D. 402 according to Corean history as a hostage to Japan. The details mentioned leave no doubt that both records relate to the same person, and this being so, the Corean date is in all probability the true one. The official title given him by the Nihongi was not invented until after Jingō Kōgu's death. In short it is tolerably obvious that the author of the legend brought him in simply to adorn his tale of the conquest of Corea.

The absolute silence of Chinese and Corean history with regard to an event which, if it had ever occurred, must have affected both countries so profoundly, is almost sufficient in itself to satisfy us that the whole story is a mere fiction, with about as much historical foundation as the legend of the Argonauts or the tale of Troy divine, with which indeed it presents obvious analogies. We shall see presently that China had at this time territory in Corea under the rule of Chinese Governors, and that the Chinese were not unacquainted with Japanese events. Nor had the Corean annalists any objection to recording invasions by Japan when they occurred, which was by no means unfrequently. In the year 200, however, no such event is mentioned either in Chinese or Corean history. An apparently unimportant descent on Silla took place in 209, a more serious one in 283, when the Japanese ships were burnt and their crews massacred, and a still more formidable one in 249, when a Silla statesman, who had brought on the invasion by using insulting language towards the Sovereign of Japan in presence of a Japanese Ambassador, gave himself up to the Japanese in the hope of appeasing their anger. They burnt him, and proceeded to besiege Keumsyöng, the Silla Capital, but were ultimately beaten off. No less than 25 descents by Japanese on the Silla coast are mentioned in Corean history in the first five centuries of the Christian era, but it is impossible to identify any of them with Jingō Kōgu's expedition.

It may seem a pity to have to abandon all faith in so pretty a legend, and perhaps some of Jingō Kōgu's fellow countrymen will resent what may be thought an attempt to take away her glory as a conqueror. But ought it not after all to be more satisfactory to her admirers, and more really to her honour, to believe that she was never guilty of the wickedness of making war on a country which had not given her the smallest cause of offence, or of the folly of embarking on a foreign expedition at a time when rebellion was rife in her own land ?

Though it is probable that no Jingō Kōgu ever conquered Corea, we may still hold to the belief that Japan in Jingō Kōgu's reign was ruled in the first half of the third century by a princess

of remarkable ability, who put down rebellion with a firm hand, and procured for her country the blessings of peace during a long and prosperous reign. The notices of Japan which we now begin to find in Chinese writers tend to confirm the statements of the Nihongi in this respect. They contain some "travellers' tales," and are obscured by fables and errors, but they give us nevertheless much valuable information which has hardly received the attention it deserves. I may therefore be excused for quoting from them at some length.<sup>16</sup>

In the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) writings we find the following. "The Wa dwell south-east of Han (Corea) in a mountainous island in the midst of the ocean. Their country is divided into more than 100 provinces. Since the time when Wu Ti (B. C. 140-86) overthrew Corea, they have communicated with the Han authorities by means of a postal service. There are thirty-two provinces which do so, all of which style (their rulers) Kings, who are hereditary. The sovereign of Great Wa resides in Yamato, distant 12,000 li from the frontier of the province of Lolang.<sup>17</sup> Lolang is 7,000 li distant from Kuya han (狗邪韓) on its N.W. boundary. Wa lies nearly east<sup>18</sup> of the east coast of Kwai Ki (in Chekiang), and therefore the laws and customs are similar. The soil is favourable for the production of grain and hemp, and for the

<sup>16</sup> These extracts are from the I-shō-nihon-den.

<sup>17</sup> Now Phyōng-yang, in Corea.

<sup>18</sup> This description corresponds nearly to the position of Loochoo. But we shall see later on that the Chinese at this time imagined that Yamato lay somewhere to the South of Kiushiu.

" cultivation of the silk mulberry. They understand the art of weaving.  
 " The country produces white pearls and green jade. There is cinnabar  
 " in the mountains. The climate is mild, and vegetables can be grown  
 " both in winter and in summer. There are no oxen, horses, tigers,  
 " leopards, or magpies.<sup>19</sup> Their soldiers have spears and shields, wooden  
 " bows and bamboo arrows, which are sometimes tipped with bone. The men  
 " all tattoo their faces and adorn their bodies with designs. Differences  
 " of rank are indicated by the position and size of the patterns. The  
 " men's clothing is fastened breadth-wise and consists of one piece of  
 " cloth. The women tie their hair in a bow, and their clothing resembles  
 " our gowns of one thickness of cloth. It is put on by being passed over  
 " the head.<sup>20</sup> They use pink and scarlet to smear their bodies with, as  
 " rice-powder is used in China. They have stockaded forts and houses.  
 " Father and mother, elder and younger brothers and sisters live sepa-  
 " rately, but at meetings there is no distinction on account of sex. They  
 " take their food with their hands, but have bamboo trays and wooden  
 " trenchers to place it on. It is their general custom to go barefoot.  
 " Respect is shown by squatting down. They are much given to strong  
 " drink. They are a long-lived race, and persons who have reached 100  
 " are very common. The women are more numerous than the men.  
 " All men of high rank have four or five wives; others two or three.  
 " The women are faithful and not jealous. There is no theft, and litiga-  
 " tion is unfrequent. The wives and children of those who break the  
 " laws are confiscated, and for grave crimes the offender's family is ex-  
 " tirpated. Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time  
 " the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come  
 " singing, dancing and making music. They practice divination by  
 " burning bones,<sup>21</sup> and by that means they ascertain good and bad

<sup>19</sup> It seems strange that Japan should have possessed neither oxen nor horses at this time. But the Japanese, like the Corean, word for 'horse' is admittedly Chinese, and the Japanese 'ushi,' ox, may come from the Corean *so*. There are magpies in Japan (another reading is 'barn-door fowls'), but they are by no means common, and a traveller coming from Corea, where they abound, might well be struck by their absence.

<sup>20</sup> A later writer understands this to mean that the head was passed through a hole in the cloth, in the fashion of an Indian blanket.

<sup>21</sup> As we also learn from the *Manyōshū*.

“ luck, and whether or not to undertake journeys and voyages. They “ appoint a man whom they style the ‘ mourning-keeper.’ He is not “ allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. “ When they are fortunate, they make him valuable presents; but if they “ fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the mourning-keeper’s “ failure to observe his vows, and together they put him to death.

“ In the second year of Chung-yuan (A.D. 57), in the reign of “ Kwang-wu, the Wanu country sent an envoy with tribute, who styled “ himself Daibu (大夫). He came from the most southern part of the “ Wa country. Kwang-wu presented him with a seal and ribbon.

“ In first year of Yung-ch’u (A.D. 107), in the reign of Ngan-ti, a “ king of Wa presented 160 living persons, and made a request for an “ interview.

“ During the reigns of Hwan-ti and Ling-ti (A.D. 147 to 190) Wa “ was in a state of great confusion, and there was civil war for many “ years, during which time there was no chief. Then a woman arose, “ whose name was *Pimihu*<sup>22</sup> (卑彌呼). She was old and unmarried, “ and had devoted herself to magic arts, by which she was clever in “ deluding the people. The nation agreed together to set her up as “ Queen. She has 1000 female attendants; but few people see her face, “ except one man, who serves her meals, and is the medium of communica- “ cation with her. She dwells in a palace with lofty pavilions, surrounded “ by a stockade, and is protected by a guard of soldiers. The laws and “ customs are strict.

“ Leaving the Queen<sup>23</sup> country and crossing the sea to the East, “ one arrives after a voyage of 1000 li at the Konu (狗奴) country, the “ inhabitants of which are of the same race as the Was but are not sub- “ ject to the Queen. 4000 li to the south of the Queen country is the “ Chunju (朱儒) country, the inhabitants of which are from three to four “ feet in height. A year’s voyage by ship to the south-east, and we “ reach the Loh (裸) or Naked country, and the black-toothed country, “ which is the furthest land to which there is a postal service.”

<sup>22</sup> According to the Japanese pronunciation of these characters *Himeko* or *Himiko*.

<sup>23</sup> Japan is constantly styled so in the Chinese books of this period.

The Wei (A.D. 220-265) records repeat most of what Wei notices of precedes, with other particulars, of which a few may be Japan.

noted here. "Crossing the sea (from Corea) for 1000 li we " come to Tsushima. The chief official of this island is called Hiku,<sup>24</sup> and " the next one to him Hinumori. It extends 400 li in each direction " and is mountainous and well-wooded. The roads are like the tracks of " wild animals. There are 1000 houses or more. They have no good " rice-fields, and the people live upon marine products. They also import " grain in ships from the north and south. Crossing the sea for 1000 li, " we arrive at another great country.<sup>25</sup> The chief official here is likewise " called Hiku, and the second official Hinumori. It extends 300 li in " both directions. There are many bamboos, trees and groves, and over " 8000 houses. Some rice-fields are seen here and there, but there is not " enough rice produced for the inhabitants. They likewise go north and " south in ships, and lay in provision of grain. Again crossing the sea " for 1000 li, we come to the Matsuro<sup>26</sup> country, which contains over " 1000 houses. Here the vegetation grows so thickly that one cannot " see one's way. The inhabitants are fond of catching fish, and plunge " into the water after them, regardless of the depth. Proceeding 500 li " by land in a S. E. direction, we come to the country of Ito<sup>27</sup> or Idzu " (伊都). The chief official is called Jishi (?) and his subordinates Yei- " moko and Heikioko. There are over 1000 houses here. There are " hereditary Kings in Ito, who all owe allegiance to the Queen country. " Local Commissioners<sup>28</sup> (郡使) are always stationed here. From thence " it is 100 li in a S. Easterly direction to the Nu or Do<sup>29</sup> (奴) country. " The designation of the chief official here is Kiobako, and of the subor- " dinate one Hinumori. There are more than 80,000 houses. Proceed-

<sup>24</sup> I give the Japanese pronunciation of these words, which is probably not quite accurate, but just as likely to be correct as the modern mandarin sounds.

<sup>25</sup> Iki ?

<sup>26</sup> Probably Matsura in Hizen, close to the Spex Straits. It is mentioned in the Jingō Kōgu legend.

<sup>27</sup> This may be the Kōri of Ito in Chikuzen often mentioned in the ancient history of Japan. It lies however N. E. and not S. E. of Matsura.

<sup>28</sup> Apparently somewhat like British Residents at the courts of Indian Princes.

<sup>29</sup> Udo in Higo?

"ing eastward 100 li we come to the Fumi country. The chief official "is called Tamo, and the subordinate one Hinumori. There are here "1000 houses. Proceeding south from Do for twenty days by water we "arrive at the Toma country, where the chief official is styled Mimi, and "the second official Miminari. There are probably 50,000 houses here. "Thence proceeding to the south ten days by water and one month by "land, we arrive at the country of Yamato.<sup>30</sup> The chief official is styled "Ishima, the next Mibasho, the next Mibakakushi and the next Dogatei. "There are probably 70,000 houses. North (west?) of the Queen "country we must leave out the distances, numbers of houses, etc.<sup>31</sup> "This is the limit of the Queen's dominions, south (east?), of which is "the Konu country, where a King holds rule. It is not subject to "the Queen. From the capital to the Queen country is over 2000 li.<sup>32</sup>

"The men,<sup>33</sup> both small and great, tattoo their faces and work "designs on their bodies. They have arrow-heads of iron as well as of "bone. They use only an inner, and no outer coffin. When the funeral

<sup>30</sup> Yamato is nearly due east of Tsushima, yet here is the itinerary which we extract from the above account.

Tsushima to Iki (?) .....	S. 1000 li by sea.
Iki (?) to Matsuro .....	— 1000 li by sea.
Matsuro to Ito .....	S. E. 1000 li by land.
Ito to Do .....	S. E. 100 li by land.
Do to Fumi .....	E. 100 li by land.
Fumi to Toma .....	S. 20 days by sea.
Toma to Yamato .....	S. 10 days by sea and 1 month by land.

The Chinese therefore apparently laboured at this time under the strange misconception that Yamato lay very nearly south of Tsushima. This explains more than one difficulty in these extracts. We have only to read East for South and North for West to make things intelligible.

<sup>31</sup> Here follow the names of 17 provinces, among which Shima, Kii and Iga, may be somewhat doubtfully recognized. I suspect the Chinese traveller from whom these accounts were derived never got any further than Kiushu.

<sup>32</sup> These notices appear to show that Queen Himeko's dominions extended no further East than the Owari gulf. We can only conjecture where the Konu capital was—perhaps not far from the present city of Tokio. The Chinese statements as to distances are very wild.

<sup>33</sup> This must apply to the whole country.

“ is over, the whole family go into the water and wash. They have “ distinctions of rank, and some are vassals to others. Taxes are “ collected. There are markets in each province where they exchange “ their superfluous produce for articles of which they are in want. They “ are under the supervision of Great Wa. North (i. e. West) of the “ Queen Country there is a high official stationed specially for purposes “ of examination. He is feared by all the provinces. He usually “ governs the province of Ito. In the interior of the country (or of the “ province ?) there are officials resembling the Chinese sub-prefects. “ When the sovereign of Wa sends envoys to the capital (of Wei), the “ province of Thèpang, the three Han, and the local commissioners “ (郡使), also the Wa country search and lay open everything at the “ ports or crossing-places before passing on the documents and the “ objects sent as presents, so that when they are brought to the Queen “ there shall be no mistake.

“ When men of the lower class meet a man of rank, they leave the “ road, and retire to the grass. When they address him, they either “ squat or kneel with both hands to the ground. This is their way of “ showing respect. They express assent by the sound *ā*.

“ They had formerly Kings, but for seventy or eighty years there was “ great confusion and civil war prevailed. After a time they agreed to “ set up a woman named Himeko as their sovereign. She had no hus- “ band, but her younger brother assisted her in governing the country. “ After she became Queen, few persons saw her.

“ The ambassador sent by the Queen of Wa in A.D. 288 first went “ to the province (i. e. Thèpang), where he asked leave to proceed with “ tribute to the Emperor. The Tasu (governor) sent messengers with “ him to the capital. In the 12th month an Imperial answer<sup>24</sup> was “ given.”

The Tasu subsequently sent officers to Japan with an Imperial rescript, to which a written reply was received. Communications were also exchanged in A.D. 243 and 245.

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<sup>24</sup> It is given in full in the Ishō nihonden, vol. i, and will repay a perusal. The Queen receives the title of Queen of Wa and Friend of Wei. She is thanked for her tribute, which consisted of four male and six female slaves and of pieces of cloth. A gold seal and purple ribbon are entrusted to her, which the Tasu of Thèpang is charged to deliver.

"In 247," the Wei records go on to state, "during the Tasu-ship of Wangkin, a messenger came to him from Wa to explain the causes of the enmity which had always prevailed between Queen Himeko and Himekuko, King of Konu. A letter was sent admonishing them. At this time Queen Himeko died. A great mound was raised over her, more than a hundred paces in diameter, and over 1000 of her male and female attendants followed her in death."<sup>65</sup> Then a King was raised to the throne, but the people would not obey him, and civil war again broke out, not less than one thousand persons being slain. A girl of thirteen, relative of Himeko, named Iyo (or Ichiyo), was then made Queen and order was restored. One of the officers sent from Thèpang despatched to Queen Iyo an admonitory letter, after which he was sent back under escort to his own country."

In another work of the Wei period we are told that "the Was are not acquainted with the New Year or the four seasons, but reckon the year by the spring cultivation of the fields, and by the autumn in-gathering of the crops."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> This would seem to prove that the custom of burying men and women alive around the tombs of great people, though said to have been abolished by Suinin Tennō A.D. 8, was still occasionally practised.

<sup>66</sup> It is not quite clear what is meant by this. It may mean simply that the Japanese reckoned their year from the spring or autumn equinox and not from the New Year, and it may not have been intended to imply that their year consisted of only six months. Another writer says that the Was reckoned their year from autumn to autumn. But if the late Mr. Bramsen had been acquainted with this passage, he would doubtless have not unreasonably regarded it as lending strong support to his theory that the Japanese up to the end of Nintoku Tennō's reign counted their years from equinox to equinox, making them only six months long. This would explain the apparently abnormal lengths of the reigns and lives of the Emperors up to that time. So simple an explanation, however, is far from clearing up all difficulties, and it is attended with some of its own. If we accept Mr. Bramsen's theory, the Jingō Kōgu of the Nihongi, and the Himeko of Chinese history must have been two distinct persons—a highly improbable supposition. Nor is this all. If the years consisted of six months each, the months, of which there were twelve to the year, must have been of only fifteen days and the days of only twelve hours. We shall see later that some of the errors of the early Japanese chronology must be ascribed to other causes than that suggested by Mr. Bramsen.

The substantial accuracy of the above extracts will hardly be questioned. The scraps of Japanese history which they contain are not only confirmed in a general way by the native histories of the same time, but there is other evidence of their faithfulness to fact.

There can be no hesitation in identifying the "mourning-keeper" of the Chinese notices with the Imibe, i.e. the abstainers or mourners of early Japanese History.<sup>27</sup>

The burial of Queen Himeko under an immense mound, and the death or sacrifice of her retainers at the tomb are in accordance with what we know of the early Japanese customs. Indeed the Misasagi or Sepulchral mound ascribed to Jingō Kōgu near Nara quite answers the above description. It is true that the date (A.D. 247) given by the Chinese writers for the death of Queen Himeko, and the narrative of the events connected with the appointment of her successor do not accord with the Japanese histories. But it is hardly likely that the Chinese contemporary annalists could have been altogether mistaken about circumstances in which they plainly took a keen interest, and the immoderate length assigned by the Japanese to Jingō Kōgu's reign shows that there must be something decidedly wrong in their history at this point.

One Japanese writer mocks at the Chinese for giving the name Himeko to the Empress Jingō Kōgu or Oki-naga-tarashi-hime no mikoto. He forgets that the latter name was posthumous, as the Nihongi plainly tells us. It was suggested by the great age to which she lived, Oki-naga meaning "long-lived." The title Jingō Kōgu belongs of course to a period when the knowledge of Chinese had become common. But it is surely obvious that Himeko means simply "princess" and is not a name at all. The reluctance of Easterns to make common use of the names of their sovereigns is well known. In A.D. 600 there is an instance of a Japanese Ambassador to China, who, when asked the name of his King, replied "Ame-no-watarishi-hiko," i.e. "the heaven-descended prince." The Chinese cut this into two, taking one-half for the surname and the other for his personal name.

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<sup>27</sup> Vide Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki, notes to pp. 110 and 151, and Satow's Ancient Japanese Rituals, No. 1, p. 126, note 44.

After the middle of the third century, there is a break of a century and a half, during which Chinese history makes but little mention of Japanese affairs.

Silla & Japan A.D. 260-400. The Silla annals of this period contain the following notices of relations with Japan.

A.D. 294. The Japanese make an unsuccessful attempt to take a Silla fortress.

A.D. 295. The King of Silla consults his Council with regard to the continual attacks on his towns and fortresses by the Japanese, and proposes that an alliance should be formed with Pèkché against them. His Ministers dissuade him from doing so, on the ground of the danger of undertaking a distant expedition with men unaccustomed to naval warfare. The proposal of the King falls to the ground.

A.D. 300. An Embassy from Japan arrives in Silla. A return Embassy is sent.

A.D. 312. The Japanese seek a matrimonial alliance with Silla. The daughter of a Silla noble is sent.

A.D. 344. The Japanese ask again for a matrimonial alliance. Their request is not complied with.

A.D. 345. The Japanese *wrote* to break off intercourse with Silla.

A.D. 346. The Japanese attack Keumsyöng, which they are on the point of capturing, when their provisions having become exhausted, they are obliged to raise the siege.

A.D. 364. The Japanese invade Silla, but are defeated with great slaughter.

A.D. 398. The Japanese attack Keumsyöng. They lay siege to it for five days, but are ultimately driven off.

Allowance being made for exaggerations and omissions due to Silla national vanity, there seems reason to believe that these statements are substantially correct. The Japanese chronicles contain little or nothing which corresponds to them, but we have here in all probability the basis of truth on which the Jingô Kôgu legend of the conquest of Corea rests.

We now come to a series of events in the history of Pèkché and Japanese relations with the Corean Kingdom of Pèkché, the A.D. 336-495. records of which are distinguished by the peculiarity that the Japanese and Corean dates differ by exactly 120 years.

They occupy the period of 40 years from A.D. 245 to 285 according to the Japanese chronology, and from A.D. 365 to 405 according to the Tongkam. The Nihongi informs us that in A.D. 245, Shima no Sukune was sent to Tokshiu (in Mimana), where he learned that Pèkché was anxious to establish friendly relations with Japan. In the following year he proceeded to Pèkché, then ruled by King Syoko.<sup>88</sup> A year later a return embassy was sent by Pèkché to Japan. In A.D. 249, continues the Nihongi, an attack was made on Silla by a combined force of Japanese and Pèkché men, which resulted in the defeat of the Silla troops, and the conquest of Hishiwo, S. Kara, Toku, Ara, Tara, Toksyu, and Kara. In this account, King Syoko's name is correctly given, and that of his son Kwisu very nearly so. It is probable therefore that the Nihongi's statements are not without some historical foundation. But as they stand, they cannot be correct. King Syoko reigned a century later than the date given for this invasion, and the places mentioned as having been conquered from Silla, belong, in so far as they can be identified, to Mimana. The Kojiki does not mention the expedition. Two attacks on Silla by Japanese are spoken of by the Corean chronicles as having occurred in King Syoko's reign. One of these was by sea, and could not have been that referred to by the Nihongi; but the other, which took place A.D. 864, may possibly have been the same as that here mentioned, though according to the Corean accounts the Japanese were defeated with great slaughter. The Tongkam has no mention of hostilities between Silla and Pèkché during this reign, but there was a good deal of fighting between Silla and Kokuli.

Under the dates A. D. 250 and 251 there are notices in the Nihongi which show that the friendly relations between Pèkché and Japan were continued. In A.D. 255, according to that work, King Syoko of Pèkché died. The Tongkam dates this event in A.D. 875, making a difference of exactly 120 years. A few years later, the Nihongi quotes from a Pèkché history a passage where the year of the sexagenary cycle alone is mentioned, viz., 壬午 or *midzu no ye muma*. This is taken to be A.D. 260, whereas the real date is in all probability

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<sup>88</sup> There are two Kings of this name in Corean history. King Syoko I. reigned A.D. 166-214; King Syoko II. A.D. 846-875. The latter is evidently the one here referred to.

A.D. 880. In A.D. 264, the Nibongi notes the death of Kwisu, King of Pèkché, an event which, by the Corean records, occurred in A.D. 884, again a difference of 120 years. In A.D. 265 (Corean date 885) his successor died.

The circumstance of the next heir being considered too young to succeed to the throne is mentioned both by the Nihongi and the Tongkam.

In A.D. 272, says the Nihongi, King Sinsă of Pèkché was disrespectful to Japan. Ōjin Tennō sent to demand satisfaction, whereupon the Pèkché people put their King to death. The Japanese then established Prince Ahwa on the throne. The Tongkam says simply, "King 'Sinsă died A.D. 892 (observe again the difference of 120 years) and 'was succeeded by King Ahwa." This story is not mentioned in the Kojiki, and what is unmistakeably the same event is related over again by the Nihongi as having happened in Nintoku Tennō's reign, 81 years later.

Another occurrence as to the date of which the Japanese and Corean records differ by 120 years is one of capital importance in the history of Japan, viz., the arrival from Pèkché of a teacher of Chinese for the Prince Imperial. This led to the general study of the Chinese language throughout the country, and was perhaps the greatest step towards civilization ever taken by Japan.

Under the date A.D. 277, the Nihongi contains the following brief notice: "People from Pèkché came to the Court." An extract, however, from a Corean writer is added, to the following effect. "King Ahwa<sup>20</sup> came to the throne, and was disrespectful to the honourable country (Japan). Wherefore we were deprived of Tommitare, Kennan, Shishi, and Yama in Eastern Han. The King's son, Toshi or Toji (直支) was then sent to the Celestial Court to renew the friendly relations existing under former Kings." This must be the event which the Tongkam relates as follow: "A.D. 897. Pèkché makes friends with Wa: Prince Tyōnji (類支) is sent as hostage." It has been stated above that Pèkché appointed a Professor of Chinese in A.D. 874. Prince Tyōnji was probably one of his pupils.

<sup>20</sup>The Nihongi says it was King Sinsă who was disrespectful to Japan.

"In A.D. 284 (404 ?)," says the Nihongi, "the King of Pèkché sends Atogi<sup>40</sup> (阿立岐) with tribute of two good horses. Atogi was placed in charge of the Imperial stables. He could read the classics well, and the Heir Apparent became his pupil. The Emperor asked him whether there were any better scholars in Pèkché than himself. He said 'Yes, one Wani,' whereupon a Japanese official was sent to bring him. This Atogi (also transliterated Achiki) was the ancestor of the Achiki scribes."

The Nihongi further tells us that Wani arrived in the following year, A.D. 285 (405 ?) and became the instructor of the Prince in the classics.<sup>41</sup> Wani<sup>42</sup> was the progenitor of the scholars of that name. In this year King Ahwa died. The Emperor sent for Prince Toji<sup>43</sup> and said to him, "Go back to your country and succeed to the throne." The Emperor then presented to him Eastern Han, and so dismissed him.

In this same year, 285, we find mention in the Nihongi of an expedition to Silla to bring away the people of a Pèkché Prince who had desired to emigrate with them to Japan two years before, but had been prevented by Silla from doing so. This expedition was successful. It is perhaps the one referred to by a Corean history (not the Tongkam) quoted in the Ishō ni hon den, which says that the Japanese made a

<sup>40</sup> The Kojiki places this event in King Syoko's reign (A.D. 346-375) and calls Atogi, Achikishi (阿知吉師).

<sup>41</sup> The Kojiki mentions the Senjimon, or Thousand Character Classic, among Wani's books. The Senjimon, as it now stands, was written after A.D. 500, but there is reason to believe that this work, in an older form, dates from the first century. Dr Hoffmann thinks that Japan's going to Pèkché for a teacher of Chinese implies that Silla was behindhand in gaining a knowledge of that language. The real reason was doubtless that Japan's relations with Pèkché were friendly, but with Silla generally of a hostile character.

<sup>42</sup> There were Wani's in Japan before this time.

<sup>43</sup> The Nihongi narrative makes two distinct persons of Atogi and Toji, and there is no mention of the arrival of the latter, except in a note, which I take to have been a later addition. But the similarity of the characters with which it writes these two names and other circumstances, suggest the suspicion that they were in reality one and the same person. Otherwise, why is the arrival of a tribute messenger and of a Chinese tutor carefully noted while no mention is made of the coming to Japan of the heir to the throne of one of the Corean kingdoms? The Kojiki speaks of only two persons, Achikishi and Wani.

descent on Silla in A.D. 405, and again on the South and East coasts of that country in 407. On the latter occasion 100 Coreans were carried off.

The cause of the discrepancy of 120 years between the Japanese and Corean chronologies during this period of 40 years is not far to seek. It was obviously occasioned by the use (common in China, Corea, and Japan) of the

sexagenary cycle as a system of reckoning time. A passage quoted in the Nihongi from a Corean history during this very period is dated in this fashion, and many similar instances might be given. The Coreans at the present day use it oftener than any other system, and this was also the case in Japan until quite recently. But the sexagenary cycle has one grave disadvantage. It affords no means of deciding to which cycle of sixty years a given date belongs. *壬午, midzu no ye mu-ma*, the date mentioned above, might be A.D. 200, 260, 320, 380, 440 or any other year at an interval of sixty years, or a multiple of that number. In writing the history of an obscure period from documents dated in this way, it is obviously easy to make a mistake as to the proper cycle, while the year of the cycle, or *yeto*, may be correctly given. This is precisely what the writer of the Nihongi seems to have done. But, it may be asked, why should not the compiler of the Nihongi be right in this matter, and the Tongkam wrong in the Chinese dates which it assigns to Corean events? In addition to the general considerations already touched upon as to the relative trustworthiness of Japanese and Corean history, it may be pointed out that several of these notices refer to the deaths of Corean Kings, just the kind of event as to which their history is least likely to be mistaken, and that one case in which Corean chronology is confirmed by that of China belongs to the year 882, right in the middle of the period we are at present dealing with. There may, too, have been a special temptation to the compiler of the Nihongi, or possibly some earlier annalist, to tamper with the chronology which resulted from the materials before him. Something of this kind may have happened. Finding a wide gap<sup>44</sup> in the records between Jingō

<sup>44</sup> Perhaps caused by the fire which destroyed most of the archives of the Japanese Government in A.D. 645.

Kōgō and Ōjin Tennō, he extended Jingō Kōgō's reign forward from A.D. 247 (the date of her death according to Chinese authorities) to 269. This made her exactly one hundred years of age, which he may have thought far enough to venture. But an interval still remained, which he filled up by lengthening backwards the reigns of Ōjin and Nintoku. What was to be done under these circumstances with the Corean events with which we have just been dealing, and which were probably found recorded in a separate manuscript? There would be a desire to assign them to their proper Japanese reigns, and yet, as far as possible, not to alter the *yo*. But they do not all belong to the same reign, and to refer each to its proper reign would have placed them too far apart, so the earlier alone were allotted to the reign they really belong to, and the others (some of which may have taken place under forgotten Sovereigns) left to follow anyhow, the correct *yo* being left unchanged, though the cycle was wrong by 120 years. This is of course purely a hypothesis. But doubtless some such manipulation of the chronology really did occur, in which a gap in the Japanese records, and the doubt attaching to the sexagenary cycle system played an important part.

After the year 400 we come to a number of events in Events of 5th century dating which the Japanese annalists have not been so careful to preserve the correct *yo*, or year of the cycle. It has been already mentioned that the circumstance of a host-

age being sent by Silla to Japan, which the Nihongi assigns to the year A.D. 200, really belongs to A.D. 402. His return to his own country, which the Nihongi states to have occurred in A.D. 205, did not take place until A.D. 418, i.e. 213 years later.

An event mentioned by the Nihongi under the date 297, if it had occurred at all, would have to be placed somewhere near the beginning of the fifth century. It is there stated that the King of Koryō sent presents to Japan with a letter in which he used the expression, "The King of Koryō instructs the King of Nippon." It was read by Wani's pupil, who in his indignation at the offensive word "instructs," tore it to pieces. This story professes to give the exact terms of the Corean missive. It may be sufficient to remark that Japan was not known as Nippon until A.D. 670, and that Kokuli was not Koryō until still later.

In A.D. 858 the Nihongi speaks of an invasion of Silla, when the inhabitants of four villages were carried off as slaves. There is a notice (A.D. 462) in one of the Corean histories which may refer to this event. One thousand persons are said to have been captured by the Japanese.

After A.D. 865 there is a break of 49 years, during which the Nihongi makes no mention of Corea. This tends to confirm the view that some of the events belonging to this period have been dated too early.

The Nihongi notes, under the dates 408 and 405, two events, viz., the appointment of recorders, and the establishment of a Finance Department, which, if the above opinion as to the date of the introduction of Chinese learning by Wani in 405 is correct, must be placed a good deal later.

In 429,<sup>44</sup> according to a Corean writer quoted in the Nihongi, King Kero (蓋靄王) ascended the throne of Pèkchó. The Tongkam places this event in A.D. 455. This is the nearest approach to an agreement between the Japanese and Corean chronologies which we have as yet come to.

A.D. 461 is noteworthy as being the first date of the accepted Japanese chronology which is confirmed by Corean authorities. The Nihongi tells us that in this year Prince Kasuri (加須利) of Pèkchó, hearing that a Corean woman sent by him as a present to the Emperor of Japan had been put to death, resolved to send his younger brother Komukishi (可慕君) to demand satisfaction. The latter, before his departure, asked for and was given one of Prince Kasuri's wives. She was then pregnant, and on the way to Japan gave birth to a child on an island, from which circumstance he received the name of Prince Shima. He afterwards reigned over Pèkchó under the name of Munyōng (武寧). Komukishi arrived at the capital of Japan in the 7th month. So far the Nihongi. An extract from a history of Pèkchó quoted under this passage, says: "In the year Kanoto ushi (干丑) A.D. 461, King Kero sent his younger brother Konkishi to Great Wa to "wait upon the Tennō and to confirm the friendship of the previous "sovereigns." The evidence here is not so satisfactory as might be

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<sup>44</sup>I suspect this to be a mere copyist's error for the real date.

wished. A writer quoted<sup>46</sup> in the Nihongi cannot be regarded as so good an authority as the Tongkam, which is unfortunately altogether silent as to this embassy. The Nihongi account is, however, confirmed by the fact recorded in the Tongkam that a King Kèro reigned in Pèkché from A.D. 458 to 475, so that the date 461 cannot be more than 14 years wrong at most. King Kèro's name as Prince was Kyöng-să, which is not wholly unlike the name Kasuri, given him in the Nihongi. The Prince called Konkishi by the Japanese is named Konchi (昆支) in Corean history, where we are told that he was the father of King Munyöng, who came to the throne of Pèkché in A.D. 501. According to the Tongkam, the name of the latter in his youth was Prince Shima (斯摩). But the story of his birth, while it shows an acquaintance with certain facts of Corean history, has a suspicious appearance of having been invented in order to account for the name Shima, which in Japanese means "island." The Corean word for island is *syōm*.

A.D. 475 was an eventful year in Corean history. In that year the King of Kokuli attacked Pèkché, took the capital, and put the King to death. The Tongkam and another Corean history quoted in the Nihongi agree as to this date, but the Nihongi itself, wrongly no doubt, puts it a year later.

In A.D. 477,<sup>47</sup> according to the Nihongi, the Japanese Emperor, hearing of the conquest of Pèkché by Kokuli, gave to King Momuchiu (溟州, in Corean, Munju—文周) the district of Kumanari to govern. The Tongkam says that at this time the capital of Pèkché was removed to Ung-chin (熊津), a place which is identified by some with Ung-chön in Chöllado. Ungchin means bear-ferry, for which the Corean words would be *Kom-naro*—not far from *Kuma-nari*. The Tongkam says nothing of any assistance given by Japan to Pèkché. King Munju, according to it, was placed on the throne by an army of 10,000 Silla troops.

In A.D. 479, the Nihongi mentions the death of King Munkin (文斤王) of Pèkché. There is no King of that name. King Samkeun

<sup>46</sup> A native editor of the Nihongi is of opinion that the author of that work, finding before him materials which he could not conveniently incorporate into his narrative, but which he thought too valuable to reject altogether, relegated them to the notes. It seems more probable that they were added by a later scholar.

<sup>47</sup> The correct date is 476.

(三斤王), who died in that year, is doubtless meant. The first character 文 came in somehow from the name of the preceding King Manju (文周).

The Nihongi goes on to say that the Emperor Yūriaku then sent Prince Mata (末多王), second son of Prince Komuki,<sup>“</sup> back to Pèkché with a guard of 500 Tsukushi men. He assumed the title of King Tongsyöng (東城王). This is also the name given to him by the Tongkam, but his name as a Prince is there given as Mu-tè (牟大). He appears to have succeeded to the throne without any such interval as the Japanese narrative would imply. The Tongkam, however, does speak of Prince Työnji being accompanied by a guard of 100 Japanese when he returned from Japan to claim the throne of Pèkché, a statement which is corroborated by another Corean authority. The Nihongi has doubtless brought in the story of the guard of Japanese in the wrong place.

Before quitting the subject of the relations of Corea  
Silla & Japan with Japan during the fifth century, it may be convenient  
in the 5th century. to quote a few items from the Silla annals of this period  
which have not been already mentioned.

A.D. 408. The Japanese take up a military position in Tsushima.

A.D. 415. Japanese arrive at Phung-do. They are attacked and driven away.

A.D. 481. An unsuccessful descent is made by Japanese.

A.D. 440. Two descents are made by Japanese on the South and East coasts. They carry off a number of people.

A.D. 444. The Japanese besiege Keumsyöng for ten days, when their provisions fail and they retire. They are pursued by the King, contrary to the advice of his Ministers. He loses half his army and is in great personal danger, when a sudden darkness comes on. The Japanese, persuaded that he is under divine protection, go away.

A.D. 459. The Japanese with over 100 ships invade Silla on the East coast. They besiege Wölsyöng (月城), but are driven off with the loss of half their number.

A.D. 463. The Japanese appear again. The King of Silla builds two forts as a defence against them.

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<sup>“</sup>The right Chinese characters are given this time.

A.D. 476. Two hundred Japanese are captured in a descent on the Silla coast.

After this time the Tongkam has hardly any mention of Japan for a space of nearly 200 years. The following notices are taken from the Sam-kuk-să-kwi (三國史記), a Corean work which has been occasionally referred to in this paper.

A.D. 477. The Japanese advance by five roads with an army. They finally retire unsuccessful.

A.D. 486. The Japanese make a descent on the Silla coast.

A.D. 498. Two camps are formed as a precaution against Japanese attacks.

A.D. 500. A castle is taken by the Japanese.

The Nihongi has nothing of all this. Most of these invasions were no doubt mere piratical descents, but others, and especially those of 444 and 477, must have been very formidable,<sup>49</sup> and can hardly have escaped the notice of the contemporary Japanese annalists. Either, what is most probable, the records of them have been lost, or, in the confusion into which the Japanese chronology of this period has fallen, it is now impossible to say to which of them the few notices in the Nihongi refer. There can be little doubt, however, of the general fact that Japan exercised a powerful influence in Corea during this century.

Let us now turn to the notices of Japan by Chinese China & Japan writers during this period. After a silence of more than a century. in the 5th century and a half, the Chinese records inform us that in

A.D. 420, a Japanese sovereign sent tribute. The names of this sovereign and four of his successors are given, all of whom are stated to have sent tribute and received investiture. The following table shows the genealogy of these Kings, and the dates of their reigns as far as they can be ascertained from these notices. A similar table taken from Japanese sources is added for convenience of comparison.

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<sup>49</sup>This is shown by the fact that in several cases the Japanese besieged Keum-syöng, the Silla Capital, which lies well inland and so far north as the province of Kangwöndo.

## SOVEREIGNS OF JAPAN IN THE 5TH CENTURY A.D.

## I. ACCORDING TO CHINESE WRITERS.

Name.	Relationship.	Accession.	Death.
San	?	420 — x	425 + x
Chin	Younger brother of San	425 + x	448 — x
Sai	?	448 — x	{ 451 + x 462 — x
Kō	Son of Sai	{ 451 + x 462 — x	478 — x
Mu	Younger brother of Kō	478 — x	502 + x

## II. ACCORDING TO JAPANESE HISTORY.

Name.	Relationship.	Accession.	Death.
Richiu	Son of Nintoku	400	405
Hanshō	Younger brother of Richiu	406	411
Ingiō	Younger brother of Hanshō	412	458
Ankō	Son of Ingiō	454	456
Yūriaku	Younger brother of Ankō	457	479
Seinei	Son of Yūriaku	480	484
Kenzō	Grandson of Richiu	485	487
Ninken	Elder brother of Kenzō	488	498
Muretsu	Son of Ninken	499	506

A very little consideration will satisfy any one that it is impossible to reconcile the chronology of these two tables. The Chinese annals have only five sovereigns where the Japanese have seven, and the lengths of the respective reigns do not even approximately agree. The names differ totally, but this is not a fatal objection, as the names both of Chinese and of Japanese derivation which we find in the Japanese histories were probably posthumous,<sup>50</sup> while the Chinese writers of

<sup>50</sup>The so-called historical names of the Japanese Emperors are admittedly posthumous. And there is some reason to believe that many of the native names are so also. It has been mentioned above that this was the case with Jingo Kōgū's name of Okinaga tarashi hime no Mikoto. It seems probable that Nintoku Tenno's name of Ōsasagi no Mikoto means simply the Emperor of the Great Sepulchral mound (*sasagi*, more usually with the honorific prefix *mi*), and had nothing to do with the character for "wren" (*sasagi*) with which it is written. The mound pointed out near Sakai as the tomb of this Emperor is the largest monument of the kind in Japan.

course mentioned these sovereigns by the names they bore in their lifetime. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it seems probable that the first five sovereigns named in each of these tables are identical. Chin is the younger brother of San, as Hanshō is of Richiu, and Sai was followed first by his son Kō, and then by Kō's younger brother Mu, which is the exact order of succession of Ingiō, Ankō and Yūriaku. It is true that the respective dates given forbid this arrangement, but the same objection holds good of any other possible theory, and we have moreover already seen reason to believe that the Japanese chronology during the greater part of this century is by no means trustworthy. The accuracy of the Chinese chronology at this time has never been disputed, but it is possible that in the case of notices relating to a distant and little-known country errors may have crept in. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the matters noticed are chiefly Embassies of which an official record would naturally be kept. Internal evidence in favour of the accuracy of the Chinese account is not altogether wanting. In a Memorial presented to one of the Wei Emperors by King Mu in 478, he styled himself Supreme Director of Military matters in the seven countries of Wa, Pèkché, Silla, Mimana, Kara, Chinhan, and Bohan, General-in-chief for the pacification of the East, and King of Wa, in which titles he was confirmed by China. His four predecessors had requested Imperial sanction for somewhat similar titles. The truth of this statement is attested by the fact already noticed that Japan during this century exercised a powerful influence in the Corean peninsula, and it derives further confirmation from the use of the word Mimana, which, as far as we know, was an exclusively Japanese name for one of the minor Corean Kingdoms.

After A.D. 500, the Chinese and Corean histories pre-conclusion. sent a blank for a considerable period in respect to events connected with Japan, and new considerations come into view. This is therefore a convenient date at which to bring to a close this review of the Early History of Japan. It is far from being exhaustive, and many known contradictions and absurdities in the Kojiki and Nihongi have been left unnoticed. Indeed it approaches the subject almost exclusively from the side of the evidences of inaccuracy from external sources, to the neglect of much internal evidence to the same

effect which might have been adduced. A vast mass of narrative is not directly touched by it. But when we find that the Japanese traditional history during the period in question almost invariably fails to stand the tests which we are in a position to apply, it is impossible not to feel that in all cases where no confirmatory evidence is forthcoming, a wholesome scepticism is our most reasonable attitude. Without some corroboration, all that we can say of any particular statement is that it may very likely rest on a basis of fact, but that the details are probably incorrect, and that the chronology is almost to a certainty wildly inaccurate.

I am sorry that this paper contains so much criticism of a destructive tendency. It is not pleasant to find that what we have been accustomed to look upon as a rich store of information is so deeply tainted by error and fable, and I, for one, should be glad to find that I have been mistaken in estimating at so low a rate the historical value of the Early Japanese Annals.

Let me recapitulate, in conclusion, some of the principal Summary. inferences suggested by the above facts.

1. The earliest date of the accepted Japanese Chronology, the accuracy of which is confirmed by external evidence, is A.D. 461.

2. Japanese History, properly so called, can hardly be said to exist previous to A.D. 500.<sup>61</sup>

3. Corean History and Chronology are more trustworthy than those of Japan during the period previous to that date.

4. While there was an Empress of Japan in the third century A.D. the statement that she conquered Corea is highly improbable.

5. Chinese learning was introduced into Japan from Corea 120 years later than the date given in Japanese History.

6. The main fact of Japan having a predominant influence in some parts of Corea during the 5th century is confirmed by the Corean and Chinese Chronicles, which, however, show that the Japanese accounts are very inaccurate in matters of detail.

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<sup>61</sup> A cursory examination leads me to think that the annals of the sixth century must also be received with caution.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was read before the Society my attention has been drawn to an outspoken article by Mr. Tachibana Riōhei on the "Japanese Epoch" in Nos. 1 and 2 of a new magazine called the *Hakubun Zaishi*. The writer points out the extreme inaccuracy of the chronology of the Nihongi before the time of Richiu Tennō. The following are some of the instances adduced by him.

Suinin Tennō is stated to have died (A.D. 70) at the age of 140. But he and five other children were born to Sūjin Tennō before the accession of the latter (B. C. 97), which would make him at least 180 (?) when he died.

Keikō Tennō was born in the fifty-fourth year of Suinin Tennō's reign. But he had already (at the age of twenty-one) been made Heir Apparent in the 87th year of the same reign, i. e. seventeen years before he was born.

Wabime no mikoto was daughter of Suinin Tennō and younger sister by the same mother of Keikō Tennō. But we are told that Wabime no mikoto worshipped Tenshō daijin in Ise in the 25th year of her father's reign, i.e. twenty-nine years before her elder brother was born.

Prince Oho-usu no mikoto was a twin brother of Yamatodake no mikoto. But the latter was sixteen when he went on his expedition against the Kumasons in the 27th year of Keikō Tennō's reign, so that both brothers were born in the 12th year of Keikō Tennō. Yet in the 4th year of this reigu, i.e. eight years before he was born, it is related that Oho-usu no mikoto seduced the daughter of Mino tsukuri kawo.

Yamatodake no Mikoto died in the 48rd year of Keikō Tennō's reign. But his son Chiusai Tennō was born in the 19th year of Seimu Tennō's reign, or 37 years after his father's death.<sup>52</sup>

Mr. Tachibana also points out the immoderate lengths given to the ages of the Emperors and of Takechi no Sukune (over three hundred years), and the suspicious ages at which some of them are said to have

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<sup>52</sup>This discrepancy has also been pointed out by Mr. Satow.

had children. Thus Jimmu Tennō had a child at eighty, Itoku Tennō at twelve or thirteen, Kōshō Tennō at eighty, Sūjin Tennō at over ninety, and Suinin Tennō at nearly one hundred. Keikō Tennō was born when his mother was over sixty, and his younger brother when she was nearly seventy. Jimmu Tennō's eldest son is said to have seduced his father's widow when he must have been at least ninety and she over one hundred.

I learn with pleasure from Mr. Tachibana's article that in pointing out the discrepancy of exactly two cycles of sixty years each in the Japanese and Corean chronology of certain events, I was following in the footsteps of Motowori Norinaga, who had already made the same discovery. Mr. Tachibana thinks that the same principle should be extended so as to embrace the whole period from Jimmu Tennō to Nintoku Tennō inclusive, and would make out that ten cycles of sixty years each have been interpolated during this time. I hardly think his arguments go further than to prove that large reductions must be made in the lengths of the lives of sovereigns and others in order to bring them within the range of probability, but they will repay perusal by those interested in this subject, and they manifest a healthy scepticism which it is refreshing to meet with in a Japanese writer.

## THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

By WALTER DENING.

[Read January 18, 1888.]

One of the most interesting features of Japanese modern life is the formation and development of a large number of learned societies. The history of such societies as a whole offers a striking contrast to the history of political parties. The arena of politics can hardly be said to be opened to the public here, as it is in countries where representative government, in any one of its many forms, has been established for some time. It was too much to expect, that political parties formed seven or eight years before the inauguration of a representative assembly could hold together very long. The *Hoshu-tō*, or Conservative party, the *Jiyū-tō*, or Liberal party, and the *Kaishin-tō*, or Liberal-Conservative party, for a while discussed vigorously, within the limits prescribed by the Government, important political questions. But eventually speakers and hearers alike grew weary of work that failed to produce any practical results. Accordingly these parties have either broken up or have continued to exist only in name. Apparently the near approach of the time for the inauguration of a representative assembly is just now creating a *raison d'être* for political parties, but as regards the past, they may be said to have practically proved failures. To this the history of scientific, philosophical, and educational societies affords a pleasing contrast. The object of the formation of such societies being the investigation and discussion of certain definite subjects, all of which more or less directly bear on the welfare of mankind, and some of which are entirely new in this country, they occupy an important position as diffusers of knowledge, instruments of reform, heralds of the age of enlightenment and freedom that is in process of inauguration. Their

public meetings afford excellent opportunities for studious and thoughtful men to give the results of their investigations to the world, whilst at the same time they do no small good in helping to train a nation unaccustomed to public speaking in the art of expressing thought in a clear and graceful manner. When in the distant future a history of the adoption of Western Civilization by the Japanese comes to be written, it will be perceived how great a work these learned societies have accomplished.

The Japanese Education Society, from small beginnings, has gradually won its way to fame, until it now numbers nearly 5,000 members. Among these are enrolled the names of some of Japan's most enlightened men.

The monthly meetings of the Society are held on the second Sunday of each month in the large Lecture Hall of the Imperial University, situated near Hitotsu Bashi, Tōkyō, on which occasions lectures on education are delivered. The annual meetings of the Society are held on two successive days in March or April. Last year, as it will be remembered, the meeting was attended by the principal residents of Tōkyō, both native and foreign, and was addressed by a number of influential men.

We now proceed to give an account of the formation, constitution, and work of the Society, to be followed by a résumé of one of its papers. The Society has from its commencement published a detailed account of its proceedings in a monthly Journal. The first number, published in October, 1883, contains the outline of an address by Mr. Iochi Tamotsu, entitled "The Education Society in its Third Stage," which furnishes us with various facts bearing on the formation of the Society, and which, therefore, with a few omissions, we append.

"Those who mount to great heights commence from low depths: those who go a long distance begin from something very near. This has been the case with our Japanese Education Society. When we come to inquire how it commenced, we find that it originated in the following way:—In December, 1878, a few of the teachers of the Tōkyō Government Elementary Schools, who were interested in the matter, after consultation, decided on calling a meeting to consider the advisability of forming an Education Society. This meeting was held in the Tokiwa Government School room, and resulted in the formation

of a society known as the Tōkyō Education Society. Then, in August, 1880, some members of the *Gakushūin* (the Nobles' School) held a meeting in Nishiki-chō, and founded the Tōkyō Educational Association (東京教育協會). This is the first stage of the Society's history.

"After a while it was felt that the influence of these two societies, thus divided, was very limited, and that as long as they continued to work separately they would never effect much good. This led to some earnest members of the two Associations taking steps to bring about their union, which was effected in May, 1882. The cause thus entered on a new stage of existence, being henceforth known as the *Tōkyō-kyōiku-gakukwai*, or the Tōkyō Educational Science Society. This is the second stage of the Society's history.

"The members of the Society, however, were not content with this amount of progress, and were desirous of enlarging the sphere of the Society's operations still further, so as to make them capable of conferring benefit on the whole country. This led to the revision of the rules this year [1888], and to the Society's assuming the name of the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōikukwai*, or the Japanese Education Society. This is the third stage of the Society's history. We do not intend to rest here, but hope to make still further progress in various ways.

"The above is no more than a brief outline of the Society's past history; but it is sufficient to show the various steps by which it has reached its present position, and to serve as a proof that its constant aim has been progress; that it is not content unless its sphere of influence is constantly growing wider and wider; that from what is low it is rising to what is high; from what is near it is reaching out to what is distant.

"Subjoined is a table<sup>1</sup> showing a steady increase in the number of members belonging to the various Education Societies mentioned above.

"By this table we see that, in accordance with the desire of the early members of the Tōkyō Education Society for extension, their number has gradually increased, so that now those who espouse our cause amount to over 600 persons. This should fill our hearts with gladness, whilst it should be an incentive to us to do our utmost to extend the field of our operations till there is not a place in Japan in

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<sup>1</sup> Given on next page.

NAMES OF SOCIETIES.	DATES AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS.				
	Members in Sept., 1879.	Members in Sept., 1880.	Members in Sept., 1881.	Members in Sept., 1882.	Members in Sept., 1883.
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōikukwai</i> ..... (東京教育會)	50	72	62	....	....
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōiku-Kyōkwaï</i> ..... (東京教育協會)	....	25	60	....	....
<i>Tōkyō-Kyōiku-gakukwai</i> ..... (東京教育學會)	....	....	....	208	....
<i>Dai-Nihon-Kyōikukwai</i> ..... (大日本教育會)	....	....	....	....	630

which the Society is not represented. Looking, then, at our past history and remembering how from very small beginnings we have reached our present position, we cannot doubt that the spirit of activity which has been so manifest among us, will still keep us from retrograding: yet, with a view of making this doubly sure, it is most desirable that we should regard a continual state of progress as the one object which the Society sets before itself.

“With a large number of men coming together, that great difference of opinion should be expressed and that this should lead to warmth of friendly feeling between certain members, and to coolness between certain others, is unavoidable. Men's minds are no more alike than their faces. But notwithstanding this, the majority of you will agree with me when I say that a course of continual progress must be advantageous to us all, whilst all retrograde movement and mere conservatism must be profitless. This being clear, the more earnest among our members will be united in their efforts to push forward. Yet in the discussion of the means to be resorted to to effect progress, it is desirable that there should be room for difference of opinion, and that, within the

limits of those rules of the Society which have progress and activity of spirit as their main object, debates on various subjects should be free and unfettered, and that members should be allowed to lecture on whatever topics they please.

"People who live in the country, and who consequently are prevented from attending the Society's meetings, should correspond with it on important matters connected with education. Bearing in mind that the object of our meetings is the devising of means for the improvement of our educational system, members should express themselves without the slightest reserve. They must say things they are half ashamed to say, and ask questions that they are half ashamed to ask. For as long as there is any reserve in speech, there is no possibility of our meetings proving of benefit to us who attend them, or of their becoming the means of conferring benefit on others. It is very important that by means of our Journal and by correspondence, a regular system of investigation should be instituted, and a spirit of activity stirred up, and that whatever is calculated to further the interests of the Society, or prove of service to the world, should be brought up for discussion. If this be done, then the third stage of this Society's existence will prove one which hands down to posterity an illustrious name, and one which will make it easier for the Society to enter on a still more advanced stage of progress in the future."

The first meeting of the newly organised Society was held on Sept. 9th, 1883, in the *Gakushūin*. There were 68 members present on this occasion. The chair was taken by Mr. Nakagawa Gen, who proceeded to put it to the meeting whether the rules which had been drawn up and copies of which had been placed in the hands of the members, should be passed. He stated that it would be necessary to elect some office-bearers to act temporarily, till the general meeting of the Society took place in the following March. The rules were passed, and the meeting proceeded to record their votes for the office-bearers. The names of those elected were as follows:—To be Director of the Society, Mr. Tsuji Shinji (then Chief Secretary of the Mombushō); to be Sub-Director, Mr. Nakagawa Gen; to be members of Committee, Messrs. Sano Yasushi, Nishimura Tei, Ōtsuka Shigeyoshi, Nagakura Yūhei and Tandokoro Hiroyuki. In accordance with one of the rules of the Society,

the Director has the power to choose five members of committee, which Mr. Tsuji proceeded to do: those chosen being Messrs. Iuchi Tamotsu, Ikoma Yasuto, Kusakabe Sannosuke, Takei Tamotsu and Namikawa Hisa-aki.

The rules were, as we have seen, drawn up previous to the meeting to which we have just referred and passed at that meeting. They were slightly revised in August, 1884. We give a translation of them as they stood after this revision :

“ INTRODUCTION TO THE RULES OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

“ What man is there that does not seek health and happiness for himself? What subject is there that does not desire peace and prosperity for his country? And no sooner do we desire these things than it becomes our duty to endeavour to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the hidden sources from which they flow. What are the hidden sources to which we refer? No other than educational sources. Since the revolution and the inauguration of the new regime, education, like other things, has made great progress. Day by day, and month by month, improvement has been added to improvement. Yet when we look into things narrowly, we find there is still much left to be done. In some cases, we find that though the intellect is cultivated, people have no regard for morality, and no idea what it is. On the other hand, we see persons who, though very moral, pay no attention to the subject of bodily health. Others there are who are addicted to all kinds of useless display in what they do, others who have no definite object in life; others who sink to the lowest depths of ignominy and pollution; and so we might go on without end. Do not all these things show that the education of the country is still limited in extent and inferior in quality? Moreover, though the Government for a long time has been most anxious to improve the state of education—to make it more efficient and bring it within the reach of a larger number of people, yet this duty is by no means one for whose discharge the Government alone is to be held responsible. Each individual is under an obligation to lend his or her aid to the cause of educational reform. It being a part of the nature of every man to seek for health and happiness for himself and peace and prosperity for his country, the devising

of means for the obtaining of these benefits becomes one of the paramount duties of every man.

"It is now just a year since the formation of the *Tōkyō-Kyōikukwai*. Though our sphere has been limited we have exerted ourselves to the utmost. We now purpose extending the field of our operations by soliciting the aid of all those throughout the country who are desirous of promoting the end we have in view, and so hope to make our cause known in every part of the land. In taking this course we trust that we shall be giving assistance to those who control the education of the country, as well as acting as leaders to all those persons throughout Japan who feel the need of progress in this matter. With this in view, we have revised the rules of the Society, and have altered its name to the *Dai-Nihon Kyōikukwai*. It is our earnest desire that those who approve of the effort we are making will come forward and give us their assistance, and thus show that they fully understand what are the hidden sources of that personal happiness and national prosperity which they desire to see attained.

"THE RULES OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

"I.—The object of this Society is the uniting together in an association all persons who are actuated by similar desires in the matter of education, the devising of plans for the improvement of our education, so as to make it comprehensive and progressive, and thus the assisting of those to whom its control has been entrusted.\*

II.—Starting with the above-named objects in view, in order to attain them we deem, the progress of morality, the diffusion of knowledge, the strengthening of body and mind to the extent of developing all the powers of both into perfection, to be considered the chief things aimed at.

III.—The Society shall be called the *Dai-Nihon Kyōikukwai*.

IV.—For the present, the office of the Society shall be at No. 7, Iida machi, 1 chōme, Kōjimachiku, Tōkyō. This place has been decided on as the most conveniently situated for all purposes.

V.—Any person who approves of the object of the Society may become a member of the same.

VI.—Any one who wishes to become a member must acquaint the Society with his desire, and must fill in a paper that will be sent to him,

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\*The officers of the Mombushō.

giving his name, age, place of residence, occupation, and the name of the place at which he is registered. This paper must bear the seal or signature of the applicant.

VII.—Those who have complied with the above conditions will receive a certificate of membership.

VIII.—Members are allowed to attend the annual, monthly, and special meetings of the Society, to state their views to it in writing, or to put any questions to it that they please. But it shall be left to the Director to decide whether the views of any member shall be made a subject of discussion at a public meeting or not.

IX.—It is the duty of members to give attention to all subjects connected with education, and to inform the Society of anything that appears to them to call for their consideration.

X.—Members are allowed to take their families and two friends to the meetings of the Society. But at times want of room may make it necessary to refuse admittance to any but members.

XI.—Persons desirous of ceasing to be members must notify the same to the Society, and return their certificates of membership.

XII.—If it happens that a member does not observe the rules of the Society, or does anything calculated to bring discredit on it, or is negligent in the duties devolving upon him, the Director has the power to expel him from the Society.

XIII.—Any one of note, engaged in general educational work, or in teaching science ; in fact, any person of reputation, whether foreign or native, provided it be considered that his belonging to the Society would be of benefit to it, shall be elected an honorary member of the same.

XIV.—Honorary members are not required to do more than approve of and assist in the carrying out of the objects of the Society.

XV.—The officers of the Society are as follows :—1 President, 1 Director, 1 Sub-Director, 10 members of Committee, Clerks (number not fixed). The President shall be a member of the Imperial Family. All other office-bearers shall be chosen from among the members.

XVI.—The President shall have supreme control of the affairs of the Society and be regarded as its head.

XVII.—The Director shall exercise control in all ordinary matters, but whenever anything extraordinary occurs, the decision of the President

shall be taken, and he shall be constituted the chairman of the meeting that assembles to consider such matter.

XVIII.—The Sub-Director shall assist the Director, and when from any cause the latter is obliged to be absent, he shall act as his deputy.

XIX.—The Committee will transact the various business of the Society, will give attention to the accounts, and to the compilation of its publications. The Director will decide in what way the work is to be divided among them.

XX.—Secretaries will carry out the orders of the Director, and, in subordination to the Committee, transact the business of the Society.

XXI.—The President shall be looked on as the representative of the Director, as well as of all the members of the Society, in any special business that has to be transacted.

XXII.—The Director and Sub-Director of the Society shall be chosen by the members by vote. The term for which they shall serve shall be two years. The members are at liberty, however, to re-elect the former office-bearers whenever they wish to do so.

XXIII.—Five of the members of Committee shall be chosen by vote by the members of the Society, and five by the Director. The time for which those elected shall serve shall be two years.

XXIV.—The Secretaries shall be chosen by the Director.

XXV.—The officers of the Society will not be paid, unless in the opinion of the Director on special occasions some remuneration seems to be called for.

XXVI.—The Society, in addition to those mentioned above, shall appoint an officer, whose duty it shall be to make researches in two departments, viz., in that of science and art, and in that of educational methods and government and rules bearing thereon.

XXVII.—This officer shall be chosen by the Director and the members, and shall be called the Investigator. It shall be left to the Director to decide when his services call for pecuniary remuneration.

XXVIII.—The Annual meeting of the Society shall be held on some day in March, notice of which will be given beforehand. Should it be deemed advisable, however, the time for holding the meeting may be altered at any time. The business of the meeting on this occasion shall be as follows :—(1) Report of the progress of the Society throughout

the year. (2) Financial statement. (3) Report of the general state of education during the year. (4) The voting of officers for the ensuing year (this will only take place every other year). (5) Discussion of the subject for the day. (6) A lecture to be given by one of the members. (7) Conversation on subjects connected with education.

XXIX.—The ordinary meetings of the Society will be held on the second Sunday of every month, commencing at 1 p.m. The time of holding such meetings may be changed to suit the convenience of members. The business to be transacted on these occasions shall be as follows:— (1) The discussion of the subject of the day. (2) A lecture by a member of the Society. (3) Conversation on subjects connected with education.

XXX.—Those among the members who are desirous of lecturing shall state in writing what subject they intend to treat, and shall receive the permission of the Director before lecturing.

XXXI.—Besides the ordinary monthly and annual meetings, should there be any urgent matter that demands consideration, upon the Director and not less than 10 members giving their consent, a special meeting shall be called.

XXXII.—All other business of the Society will be settled in accordance with another set of rules to be drawn up for the purpose.

XXXIII.—The share of the expenses of the Society to be defrayed by each member is fixed at 20 *sen* per month. Each member must pay his subscription six months in advance, the time fixed for such payment being January and July of every year.

XXXIV.—Any person who, with a desire to enable the Society to meet its expenses, subscribes 20 *yen* or upwards at one time, shall be considered a Life-member, and not be required to pay the ordinary monthly subscription any longer.

XXXV.—When books are presented, or money given by any one, the Director shall send a letter of thanks to such person. Notice of the same shall be inserted in the Society's Journal and other papers. The amount of money, or the number of books presented, with the name of the donor, shall appear in the Society's accounts.

XXXVI.—The money of the Society shall be deposited in a trustworthy bank, and shall be put in and taken out at the discretion of the officers of the Society.

XXXVII.—The accounts of the Society, showing what are its expenditure and income, shall be made up annually and a report of the same read to the Society at its annual meeting.

XXXVIII.—The Society shall publish a monthly Journal, which will discuss subjects connected with education, and contain notices of various matters of interest. The Journal will be supplied gratis to members.

XXXIX.—The foregoing rules may be altered at the instance of more than 10 members, after such alteration has been discussed and agreed to by a general meeting of the Society."

The Society's Journal is in many respects a most valuable publication. It differs somewhat in size from month to month according to the amount of matter available for publication; but it usually contains more than a hundred pages of closely printed Sinico-Japanese. All the lectures given before the Society, as well as translations of important papers and lectures bearing on education that have been read or delivered in Europe and America are published in it. Besides these, all government regulations bearing on education and a minute account of the state of education in every civilised country and in every province of the Japanese empire are given.

In order to show in how many respects the Society has improved in the course of four years, we append a translation of the Rules as revised in November last.

#### RULES OF THE EDUCATION SOCIETY.

I.—The object of this Society is the consideration of measures for the spread, the improvement and the progress of education.

II.—This Society shall be called the Japanese Education Society, and Tōkyō shall be deemed its headquarters.

III.—Any person whatever sympathising with the objects of the Society may become a member of the same.

IV.—Persons of note and rank, whether scholars or engaged in education, provided their election is likely to prove of benefit to the Society, shall be created honorary members of the same.

V.—The Society shall have patrons, from among whom a President shall be chosen, who shall be requested to exercise control over all the business of the Society.

VI.—Princes shall be solicited to become patrons of the Society, and on their consent shall be so considered.

VII.—The Society shall establish branch societies in the Hokkaido and in the various cities and prefectures of the country ; which societies shall be named the “—— Branch of the Japanese Education Society.”

There shall be no branch society in Tōkyō.

VIII.—The officers of the Society shall be as follows: \*—1 Director, 5 Privy-Councillors, 200 Councillors, 2 Agents, 6 Clerks.

IX.—The Director shall have control of all the Society's affairs.

When there is a Council Meeting he shall be its chairman.

X.—Privy-Councillors shall be entrusted with all matters of great moment.

XI.—Councillors shall be entrusted with the settling of all questions connected with the business of the Society.

XII.—Agents shall have control of all matters connected with the practical work of the Society.

XIII.—Clerks shall be engaged in the various business of the Society.

XIV.—The Director shall be chosen at an Annual Meeting by ballot.

XV.—The term for which a Director shall serve shall be four years. The re-election of a Director is allowed.

XVI.—Privy-Councillors shall be appointed from among ordinary Councillors by the Director.

XVII.—Councillors shall be chosen by vote at an Annual Meeting.

In case of a vacancy among the Councillors having to be filled up, it is advisable that the name of the person proposed shall be advertised previous to his election.

XVIII.—The time of service for Councillors shall be four years. Every two years half the number required shall be chosen.

Re-election is allowed.

XIX.—Agents and Clerks shall be chosen by the Director.

XX.—The Director, Privy-Councillors, and Councillors shall receive no salary. The salaries of Agents and Clerks shall be fixed by the Director.

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\* The President is not included among the officers of the Society.

XXI.—If for the discharge of the business of the Society the Director deems it necessary to appoint special committees and hire assistants, he shall be at liberty to do so.

XXII.—Hired assistants shall be paid so much *per* day. The remuneration of members of committees shall be left to the discretion of the Director.

XXIII.—The Society shall call a Council Meeting for any one of the following objects :—

1.—The revision of the Rules.

2.—The passing decision on any weighty matter connected with the work of the Society.

3.—The discussion or investigation of any question connected with education.

4.—On the motion of more than ten members in favour of holding such meeting.

XXIV.—When the votes of the members of Council for and against a motion are equal, the decision shall lie with the Director.

XXV.—The Society shall hold an Ordinary Meeting once a month,<sup>4</sup> at which the following business shall be transacted :—

1.—An address, a lecture, a conversation, and a debate on the subject of education.

2.—Council and special reports.

XXVI.—A General Meeting of the Society shall be held once a year, at which the following business shall be transacted :—

1.—Reports on the state of the Society and its branch associations, its business, accounts, and publications.

2.—Addresses, lectures, conversations, debates and questions on education.

3.—Council and Special reports.

XXVII.—Branch Societies may be formed with the permission of the Director in whatever place there happen to be residing more than a hundred members of the Main Society.

Under special circumstances, in some parts of the country, the permission to form a Branch Society will be granted even though the number of resident members falls short of one hundred.

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<sup>4</sup> The month of August is excepted.

XXVIII.—Branch Societies shall appoint the following officers:—

A Director, Councillors, Agents, Clerks.<sup>5</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

XXXV.—The expenses of the Branch Societies shall be met by the members of these Societies.

XXXVI.—Branch Societies shall send to the Main Society a yearly report of the progress they have made.

Special reports shall not be included in this.

XXXVII.—The Rules of Branch Societies must be sanctioned by the Director.

XXXVIII.—At each Annual Meeting of the Main Society one representative of each Branch Society shall be present, who shall be placed on an equal footing with the Councillors of the Main Society, taking part in discussions and answering questions on educational matters.

The travelling expenses of these representatives shall be met by the Main Society.

XXXIX.—Members are at liberty to bring their relations and friends to hear the lectures and addresses delivered at the Monthly and Annual Meetings of the Society.

There may be times, however, when, owing to want of room, the admittance of such will have to be refused.

XL.—The Society shall publish a Monthly Journal for distribution among its members.

Matters having reference to Branch Societies will be recorded in this Journal.

XLI.—Besides the regular Meetings of the Society, addresses and lectures on education will be given from time to time.

XLII.—The Society shall, in response to the invitation of other Education Societies, send representatives to their meetings.

XLIII.—The Society shall open a Library, if such a step be deemed advisable.

XLIV.—The Society shall print such books as are required for educational purposes.

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<sup>5</sup> The rules which follow being precisely similar to Nos. XIV.-XIX in the earlier set of rules, we have omitted them.

XLV.—The Society shall render assistance to the young friends and relations of their members who may be sent to Tōkyō for education.

XLVI.—The Society shall respond to applications for teachers and teaching.

XLVII.—The current expenses of the Society shall be met by the subscriptions of its members and by donations received.

XLVIII.—The monthly subscription to the Society for members residing in Tōkyō shall be thirty *sen*, and for those residing in the country twenty-five.

On the presentation to the Society of thirty *yen* by a resident of Tōkyō, or twenty-five *yen* by any one residing in the country, the donor shall be exempted from paying monthly subscriptions and shall be declared a Life-member of the Society.

XLIX.—Persons entering the Society for the first time shall pay an entrance fee of one *yen*.

L.—In order to enable the Society to carry on its labours for a lengthened period, a reserve fund shall be gradually formed.

The interest derived from this fund shall occasionally be made use of to meet the current expenses of the Society.

L.I.—The Reserve fund shall be supplied from the monthly subscriptions of members, from the entrance fees, donations, and the like.

L.II.—Whenever either money or any article is presented to the Society, the name of the donor shall be recorded in the Society's books and thus handed down to posterity. The number and donors of such gifts shall from time to time be stated in the Society's Journal.

L.III.—Any person who presents to the Society over thirty *yen* shall be regarded as a virtual member of the Society, and a copy of the Journal shall be forwarded to him month by month.

This rule will be followed when, instead of money, some valuable article has been presented to the Society.

L.IV.—The Director is at liberty to frame minor regulations in order to facilitate the observance of the above rules.

LV.—If among the members there is any one who does not observe these rules or who acts in a way calculated to bring discredit on the Society, at the discretion of the Director, such a person may be expelled from the Society.

LVI.—These rules may not be revised unless at the suggestion of over twenty members, and subsequent to the consent of the council to the measure.

*November 12th, 1887.*"

We subjoin a list of the titles of the more important papers and lectures published in the Society's journal.<sup>6</sup> The first number of the present series was published in November, 1888,<sup>7</sup> its title being the *Dai-Nihon Kyōiku-Kwai Zasshi* 大日本教育會雑誌

LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

No.

1. 大日本教育會第一回開會ノ祝詞

"Congratulatory Address on the Occasion of the First Meeting of the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōiku-Kwai*." By Tanji Shinji.

知識ノ發達ヲ論ズ。

"The Development of the Understanding." By Takei Tamotsu.

1. 教員改良ノ一方案

"Two or Three Methods of Reforming our Teachers." By Nishimura Tei.

1. 今日我輩力所謂教育トハ何ソヤ

"What is it that at Present goes by the Name of Education among us." By Izawa Shūji. (Continued in Nos. 2 and 4.)

2. 物理學授業法

"The Mode of Teaching Physics." By Muraoka Han-ichi. (Continued in No. 3.)

3. 簡單ナル器械ヲ用井テ物理學ヲ教フルヲ

"The Teaching of Physics by means of some Simple Instruments." By Gotō Makita.

<sup>6</sup> We have omitted from this list papers whose subject matter has no direct bearing on education, or whose titles are obscure, also translations from foreign books.

<sup>7</sup> The Journal quoted from above (*vide p. 77*), published in October, 1888, bore a slightly different name to the present one, being called the *Dai-Nihon-Kyōiku-kwaiishi*.

4. 中小學校理學教授ノ説  
“The Teaching of Science in Elementary Schools.” By Takamine Hideo.
5. 普通教育ノ施設  
“The Imparting of General Instruction.” By Kubota Yuzuru.
5. 瘫人教育説  
“The Instruction of the Deformed, so as to make up for Organic deficiencies.” By Teshima Sei-ichi. (Continued in No. 6.)
6. 化學授業法  
“Modes of Teaching Chemistry.” By Sakurai Jōji.
6. 文學ノ授業法  
“Modes of Giving Instruction in Literature.” By Naka Michiyo. (Continued in No. 7.)
7. 算術教授上ノ心得  
“Things to be borne in mind in teaching Mathematics.” By Sakurai Höki. (Continued in No. 8.)
8. 教育ノ需用  
“The Essentials of Education.” By Kuki Takakazu.
9. 動物分類ノ方法  
“The Methods of Classifying Living Beings.” By Mitsukuri Kakiichi. (Continued in No. 10.)
10. 生年より學齡ニ至ル兒童死亡統計論附其原因及ヒ教育統計一斑  
“An Estimate of the Number of Children that die in different countries before they are old enough to go to school, together with a discussion of the cause of the above and of the number of persons who are available for education in various countries.” By Terata Yūkichi. (Continued in No. 11.)
11. 大日本教育會起サズンバアルベカラザル理由  
“Why the Founding of the Japanese Education Society was an Absolute Necessity.” By Toyama Masakazu.
12. 小學科中ニ農工商業ノ大意ヲ加フルノ要ヲ論ズ  
“The Importance of including general instruction in Agriculture, Commerce, and the Useful Arts among the Subjects to be taught in our Elementary schools.” By Tsuchiya Masatomo. (Continued in No. 18.)

12. 理學ノ說  
"Some remarks on Science." By Kikuchi Dairoku.

13. 東京府下小學改良ヲ謀ルノ難事ナルヲ論ズ  
"The Difficulties of Devising Measures for the Improvement of the Elementary Schools of the Tōkyō Fu." By Kitera Yasuatsu.

13. 小學教科ノ選擇  
"The Choice of Subjects to be taught in Elementary Schools." By Yamada Yukimoto.

13. 教育ト衛生トノ關係  
"The Connection of Education and Health." By Miyake Shū.

13. 胎教說  
"Hereditary Education." By Nishi Shū.

14. 人ノ一生ハ幼時ノ教育ニアルヲ論ズ  
"The Life of Man depends on the Education he receives in Youth." By Nakamura Masanao.

14. 普通教育普及改良ノ一方策  
"Methods of Improving the Mode of imparting General Instruction, so as to make it capable of reaching every part of the Country." By Motoshima Matsuzō. (Continued in No. 15.)

15. 小學校讀書科用書ニ就テ感ズル所ヲ述ブ  
"The Impression created by an Examination of the Lesson Books of Elementary Schools." By Yoshimura Toratarō

16. 道徳學ヲ簡單ニ教授スルノ方法  
"An Easy Method of Imparting Instruction on Ethics." By J. B. Arrivet. (Continued in No. 17.)

16. かなのけういく  
"Education by Means of the Kana." By Katayama Atsuyoshi. (Continued in No. 17.)

17. 少年子弟ノ遊戯ヲ論シ併セテ其健康及ビ品行上ノ關係ニ及ブ  
"The Connection between the Amusements of Children and their Health and Conduct." By — Techow. (Continued in No. 18.)

18. 下等教育普及捷徑法ノ意見ヲ陳述シ當路者ノ注意ヲ促シ併セテ世間有志者ニ問ハントス

“An Easy way of making Elementary Education universal, of attracting the attention of officials of the Education Department and appealing to the minds of men in general.” By Takahashi Hideta.

19. 學校生徒ノ體勢ヲ論ズ  
“The Physical Condition of the Scholars in our Schools.” By Nomura Tsuna.

19. 小學校ニ於テ珠算ヲ専用スルノ利益ヲ論ズ  
The Advantages to be derived from an Exclusive use of the Abacus for Arithmetical Calculation in Elementary Schools.” By Akihara Sutegorō.

20. 大日本農業教育論  
“Agricultural Education in Japan.” By Gotō Tatsuzō.

20. 慶義統計  
“Statistics on the State of Morals.” By Nakagawa Gen.

20. 二代目ノ我八今代ノ我ヨリ賢カランヲ祈ニベシ  
“We should Desire that the next Generation should be wiser than this.” By Kusakabe Sannosuke.

21. 家庭教育  
“Domestic Education.” By Koike Tamijirō.

21. 大坂商法會議所ニ於テ演説  
A Lecture Delivered in the Chamber of Commerce, Ōsaka. By Mori Arinori.

22. 法律經濟ノ二科ヲ小學科目中ニ入ルゝノ可否ヲ論ズ  
“The Advantages and Disadvantages of Including Law and Political Economy among the Subjects taught in Elementary Schools.” By W. G. Appert.

23. 博物圖畫教授ノ注意  
“Points to be Attended to in the use of Pictorial Representations of Natural Objects.” By Takashima Heizaburō.

23. 小學校教師ト人民トノ間ノ親密ナラシユルハ目今ノ要務  
“The Great Importance at the Present Time of Cultivating Friendly Relations between the Teachers of Elementary Schools and the Inhabitants.” By Kotake Keijirō.

24. 小學校ヲ以テ愉快ナル集會場トスベシ  
“The Elementary School should be made a Happy Meeting Place for Children.” By Kotake Keijirō.

24. 珠算教授ノ說  
“A View on the Teaching of Arithmetic by Means of the Abacus.” By Kuroda Sadaharu.

25. 學校衛生論  
“School Hygiene.” By Kidera Yasuatsu.

25. 學齡未滿ノ小兒ヲ育ツベキ談話  
“On the Education of Children who are too young to send to School.” By Kojima Kametarō.

25. 國家ノ興廢ハ小學教育ニ在リ  
“The Fate of the State Depends on the Condition of Elementary Schools.” By Yamaji Ichiyū.

26. 日本國語論  
“On the Japanese Language.” By F. Schroeder.

27. 徵兵ト教育トノ關係  
“The Connection between Conscription and Education.” By Murakata Soichirō.

27. 兵式體操ノ必要ニ感アリ  
“A Feeling that Military Drill is most Important” (to schools). By Ōmura Chōe.

27. 教育論者多キヨリ教育家ノ多キヲ望ム  
“A Desire to see more Educators than Theorizers on Education.” By Abe Hidemasa.

28. 婦人ノ教育  
“The Education of Women.” By F. W. Eastlake.

28. 近眼ノ說  
“On Near-sightedness.” By Bai Kinnojō.

29. 珠算教授方附算術改良法  
“The Method of Teaching Arithmetic and Modes of Reforming the same.” By Takano Ryū.

29. 農業地方ノ小學校へ實業科ヲ設ケ幼年ヨリ蒙上ノ嗜好心ヲ養生スル方

“A Method of Cultivating a Taste for Agriculture in young Children by giving Lessons in Practical Agriculture during school hours in Schools situated in Agricultural Districts.” By Takahashi Hideta.

29. 我小學校習字法ノ改良ヲ論ズ  
“A Means of Reforming the Calligraphy of our Elementary Schools.” By Noro Kuninosuke.

29. 教育ノ急要  
“Urgent Matters in Education.” By Abe Hidemasa.

30. 文章ノ變遷  
“The Various Changes that Japanese Composition has undergone.” By Ōmori Ichū.

31. 師範學校前途ノ目的  
“The Object to be Aimed at by Normal Schools.” By Furukawa Ryōnosuke.

31. 教育ノ制度ト各國各人ノ品格トノ關係  
“The Relation of Systems of Education to National and Individual Character.” By W. Dening.

31. 児童教育法考附兒童學校用衣服案  
“Thoughts on Education (in general) and on the Mode of Dress to be Adopted in Schools.” By Watanabe Hiromoto.

32. 教育者ノ名譽何ヲ以テ維持セシム乎  
“How can an Educator maintain his reputation ?” By Ōkubo Jitsū.

33. 食物ノ改良ニ感アリ  
“A Feeling that Diet should be Improved.” By Inamura Yūrin.

34. 近視眼豫防  
“A Preventative of Near-sightedness.” By Tajiri Inajirō.

35. 現今ノ開發教授  
“The Teaching by Means of Development prevailing at the present Time.” By Ikoma Yasuto.

35. 常用文字ノ書体ヲ一定スルノ必要ヲ論ズ  
“The Importance of Fixing on one Mode of Writing Characters in General Use.” By Iio Sōtarō.

36. 實業教育論  
“Education on Practical Subjects.” By Teshima Sei-ichi. (Continued in No. 37.)

36. 盲啞ノ教育  
“The Education of the Blind and the Dumb.” By Ōkubo Jitsu.

37. 貧生ニ學資ヲ給スル目的ヲ以テ資金ヲ募集スル論  
“The Founding of Scholarships.” By Kaneko Kentarō.

38. 學齡以下ノ兒童ヲ保育スル方法  
“A Means of Instructing Children who are not old enough to go to School.” By Kotake Keijirō.

39. 恐ルベキ事ト恐ルベカラズル事トノ差別ヲ教育家ニ望ム  
“It is expected of Educators that they should distinguish between things to be Feared and things not to be Feared.” By Mitsukuri Rinshō.

39. 日本文典論  
“Japanese Grammar.” By Abo Tomoichirō.

40. 呼呼何ソ獨立ノ精神ナキヤ  
“Ah! How is it that there is no Spirit of Independence?” By Watanabe Yoshishige.

40. 日本數學廢滅スペカラス并日本數學略史  
“The Advisability of not abolishing Japanese Arithmetic, together with a History of the Science.” By Endō Toshisada. (Continued in No. 41.)

41. 教員フシテ九萬ヨリ重カラシユス論  
“Teachers should be Esteemed more than any treasure the Country possesses.” By Asagi Naokichi.

42. 教育管見  
“My Views on Education.” By Mori Yoshitsugu.

43. 兒童ニ錢ヲ持タスル利害  
“The Advantages and Disadvantages of Supplying Pupils with Money.” By Maejima Mitsu and Tanaka Iin.

44. 小學校試驗論  
“Examinations in Elementary Schools.” By Osada Katsukichi.

44. 貧生ニ學資ヲ給スル目的ヲ以テ資金ヲ募集スル論ノ論評  
“A Discussion of Mr. Kaneko's Views on the Founding of Scholarships.” By Tanaka Iin.

44. 教授用大算盤改良策  
The Improvement of the large Abacus used in Schools." By Kawasaki Hizō.

44. 普通ノ文章ヲ一定シ文法書ヲ編纂スペキ論  
"The Deciding on one Mode of Writing to be Employed in every kind of Composition, and the Preparation of a Grammar on the same." By Abo Tomoichirō.

45. 常用文章ノ書体ヲ一定スルノ論  
"The Fixing on one Mode of Writing Characters in General use." By Tanaka Iin.

45. 作文用書ヲ定ムルノ得失  
"The Advantages and Disadvantages of Fixing on Certain Books as Models of Composition." By Chiba Jitsu.

45. 小學教員ニ勳章及年金ヲ付與スルノ意見  
"A View on the Bestowal of Honours and Annual Rewards on School Teachers." By Watanabe Yoshishige.

45. 小學校ノ維持法  
"A Means of Maintaining Elementary Schools." By Yamada Kunihiko.

46. 目下教育上衛生上ノ注意ヲ望ム  
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## "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNDERSTANDING."

BY TAKEI TAMOTSU.

## A RÉSUMÉ.

We now proceed to give in our own words a résumé of a lecture delivered to the Sayetama Branch of the Japanese Education Society by Mr. Takei Tamotsu on "The Development of the Understanding."<sup>2</sup>

In order to show the importance of the subject discussed by the lecturer and the felicity of his method of treating it, a few introductory remarks on the subject of education in general will not be out of place.

However good the machinery made use of, the thing produced depends very much upon the nature of the material on which the machine works. This is essentially so when the human mind becomes the subject operated upon, and the educational system of a country the instrument employed to mould it into what is considered a proper shape. The Japanese are adopting to a very large extent the educational methods of the West, but the problem that they have to solve for themselves, or some one has to solve for them, is the extent to which our Western methods suit the present condition of the Japanese mind. The question whether the immediate transition from the system to which they have been accustomed to the European one, is not too great a leap, and, if so, what means can be devised for connecting the old with the new, what bridge can be constructed to serve as a highway for the native mind to cross the gulf that lies between its old familiar world and that new unexplored region which it hopes to reach, is at once one of the most urgent and most perplexing questions of the day. A minute study of the educational systems of the various civilised countries of the world, tends to show that they have all been growths rather than creations. In so far as they have succeeded in reaching that final goal of education the teaching of men how to think for themselves, they have been based on a most searching analysis of the peculiar mental characteristics of the people among whom they have been employed, and have been the fruits of the most labourious investigation of the psychological defects and imperfections that previous ages of bad training produced. There is perhaps no mechanical apparatus which, to be successful, needs to be so flexible as that of education. Its

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<sup>2</sup> The lecture will be found in Nos. 3 and 4 of the Society's Journal.

success, like the success of so many other things, depends on perfect adaptability. And because this is so, it is of the utmost importance that, previous to the adoption of any one system in a country, there should be a thorough understanding as to what are the strong and what the weak points in the mind that has to be educated; and how far the system which it is proposed to introduce is calculated to prove the one most suited to the existent mental condition of its people.

Whether from not recognizing the truth and importance of this, or from a feeling of reluctance to expose to the gaze of unsympathetic foreign eyes the weaknesses and deficiencies of the Japanese mind, or from some other cause, those natives who have published treatises on educational topics have, almost invariably, carefully avoided the subject of national mental peculiarities and characteristics. There are happily some few exceptions to the rule, the lecture of which we propose giving a short résumé being one of them.

Mr. Takei's lecture is well written, and extremely frank and outspoken on a subject which to a native must always be a delicate and somewhat painful one, for no nation cares to confess that it is mentally deficient in some important particulars. The lecturer is evidently a man who has paid considerable attention to the subject which he undertakes to treat. The chief value of his essay lies in its almost exclusive reference to the mind of a Japanese as distinguished from that of a foreigner. Mr. Takei specifies the particulars in which he conceives the native mind to be richly endowed, and those respects in which it seems to him to be very deficient. He states at the outset that his object in giving an analytic account of the condition of the native mind is a practical one, and that he has therefore only pursued the subject as far as its practical bearings render it necessary. Consequently he has not attempted anything like an exhaustive treatment of the psychological phenomena witnessed in this country. He adds that, though in his lecture there will not be wanting matter that will prove gratifying to the Japanese as a nation, yet, in the main, he has rather aimed at bringing into prominence things the existence of which must cause regret, and that his chief object in drawing attention to these things is the bringing about of their reform.

After the introduction, Mr. Takei commences with the remark that

Japanese learning has always been borrowed, and is not a product of the nation, and argues that learning being a product of the intellect, it is in the condition of the latter that we must expect to find the source of that want of independence that characterises all Japanese learning. The deficiency of originating power complained of is certainly owing to some defect in the adopted method of developing the intellect. He goes on to ask in what the development of the intellect consists. There are some, he remarks, who maintain that it consists chiefly of Experience. They say that if a number of things be seen and heard, man's intelligence will develop of itself. Others maintain that it depends on the cultivation of Memory: that if a man has a memory in which to store up all the information which his field of observation yields to him, this will insure to him a mind that is both active and intelligent. There are others again who hold that intelligence depends upon the cultivation of the Reflective faculty; that after things have been seen and heard, and even remembered, if they be not pondered over and the natural laws that underlie them investigated, there can be no true and adequate development of the understanding. Here the lecturer gives it as his opinion that the coöperation of the three processes is absolutely essential; and that, if any one of them be wanting, the effects will show themselves in an imperfectly developed intellect—in want of independence of thought and inventive power.

The substance of the lecturer's subsequent remarks is as follows:—“There are some who maintain that it is owing to the extremely limited nature of our experience that we Japanese have no learning of our own. Our field of observation has been too confined to allow of our inventing much. But, considering that for centuries we have had the closest intercourse with the Chinese and Koreans, this explanation does not meet the case. The intercourse between ourselves and the Chinese differs but little from that held between the Greeks and the Romans, and yet, whilst both these nations excelled in inventive power, we find ourselves almost totally without it. So it is clear our want of originality is not owing to want of experience.

“Is it owing to lack of Memory? Certainly not. We find ourselves endowed with this faculty in no ordinary way, so that, perhaps, there are few nations that can be compared with us in this respect.

" Is it then want of Reflective power? Though loath to confess it, we are bound to say that it is. Our possessing no independent learning as a nation is owing to this deficiency. If this be so, then it is one of the primary duties of all who are engaged in education to devise means for the developing of this faculty. And this is not so difficult as might at first be supposed; for if as experience grows the habit of fixing the mind attentively on those things with which it comes into contact be acquired, the materials for thought will be too abundant to be soon exhausted. And as for the acquisition of knowledge, if we can only obtain its primary elements, we can work out the rest for ourselves; for, with the reflective power duly developed, thoughts like seeds in the fields, ought to multiply by hundreds spontaneously.

" And now, to take the three distinct mental faculties mentioned above in order: I.—We have Experience. Experience has been divided into three parts, and made to consist of, (1) Sensation; (2) Attention; (3) Conception. Things which make themselves felt in the mind by means of the senses, produce what is called Sensation. When a Sensation has been produced, then the mind affected by it commences to examine the nature of the Sensation. This is called Attention. When Attention is insured, then the mind sets to work to examine closely into the relation borne by the Sensation to the outer world; and when the law that governs it is perceived, then we have what is called a Conception. Now all these processes are essential to anything like vivid and minute experience; and upon experience that is minute and vivid does all true knowledge rest. II.—Memory. Memory is of two kinds, viz., Verbal and Rational: that is, the words which express thoughts may be retained; or the thoughts themselves, irrespective of the words in which they are expressed, may be remembered. In the acquirement of knowledge one or other, or both, of these kinds of memory is employed. III.—The Reflective power consists of (1) Imagination, or Speculation; and (2) Investigation, or Inquiry. Speculation is that which asks the how and the why of things that exist. It is divided into two parts, one being called Fancy and the other Rational Imagination. Fancy depends on feeling. It is something that can never make much progress or effect much good. But Rational Imagination is the forerunner of all invention. The Inquiring spirit only comes into existence when the

faculty of Rational Imagination is fully developed. The inquiring spirit contains a large element of doubt in it, which leads those who possess it to question the correctness of conclusions to which others have come. The maturing of this faculty is the final goal of all development, and, when accomplished, is the fruitful source of all kinds of knowledge.

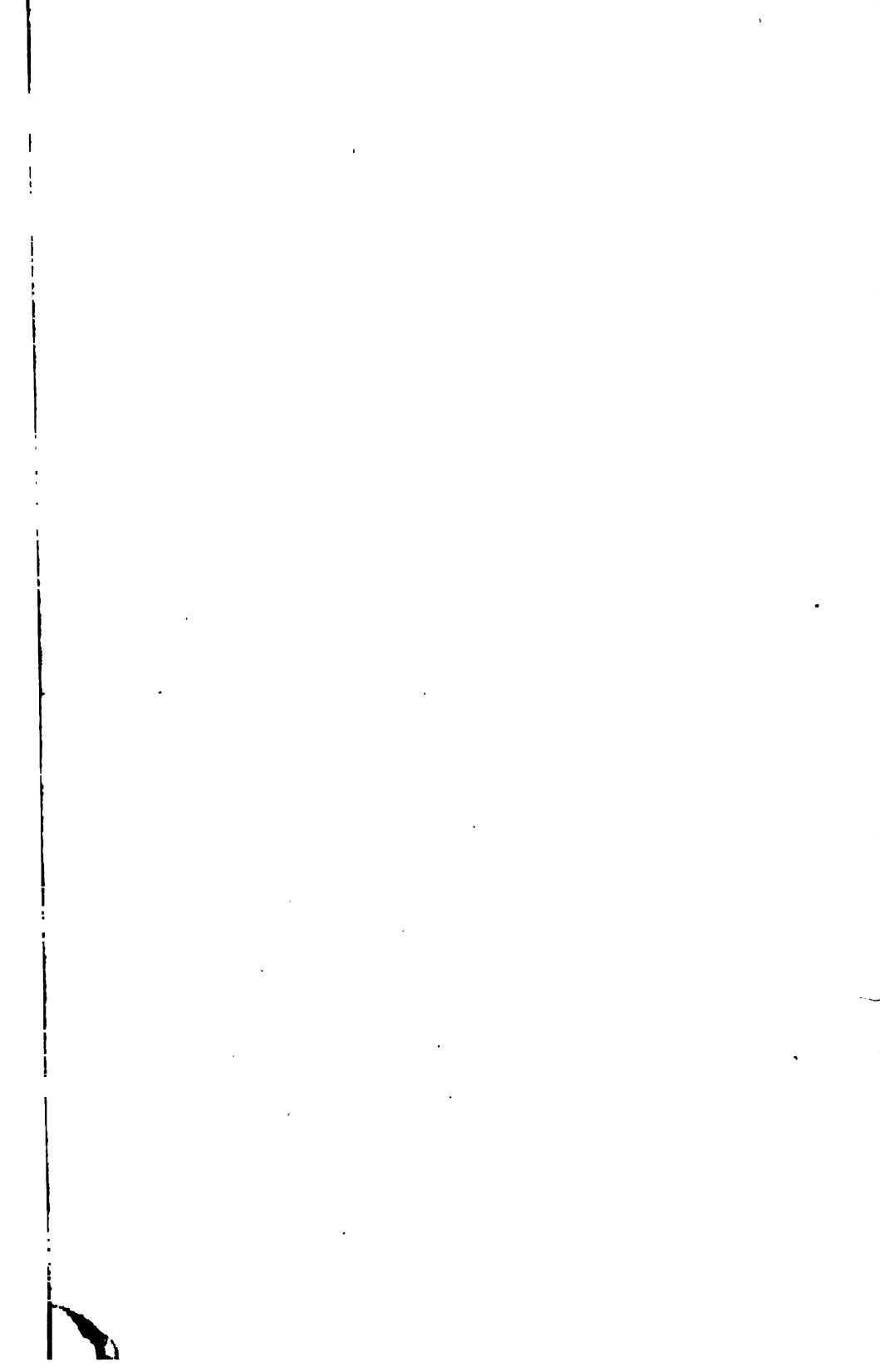
" And now, taking the above analysis of mental states and processes as our guide, let us inquire in what respects the Japanese mind is well or ill furnished with those elements that are the *sine qua non* of all true and thorough development. In the first place, we find that in the Japanese mind there is no lack of Sensation, but in the Attention and Conception which should follow, it is very deficient. Again, although the native mind is endowed with no ordinary amount of Verbal Memorizing power, it is very weak in what is called Rational Memory. Although there is no lack of Fancy, Rational Imagination is very deficient ; and as for the Inquiring spirit, it is at such a low ebb that practically it is non-existent. The results of our investigation then are as follows : Deficiencies 5, viz., Attention, Conception, Rational Memory, Rational Imagination and Inquiry. Non-deficiencies 8, viz., Sensation, Verbal Memory and Fancy. For the obtaining of the fruits of the Understanding, it is absolutely necessary that the eight processes sketched above should be faithfully followed. But it seems as though the cultivation of the Japanese mind had been confined to the development of Sensation, Verbal Memory and Fancy. If we divide the powers which contribute to knowledge up into ten parts, then the proportion in which they ought to be present would be as follows :—Experience,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ; Memory,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ; Reflection 5. By this we see that the parts which are most deficient in the Japanese mind are those which can least be dispensed with."

Here the lecturer goes on to attempt to show how the existing state of things has come about, discussing their geographical as well as their historical antecedents. It is very possible that the views of Mr. Takei may be objected to by some as somewhat extreme, and that since the lecture was delivered changes have occurred which demand some modifications in the above statements to make them strictly accurate ; yet those foreigners who have come into close contact with the Japanese mind and those natives who have given the subject careful and impartial consideration, must admit that there is a great deal of

truth in many of Mr. Takei's remarks, and that psychologists would do well to pursue the inquiry further, making the analysis as exhaustive as possible. The power of the verbal memory of native students in this country is quite astonishing, but if any other language is asked for than that in which the author they are studying has expressed himself, they frequently become embarrassed and speechless. All this is, of course, the effect of the Chinese educational system that has been followed for so many centuries. In it the mind has been concentrated on words or ideographs instead of on ideas, and depth of thought has been sacrificed to a skilful arrangement of phrases.

The primary work of education, then, for a long time to come, must be the developing of the originating, speculating power of the nation. Not until the native mind is freed from the deadening mechanism with which it has been oppressed and bound as with adamantine chains, will it cease to be the slave of words, forms, and fixed inflexible processes, and move about at ease in the sea of thought, visiting what region it pleases, and collecting from each place visited such materials as it has to yield, and using its accumulated treasures to strengthen and adorn structures whose designs and execution are alike creations of its own genius, and no longer as heretofore facsimiles or slightly modified reproductions of models invented by others.





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OF  
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
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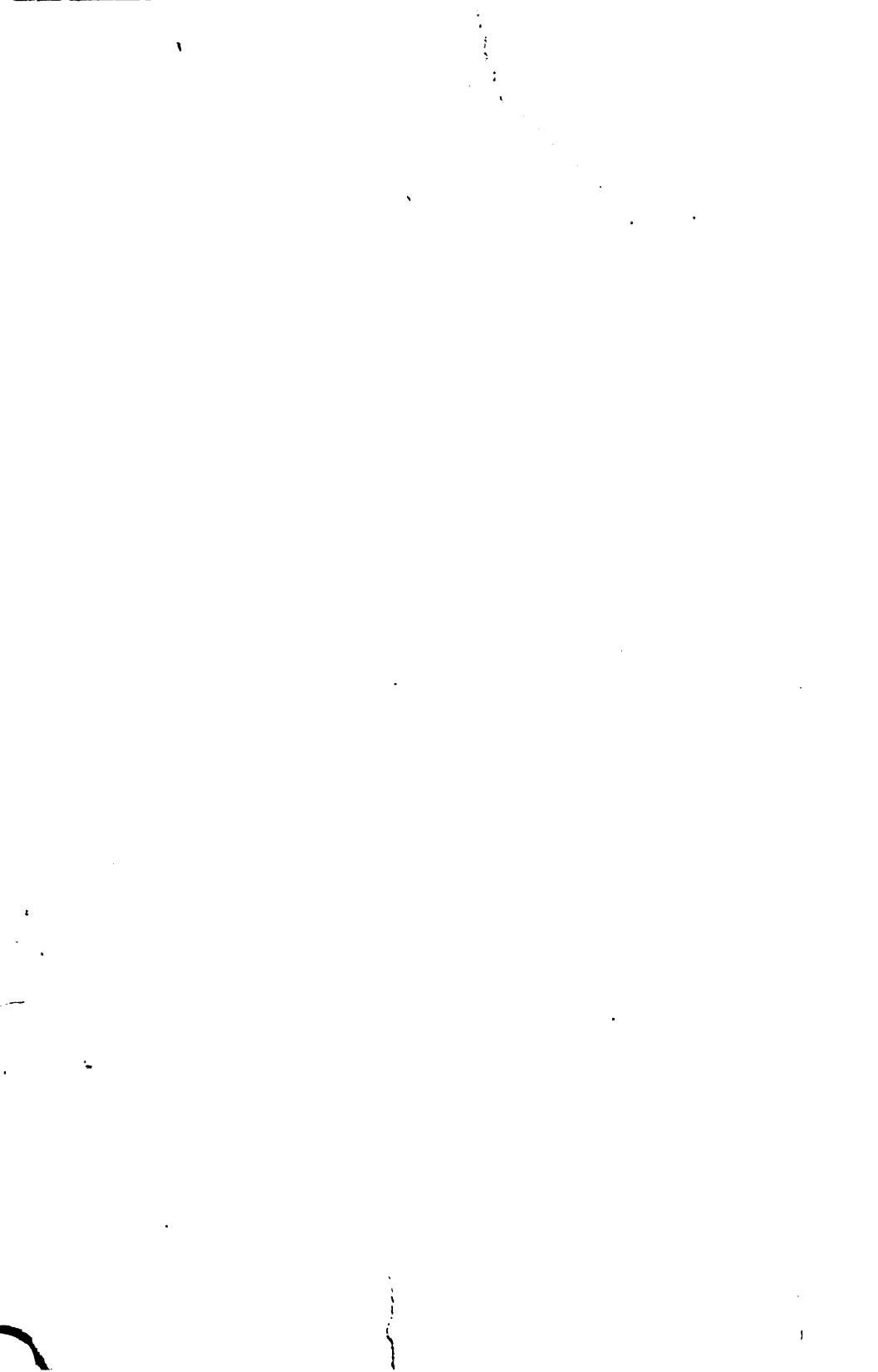
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## SPECIMENS OF AINU FOLK-LORE.

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BY THE REV. JNO. BACHELOR.

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[*Read 14th March, 1888.*]

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The following specimens of Ainu folk-lore form a small portion of matter which the writer has himself collected, from time to time, during a period of nearly six years. They are merely specimens. Many other examples might be given. But it is presumed that the following half-dozen samples will be fully sufficient to illustrate the manner in which this crude race of men, in the absence of books, keep their legends, fables, and traditions alive.

It is not pretended that all such legends are interesting to general readers, for some of them may be said to be quite ridiculous and nonsensical. Nevertheless, they are all curious in their way, and are certainly well worth studying from a linguistical, philosophical and anthropological standpoint; hence it is hoped that the following specimens of Ainu folk-lore will not come amiss to the ethnologist.

Some of the Ainu legends and traditions are recited in prose, and others in a kind of verse. Those given in verse are recited in a sort of sing-song monotone, whilst those in prose are chanted more in the natural tone of voice,

Each legend has its own particular name, as a reference to those here given will show. In the case of those in verse, the name appears to indicate either the metre or tone of voice, whilst in those given in prose the name seems to point rather to the subject than to the tune or metre. For an example of prose see the last specimen given, and for verse see any of the preceding ones.

The legends or traditions given below will be found in parallel columns, Ainu on one side and an English translation on the other. The divisions into verses or sections are the writer's own, made for his own convenience in the matter of translation and for easy reference; and it is hoped that they will be found useful to any persons who may hereafter either desire to translate the Ainu for themselves, or to compare the one language with the other.

The translation is as literal as possible, but the writer cannot hope, in every case, to have hit upon the exact corresponding English word or phrase. To any one who knows how difficult it is to translate the legends and fables of one nation into the language of another, my misgivings on this point will be easily understood, duly appreciated and it is hoped, generously pardoned.

In order that the theme should not be interrupted, it will be found that most of the notes and explanations have been reserved till the end of each legend.

I will now proceed with the specimens:—

### I.—AN AINU LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

#### INUSA-INUSA.\*

1. Inusa-Inusa Ramma kane	1. There was a woman who was
“ puyara otta	ever sitting by the window
“ kemeki patek	and doing some kind of needle-
“ nepki ne aki	work or other;
“ an an awa;	
2. Inusa-Inusa puyara <sup>1</sup> otta	2. In the window <sup>1</sup> of the house
“ poro tuki	there was a large cup filled to
“ kike-ush <sup>2</sup> bashui	the brim with wine, upon
“ kanbashui ka	which floated a ceremonial
“ momnatara.	moustache-lifter. <sup>2</sup>
8. Inusa-Inusa Kike-ush bashui	8. The ceremonial moustache-
“ tuki kata	lifter was dancing <sup>3</sup> about upon
“ terekete-terekete. <sup>3</sup>	the top of the wine cup.

\* *Inusa-inusa* appears to be the name of the tune or tone of voice in which the legend is recited.

4. Inusa-Inusa Shongo pa wa

“ pita kane

“ shongo gesh wa

“ atte kane

“ ene hawashi :—

5. Inusa-Inusa Ko-ingara gusu,

“ pase Kamui

“ shi no Kamui

“ ene turu pakno

“ eshiknaki he an ?

6. Inusa-Inusa Ainu kotan

“ kem-ush iki wa

“ Ainu utara

“ ep ka isam

“ rai wa okere

“ anak ki koroka

“ patek koro kam-dachi

“ patek ekor amam

“ tonoto akara

“ ki ruwe ne na.

7. Inusa-Inusa Pase Kamui

“ erampokiwen

“ yuk atte an

“ chep atte an

“ ki wa ne yak ne

“ autara ibe

“ gusu ne na.

8. Inusa-Inusa Pase Kamui

“ irampokiwen wa

“ kore, tambe gusu

“ ingar' an awa

“ son no poka

“ Ainu kotan

“ kem-ush an

4. In explaining the subject from the beginning, and setting it forth from the end, the tale runs thus :—

5. Now look, do you think that the great God, do you think that the true God was blind ?

6. In Ainu land there was a great famine, and the Ainu were dying from want of food ; yet with what little rice-malt and with what little millet they had they made (a cup of) wine.

7. Now, the great God had mercy, and, in order that our relatives might eat, produced both deer and fish.

8. And the great God had mercy upon us, therefore He looked upon us and, in truth, saw that in Ainu-land there was a famine and that the Ainu had nothing to eat.

1. Inusa-Inusa Aina utara  
 " ep ka isam  
 " ki rok okai.

9. Inusa-Inusa Tambe gusu  
 " nei a tuki  
 " iwan<sup>4</sup> shintoko<sup>5</sup>  
 " oro aota.

10. Inusa-Inusa Iruka ne koro  
 " tonoto hora  
 " chisei upshoro  
 " etushnatki.

11. Inusa-Inusa Tambe gusu kamui  
 " obitta ashke auk<sup>6</sup>  
 " kotan koro kamui  
 " ne wa ne yakka  
 " atak ruwe ne;

12. Inusa-Inusa Shisak tonoto  
 " aukomaktekka  
 " ki ruwe ne.

13. Inusa-Inusa Petru-ush mat'  
 " chiwashekot mat  
 " otutapkanru  
 " ukakushpari.

14. Inusa-Inusa Taada orota  
 " kamui obitta  
 " shancha otta  
 " mina kane;

15. Inusa-Inusa Kamui shiwentep  
 " oshitkurukote  
 " rapoketa  
 " tu yuk kishki;  
 " aetaye-taye;

16. Inusa-Inusa Iworo shokuruka  
 " akeewara-ewara  
 " ne-i korachi;  
 " apka topa

9. Then was that cup of wine  
 emptied into six<sup>4</sup> lacquer-ware<sup>5</sup>  
 vessels.

10. In a very little while the scent  
 of the wine filled the whole  
 house.

11. Therefore were all the gods  
 led<sup>6</sup> in, and the gods of places  
 were brought from every-  
 where;

12. And they were all well pleased  
 with that delicious wine.

13. Then the goddesses<sup>7</sup> of the  
 rivers and the goddesses of the  
 mouths of rivers danced back  
 and forth in the house.

14. Upon this all the gods laughed  
 with smiles upon their faces;

15. And whilst they looked at the  
 goddesses, they saw them pluck  
 out two hairs from a deer;

16. And, as it were, blow them  
 over the tops of the mountains;  
 then appeared two herds of  
 deer skipping upon the moun-

16. Inusa-Inusa shinna kane  
 " momambe topa  
 " shinna kane  
 " iworo shokata  
 " aruterekere.

17. Inusa-Inusa Tu chep ramram  
 " arishpa-rishpa  
 " pet iworo shoka  
 " akoewara-ewara  
 " ne-i korachi  
 " pokna chep rup  
 " shuma shiru  
 " kanna chep rup  
 " shem korachi.

18. Inusa-Inusa Chep ne manup  
 " pet iworo shoka  
 " emmashtekka.

19. Inusa-Inusa Tap orowa no  
 " Ainu utara  
 " chep koiki gusu  
 " pet iworo kata  
 " chip terekere.

20. Inusa-Inusa Chepnu ko-okai  
 " iworo shokata  
 " okkaibo utara  
 " yuknu ko-kai.

21. Tambe gusu Ainu moshiri  
 pirika ruwe ne. Tambe gusu  
 shashui shiri pak no tan  
 eramanre an ruwe ne. Tambe  
 gusu nei aramanre urukata  
 an ruwe ne na.

tain tops, one of bucks and the  
 other of does.

17. Then they plucked out two  
 scales from a fish, and, as it  
 were, blew them over the  
 the rivers, and the beds of the  
 rivers were so crowded with  
 fish that they scraped upon  
 the stones, and the tops of the  
 rivers were so full that the fish  
 stood out like the porches of  
 houses and were dried up by  
 the sun.

18. So the things called fish filled  
 all the rivers to the brim.

19. Then the Ainu went fishing  
 and caused their boats to  
 dance upon the rivers.

20. The young men now found  
 fish and venison in rich abundance.

21. Hence it is that Ainu-land is  
 so good. Hence it is that  
 from ancient times till now  
 there has been hunting. Hence  
 it is that there are inheritors  
 to this hunting.

## NOTE ON VERSE 2.

<sup>1</sup>This *puyara* or window is always placed in the east end of a hut. It is the sacred window, and no person may look into a hut through it without incurring the penalty of great displeasure from the owner thereof. The Ainu often worship towards the sun rising through it, and always, in their libations, three drops of wine are thrown towards it. Outside of this window there are always clusters of whittled willow sticks, called *inao* or *nusa*, to be seen.

These are placed there as offerings to the gods, as a sign to them of the devoutness of the worshipper. Besides these willow offerings, one may often see long poles stuck into the earth having the skulls of bears or deer placed upon them as a sign of thankfulness for success in the hunt. This window, then, being so sacred and, in a sense, the peculiar property of the gods, we may easily understand why a large, well-filled cup of wine was placed before it. It was an offering, and was placed there to solicit the favour of the gods.

<sup>2</sup>The ceremonial moustache-lifters are peculiarly made, and are used for special religious purposes. They are of different patterns. Some have bears and some have deer carved upon them. The present one, however, is called *Kike-ush bashui*, i.e. a moustache-lifter with shavings left upon the top of it. It is especially used at worship when supplications are made for any particular benefits. Those which have animals carved upon them are generally used when thanks are made to the gods, whilst a common moustache-lifter, having no particular carving upon it, is used on general occasions, as for instance, when some news of any kind is being made known, or when a friend or relative makes a call.

The use of these moustache-lifters is peculiar. The *raison d'être* seems to be: *First*, to keep the moustache out of the wine, and *secondly*, to offer drops of drink to the gods with. Three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown towards the east window, three towards the north-east corner of the hut where the Ainu treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god for whose benefit the libations are offered or to whom the Ainu are paying worship.

Wine enters very largely into all the religious worship of the Ainu, and they often make religion a pretext for getting intoxicated. It has occurred to me that perhaps this legend of the famine is kept alive only in order to show how good a thing it is to make wine and how well-pleasing to the gods it is to offer libations to them. It was the smell of the wine which drew the gods together, it was wine which pleased the goddesses and made them dance, it was wine again which caused the male gods to smile; in short, it was all owing to this one large cup of wine that food was brought to the Ainu and that there are any of them alive now. It was the wine which even caused the moustache-lifter to float about and dance upon the top of the cup! What a sight is a full cup of wine to an Ainu! How quickly his eyes sparkle and dance with delight when he sees it! The very sound of the word *sake* or *tonoto* makes him smack his lips.

## NOTE ON VERSE 8.

<sup>3</sup>The word *tereke-tereke*, which I have here translated by "dancing about," really means to "jump," "skip," or "hop about." Here two ideas are introduced:—*First* the cup was so full of wine that the very moustache-lifter could float upon it without touching the brim; *secondly* the moustache-lifter was so pleased that it could not contain itself, but must needs skip, jump, hop or dance about with delight! So good and powerful was the wine.

## NOTE ON VERSE 4.

This is merely an Ainu idiom and expresses the idea that this particular subject shall be thoroughly explained and set forth.

## NOTE ON VERSE 5.

The idea contained in these lines seems to be this:—Though the Ainu were in such straits, yet it was not without the knowledge of the gods; and it was not possible that they should neglect this large cup of delicious wine which was placed in the window for their special delectation. It was made and placed there in order to get the gods together that they might talk over this mighty famine, to put them into a good temper and cause them to help the Ainu in this their sad calamity. No! the gods were not blind.

## NOTE ON VERSE 6.

Though food was so very scarce, yet what little rice or millet the Ainu had they gave it up to the gods. They made a little choice wine as an offering and presented it to them. Hence may be seen the devoutness of the ancients. The result was as is stated in the 7th verse; fish and venison were caused to abound! The prayer was heard and answered.

## NOTE ON VERSE 9.

<sup>4</sup>Six appears to be the sacred or perfect number of the Ainu; hence, a little of the wine was put into each of the six lacquer-ware vessels.

<sup>5</sup>These lacquer-ware vessels are of Japanese make and are highly prized by the Ainu. In fact, they look upon them as special treasures, and the importance of a man is measured by the number of these vessels in his possession, and by the number of old swords he has. It is said that, in ancient times, the Japanese rulers used to sell these vessels to the Ainu, well filled with *sake*, of course, for fish and the skins of animals. Money was never paid for these things. Hence, at a drinking ceremony, the very best lacquer-ware vessels are produced; the wine is poured into them and then ladled out into wine-cups and handed round. Strange to say, the women are allowed to come in and sit behind their husbands and drink, if anything is handed to them, though they must never take part in the prayers. The women, however, get very little wine indeed! Wine was made for gods and men,

not for women. The mistress in whose house the libations are offered is allowed to produce a bottle—not a large one, to be sure, but still a bottle—which is filled and kept for her private use! The lucky woman generally hides this bottle, lest her loving husband should steal it and relieve her of the contents thereof!

NOTE ON VERSE 11.

<sup>6</sup>The word *ashke auk*, which I have here translated by “led in,” really means “to be led in by the hand.” The Ainu have a very curious custom of taking persons by the hand and leading them into the house; it is a sign of great honour to be so led. It is considered to be the height of disrespect to enter an Ainu hut without first giving warning of one’s presence; but as there are no doors to the huts, a caller thus being unable to knock before entering, he must wait outside and cough or make a noise with his throat till some one comes out and either asks him to walk in or takes him by the hand and leads him to a seat by the fire. Thus, out of great respect, the gods were led into the hut by the hand.

NOTE ON VERSE 13.

<sup>7</sup>*Petru-ush mat* is the goddess of rivers from their source to their outlet, and *Chiwashekot mat* presides over their mouths.

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II.—ANOTHER LEGEND OF A FAMINE.

The following curious lines were sung to me by an aged Ainu to whom I had just been explaining the dangers and evils of drinking too much wine, and to whom I had been endeavouring to show how much better it is to worship God in spirit and in truth than by offering Him wine and whittled pieces of willow wood. The old man’s object in singing this tradition to me was to enforce upon my mind the fact that, notwithstanding all I had said, the gods were, at the time of the famine indicated below, pleased with these offerings, and are still delighted when the devout worshipper indicates his sincerity by setting these things before them.

This song, tradition, legend, or whatever it may be called, is quite typical of the way in which the Ainu convey their thoughts on religion and other serious matters to one another; and I give it here as an example thereof.

## KIMTA NA.\*

1. Hepokitekka	Kimta na.	1. There was something upon the
Heteshtekka	"	seas bowing and raising its
Atuye tomo-tuye.	"	head.
2. Paian aine	Kimta na.	2. And when they came to see
Shietashbe	"	what it was, they found it to be
Mokoro okai	"	a monstrous sea-lion fast
Aamkokomo	"	asleep, which they seized and
Akoro wa yan an.	"	brought ashore.
3. Ingar' ike	Kimta na.	3. Now, when we look at the
Ainu kotan	"	matter, we find that there was
Kem-ush rok okai.	"	a famine in Ainu-land.
4. Chinukara wa gusu	Kimta na.	4. And we see that a large sea-
Shishiri-muka	"	lion was cast upon the shores of
Sanobutu	"	the mouth of the Saru river.
Poro etashbe	"	
Chioyange.	"	
5. Tambe gusu	Kimta na.	5. Thus the Ainu were able to eat
Ainu utare	"	(i. e. obtained food).
Ibe ruwe ne.	"	
6. Tambe gusu	Kimta na.	6. For this reason <i>inao</i> and wine
Ainu orowa no	"	were offered to the gods.
Inao ne yakka	"	
Tonoto ne yakka	"	
Eyaiyattasa ruwe ne.	"	
7. Aeyai kamui	Kimta na.	7. So the gods to whom these
Nere kane	"	offering were made were pleased
An an ruwe ne.	"	and are pleased.

The first and second of these verses are a kind of introductory statement of the theme. The remote ancestors of the Ainu race are represented as having seen some large and curious object floating about upon the tops of the waves of the sea, and rising and falling with them. The men, therefore, launch their boats and go to see what the object

\* *Kimta na* is the name of the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

may be. They find it is a mighty sea-lion (*shistashbe*). They then seize the animal, and, by some means or other (how is not stated) bring it ashore.

The third and fourth verses make known the fact that at this particular time there was a famine in Ainu-land, and that the Ainu of to-day, in looking back upon this sad calamity, see in the sleeping sea-lion the hand of the gods working to preserve the race from starvation and certain destruction. This mighty sea-monster is said to have been cast upon the shores of the mouth of the Saru river. Saru, it should be remembered, is regarded by the Ainu of the south of Yezo as the chief district in this island ; and the *Shishiri-muka* is the largest river in Saru.

Verses six and seven are intended to show that libations of wine and the offering of *Inao* (i.e. whittled pieces of willow wood having the shavings left attached) have *always* been a well-pleasing sacrifice to the gods, and therefore *are* so now. They pleased the gods at *that* time, and that they please them *now* is seen from the fact that food is still extended to the Ainu race. Hence one great reason why such ancient religious customs should not be abolished. Hence too, according to Ainu reasoning, this race of men have no cause to change one form of religion and its accompanying ceremonies and rites for another. Thus we see that the Ainu, though without knowledge, are by no means without reason, nor are they so stupid and easily led as some people may have us suppose.

### III.—AN AINU LEGEND OF THE LARGE TROUT.

#### PIU-HAM-PIU.\*

1. Piu-ham-piu Shishiri-muka	1. At the source of the Saru river
"                 pet etokota	there is a large lake.
"                 poro to an ruwe ne.	
2. Piu-ham-piu Nei a orota	2. In this lake there was a monster

\**Piu-ham-piu* is the name of the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

Piu-ham-piu poro tokushish  
 " to pa ne-i  
 " amokrap shuye  
 " to kes ta  
 " atkochi shuye  
 " koran ruwe ne.

8. Piu-ham-piu Kamui kowekari ; 8. Then the honourable ancestors  
 " akoiki gusu met and went to kill this fish,  
 " uwekarapa ruwe ne ; but found themselves unable to  
 " koroka araiige accomplish their end, though  
 " eaikap ruwe ne ; they attempted to do so for  
 " anukara many days.  
 " koran an,  
 " ramma kane  
 " ki ruwe ne.

4. Piu-ham-piu Ikorampoktuye  
 " an wa ne yak ne  
 " Ainu moshiri  
 " aeyam gusu  
 " kando orowa no  
 " ikaobas an.

5. Piu-ham-piu Ran an ine  
 " poro tokushish  
 " am-kokishima.

6. Piu-ham-piu Poro tokushish  
 " arikiki koro  
 " aerawekatta.

7. Piu-ham-piu Arikiki an koro  
 " poro tokushish  
 " kambekuru ka  
 " aepusu kara aine  
 " ayange.

8. Piu-ham-piu Kamui obitta  
 " emush etaye  
 " tata-tata  
 " a-oanraige.

trout which was so big that it  
 used to flap its (*pectoral*) fins  
 at one end and wave its tail at  
 the other.

4. Because, then, they very much  
 desired to kill the fish, the gods,  
 who had a special regard for  
 the welfare of Ainu-land, sent  
 help from heaven.

5. And, the gods descending, they  
 seized the great trout with their  
 hands (claws).

6. Upon this it plunged mightily  
 and went to the bottom of the  
 lake with great force.

7. Then the gods put forth all  
 their power, and, drawing the  
 great trout to the surface of the  
 water, brought it ashore.

8. Upon this all the honourable  
 ancestors drew their swords  
 and chopped the fish till they  
 quite killed it.

It is said that this mighty trout was in the habit, not only of swallowing any animals, such as deer and bears, that might come to the shores of the lake to drink, but would sometimes swallow up men, women and children. Nay, not only so, but even whole boats full of people ! Yes, boats and all ! Hence it was that the ancients were so anxious to slay this monster.

The Ainu appear to have a special dread of large lakes, because they say that every now and again one of these monster fish suddenly puts in an appearance, and commences its destructive work of swallowing animals and human beings. Only a few hundred years ago, say they, one of these awful fish was found dead upon the shores of the *Shikot*<sup>1</sup> to (Chitose lake). This monster had swallowed a large deer, horns and all, but the horns caused a severe attack of indigestion to come on, which the fish could not get over ; nay, the horns were so long that they protruded from its stomach and caused its death.

It is to the actions of one of these monstrous fish that all earthquakes, of which there are many occurrences in Yezo, are to be traced. The earth, i.e., so far as Ainu-land is concerned, is supposed to rest upon the back of one of these creatures ; and, whenever it moves, the world, as a matter of course, must feel the effects and move also. This earthquake-causing fish is sometimes called *Tokushish*, i.e., "trout" ; and sometimes *Moshiri ikkone chep*, i.e. "the backbone fish of the world."

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<sup>1</sup> *À propos* the *Shikot* or *Chitose* lake, it may perhaps be worth recording that the Ainu say the sea used to come up to its very borders, so that large junks from Japan formerly anchored there ; and that the present lake is neither half so large nor deep as it used to be. Volcanic eruptions have, according to Ainu traditions, been the powers at work here. *Shikot* is really the old name of the river which flows into this lake, and from which the lake formerly took its name.

IV.—AN AINU TRADITION CONCERNING OKIKURUMI AND  
SAMAI.

TUSUNABANU.\*

1. Okikurumi <sup>1</sup>	Tusunabanu.	1. Okikurumi and Samai came to
Samai un guru <sup>2</sup>	"	harpoon the sword-fish.
Utura ine	"	
Repa gusu ariki	"	
2. Ru etok oroge	Tusunabanu.	2. And we waited for them at the
Chi aiawakte	"	fishing place.
Okai ash awa	"	
3. Ariki ine	Tusunabanu.	3. When they came they effect-
Aishirikooetke	"	ually harpooned a large fish.
4. Tap orawa no	Tusunabanu.	4. From this point the fish went
Atui pa ne	"	from one end of the sea to the
Atui gesh ne	"	other, taking the boat with it.
Chip ekira ash	"	
5. Tane aine	Tusunabanu.	5. Now Samai collapsed for want
Samai un guru	"	of strength.
Kiroro ekot	"	
6. Okikurumi	Tusunabanu.	6. Upon this Okikurumi put forth
Ashiri iporo	"	all his strength and wrought
Ikosange	"	with the grunt of a young man.
Peure humsei	"	
Yaikopuni	"	

\**Tusunabanu* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

<sup>1</sup> *Okikurumi* is the Ainu name of the Japanese hero Kurōhonguwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune, who was driven to Yezo by his younger brother in the 12th century of our era, and who is said by the Ainu to have taught their ancestors the arts of hunting and fishing.

<sup>2</sup> *Samai un guru* stands for *Benkei*, who was the servant and retainer of Yoshitsune, and who is said to have accompanied him to Yezo. *Samai un guru* merely means "a Japanese," *Samai* being short for *Samoro*, which is the Ainu name for "Japan," e.g. *Samoro kotan*, "Japan," *Samoro un guru* or *Samai un guru*, "a Japanese." Here I may add, the name of the famous volcanic mountain, the *Fuji Yama* of the Japanese, is possibly none other than a corruption of the Ainu name *Hucht Kamui*, who is supposed to be the goddess of fire.

7. Tane aine      Tusunabanu. 7. Then there arose upon the  
 Okikurumi      "      palms and back of his hands  
 Tek tui poki      "      two blood-stained blisters.  
 Tek tui kashi      "  
 Tu kem poppise      "  
 Ehopuni      "  
 8. Tane aine      Tusunabanu. 8. And with temper depicted upon  
 Okikurumi      "      his countenance Okikurumi  
 Koro wen-buri      "      said :—  
 Enanguru kashi      "  
 Epukitara      "  
 Ene itak-hi      "  
 9. Tan wen shirikap      Tusunabanu. 9. Oh, this bad sword-fish, as you  
 E iki gusu      "      are doing this I will cut the  
 E kotush tuye na      "      harpoon line ;  
 10. Kite anak ne      Tusunabanu. 10. And because upon the harpoon  
 Kite not anak      "      head there is metal, you shall  
 Kane ne gusu      "      greatly suffer from the noise of  
 E oshike un      "      striking iron and grinding bones  
 Kane kik hum      "      in your stomach ;  
 Pone keure hum      "  
 E konramu-shitne      "  
 11. Hai tush anak      Tusunabanu. 11. Because the line is made of  
 Hai ne gusu      "      hemp, a plain of hemp shall  
 E ka wa hai sara      "      grow out of thee ;  
 Hopuni      "  
 12. Tush anak ne      Tusunabanu. 12. Because the rope is made of  
 Nipesh<sup>8</sup> ne gusu      "      Nipesh, a Nipesh forest shall  
 E ka wa nipesh      "      grow from thy back ;  
 Tai hopuni      "  
 13. E wen-ekot yak      Tusunabanu. 13. And when you die you shall be  
 Shishiri-muka<sup>4</sup>      "      cast into the mouth of the Shi-

<sup>8</sup> Nipesh is the name of the tree with the bark of which the Ainu make their fishing ropes. It is called in Japanese *Shina no ki*.

San o butu	Tusunabamu.	shiri-muka <sup>4</sup> river, and crows
E oyan yak ne	"	and many kinds of dogs shall
Paskuru	"	congregate upon thee and defile
Usa seth	"	thee.
Aukotoisere	"	
E ka un osoma	"	
E ka un okuima	"	
Nangon na	"	
14. Eraman	Tusunabamu.	14. Now, though the sword-fish Hawe ash koroka " said it understood, and thought Ainu itak newa " it was Ainu that was spoken, Ambe yainu an gusu " yet it secretly laughed and Rauge mina " went its way.
		Auweshuye "
		Arapa an awa "
15. Arapa an tek koro	Tusunabamu.	15. But before it had gone any A oshike un " great distance, mighty pains Kane kik hum " seized it, and in its stomach Pone keure hum " was heard the sound of strik- Utasa tasa " ing iron and of grinding Aekonramu " bones. Shitue kane "
		Tanak kane "
16. I ka wa hai sara	Tusunabamu.	16. And plains of hemp and Hetuku " forests of <i>Nipesh</i> and <i>Shiuri</i> Nipesh tai " sprouting forth from its body, Hetuku " it was cast ashore in a dying Shiuri <sup>5</sup> tai " condition. Hetuku "
Iki an aine "		
Rai an aine "		
Koi-yange an "		

<sup>4</sup> *Shishiri-muka* is the name of the Saru river.

<sup>5</sup> *Shiuri*. This is the name of the wood out of which harpoon shafts are made. The Japanese of Yezo call this wood *Nigaki*.

17. Usa seta	Tusunabanu.	17. Then the dogs and crows
Usa paskura	"	congregated upon it and
I-ukotoi sere	"	defiled it.
I ka un osoma	"	
I ka un okuima	"	
18. Tane awa	Tusunabanu.	18. Upon this Okikarumi came
Okikarumi	"	down from the mountains and
Sap wa ariki	"	said:—
Ene itaki	"	
19. Tan wen shirikap	Tusunabanu.	19. Oh ! you bad sword-fish, it is
E renga gusu	"	by your own fault and for
E kip ne gusu	"	your own doings that you are
Aepakashnu	"	thus punished.
Shiri ne na	"	
20. Apokna notkewe	Tusunabanu.	20. Your lower jaw shall be used
Ashinru ne koro	"	in the out-house, and your
Akanna notkewe	"	upper one shall be sunk with
Shuma korende	"	a stone, and you must die a
Tu rai wen rai	"	very hard and painful death.
Aki ruwe ne na	"	
21. Tan okai shirikap	Tusunabanu.	21. Do not treat this Ainu tale of
Ainu itak	"	the sword-fish slightly.
Iteki irara yan	"	

The object of this tradition appears to be threefold.

First to preserve and hand down to posterity the fact that Yoshi-tsune and Benkei once resided among the Ainu race and taught the people how to catch the larger kinds of fish. That these two persons really came to Yezo (and there can be but little doubt as to their having gone to Saghalien also) and dwelt at Saru for a time, seems almost indisputable, but what eventually became of them we are unable to determine, at least from what Ainu traditions have hitherto been obtained. We may perhaps learn more in time.

The second object of this tradition is to teach people not to despise a new-comer or stranger, but rather to see what he can do and what useful things may be learned from him, e.g. the tradition says:—*Ru*

*etok oroge chiaiwakts okai ash awa*, "and we waited for them at the fishing place." The Ainu interpret this by saying that the ancients took their boats and went to the point where the fishing was to commence, and waited for the appearance of Yoshitsune and Benkei. Their motive, however, was to see beforehand where the best fish might be caught and to return more successful than their Japanese friends. They did not so much desire to learn from them as to parade their own skill. But it turned out that the Ainu caught no fish, whilst Yoshitsune secured the very king of the sword-fish !

In the third place this tradition teaches the Ainu not to forget the exceeding great power of Yoshitsune. Though Benkei dropped down in the boat through sheer exhaustion, and the harpoon line had to be cut, yet Yoshitsune turned out to be the conqueror. He cursed the fish with a mighty curse. Forests of trees and plains of hemp were to grow from its body, and its interior was to resound again with the noise of iron striking together and of grinding bones. It was to die a hard and painful death, be cast into the mouth of the Saru river and be horribly defiled by crows and dogs. Such was the curse, and so indeed, say the Ainu, did all surely come to pass. The tradition finishes up with a caution not to treat this Ainu tale in a slighting manner.

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#### V.—LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI IN LOVE.

The following ridiculous legend of the hero Okikurumi in love with an Ainu maiden was told me some four years ago by an old man who has, I believe, since passed away. It is a curious production altogether. In hearing the commencement of this legend, I had expected great things, but in the end found that it finished up with nothing.

The purpose for which this legend is recited seems to be to teach young lovers never to despair even if they cannot obtain the objects of their affections, and never to look too much after the softer sex. The great Okikurumi fell deeply in love ; he became very ill, exceedingly love-

sick ; he lost his appetite and bodily strength. He laid down in his hut in sullen despair and would eat neither good food nor bad ; he was, in short, ready to die of love ; and, mark you, all this happened through taking just one glance at a beautiful woman. " Dear, dear," says the legend, " how badly he felt ! " Therefore let the young beware.

But Okikurumi gets cured of his dangerous malady. A little bird flies to the cause of this affliction—the object of his affections. Word is brought to her of his deep-seated love and critical condition. The pretty little bird wags its tail and whispers in the lady's ear that, if Okikurumi dies, the soul of Ainu-land will also depart. Therefore the bird begs her to have mercy upon poor Okikurumi for the sake of Ainu-land. The intercession is successful. An unreal, unsubstantial woman is made in the likeness of the beauty Okikurumi was smitten with. She is brought to his hut, and forthwith proceeds to arrange the mats, furniture and ornaments. Okikurumi takes a sly glance at her through his arm hole or sleeve ; he is encouraged ; he gets up, rejoices, eats food, is revived and feels strong again. This done, the lady takes her departure: she is not. What then does Okikurumi do ? Why, he sees that he has been deceived in the woman ; and, as "there was nothing to be done, nothing to be said," he got well again like a sensible man.

I will now proceed to give the legend.

## AHETENBAL.\*

\* *Ahetenrai* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

8. Abetenrai abetenrai	Ainu moshiri	8. The clouds were floating and waving about in beautiful terraces upon the horizon over Ainu-land. Yes, that is what she saw.
"	moshirkuru-	
	kashi	
"	rakrak paye	
"	an ramasu	
"	auweshuye ;	
"	ingar'ike	
"	kor'an awa.	
4. Abetenrai abetenrai	Hetopo-	4. So she returned into the house backwards, and took down her needle-work.
	horo-ka	
"	aun chisei ta	
"	ahup an aine	
"	akemekearape	
"	asan asange.	
5. Abetenrai abetenrai	Ashiri-kinne	5. Again she looked to the point of her needle, and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof;
"	kemru etok	
"	Anukara,	
"	kemru oka	
"	ashik-kotesu	
"	an an awa ;	
6. Abetenrai abetenrai	Puyara shik-	6. Then came a little bird called
	rap kata	" water wagtail," and sat upon
"	enumnoya ari	the window shutter and wagged
"	aye chikappo	its tail up and down and waved
"	eshish-o un	it from right to left.
"	charikiso un	
"	ishitara	
	pange	
"	ishitara	
	shuye.	
7. Abetenrai abetenrai	Tuitak mawe	7. Then two chirps and three
	ne	chirps came to her and touched
"	re itak mawe	the inside surface of her ears,
	ne	
"	iko-ariki	and what she heard was this:—

Ahetenrai ahetenrai apui kotoro  
 " chikurure  
 " ene okai-  
 hi :—

8. Ahetenrai aheteurai Pase kamui  
 " Ainu-kotan  
 " Ainu-moshiri  
 " epungine ka-  
 mui  
 " Okikurumi  
 " pon no esoine  
 " e nukara awa  
 " eyaikatekara.

9. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambe gusu  
 " tu wen chi-  
 e-kunip  
 " tu pirika chi-  
 e-kunip  
 " tuhar'ike  
 " not-echiu  
 " an ruwe ne  
 na.

10. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi  
 " rai wa ne  
 yakne  
 " Ainu-moshiri  
 " ramachi isam  
 an na.

11. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi  
 shiknu  
 kuni  
 kara wa  
 inunukashiki  
 wa  
 kore yan,  
 enumnoye ari

8. The mighty Okikurumi, who is the governor of all Ainu-land, went out of doors for a little while, and, seeing you, has fallen ill of love on your account.

9. And though two bad fish and two good fish were placed before him for food he refused to eat.

10. Now, if Okikurumi should die, the soul of Ainu-land will depart.

11. Then the little bird called "water-wagtail," waving its tail, spake two words to her and said: "Have mercy upon us that Okikurumi may live."

## Ahetenrai ahetenrai aye chikappo

" ishitara  
" mawe  
" tu itak sa ne  
" iko-ariki.

12. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambe  
" gusu  
" Ainu-moshiri  
" otta ingar'an  
" awa  
" Okikurumi  
" iyeyaiakateka-  
" ra gusu  
" tu wen chi-  
" e-kunip  
" tu pirika chi-e  
" kunip  
" tukar'ike  
" not-echia an.

13. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Yaikarap  
" keutum ayai-  
" koropare !

14. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Tambe gusu  
" ine no an shi-  
" wentep  
" atekete kara  
" Okikurumi  
" orota  
" aranre.

15. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Ayoikirika-  
ta; nei a  
" shiwentep  
" arande  
" yoikirikara  
" an.

12. Thus, then, by simply looking out upon the world Okikurumi fell so sick of love that though two bad fish and two good fish were set before him, he could not eat.

13. Dear, dear, how badly he felt !

14. Therefore the form of a woman resembling the goddess was made and sent down to Okikurumi.

15. The house was set in order; that woman who was sent down put things to rights.

16. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi      16. Then Okikurumi looked  
     "                      tusa pui kari      through his sleeve and saw  
     "                      ingara wa              the beautiful woman;  
     "                      kamui shi-  
                             wentep an;

17. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Yaikopuntek      17. He got up greatly rejoicing;  
     "                      hopuni ine              he ate some food; strength  
     "                      usa ibe-ambe      came back to his body, and,—  
                             ibe,  
     "                      netobake pi-  
                             rika  
     "                      orowa no  
     "                      nei a shiwen-  
                             tep isam.

18. Ahetenrai ahetenrai Okikurumi      18. Okikurumi saw he had been  
     "                      akoshunge              deceived, but there was no-  
                             katu                      thing to be done and nothing  
     "                      eram'an,              to say, so he got well.  
     "                      ene akari ka  
                             isam,  
     "                      ene ye-hi ka  
                             isam,  
     "                      orowa no pi-  
                             rika ruwe  
                             ne.

## NOTES.

Verses one to three are a mere introductory statement as to how it was that Okikurumi first caught sight of this beautiful woman with whom he fell in love. She had been sitting in the hut and now felt a little lonesome, restless or tired. Her eyes had been wandering about from one object to another with weary solitude. She gets up, goes outside in an aimless kind of way and scans the horizon, which she sees is very beautiful in its grandeur, the clouds being piled one upon another in terrace-like masses. She feels revived and returns into her hut.

The fourth verse tells us that this lady returned into the house

backwards (*hetopo-horoka*). This is a sign of great respect. A woman, when going out of a hut or from the presence of a man, must always, according to Ainu etiquette, walk slowly out backwards. She must never turn her back on a man! She must always honour her betters, i. e. the opposite sex. She must also smooth back her hair, draw her finger across her upper lip and cover her mouth with her hand. This is the woman's mode of salutation and showing honour to her superiors. In the present case, however, this comely woman was paying respects to the brilliant beauties of nature which she saw depicted upon the heavens, hence she came into her hut reverently walking backwards.

Here I may perhaps note in passing, that, when men are talking together in a house, the women present must endeavour to become nonentities. They must sit apart and either keep silent or speak in whispers. They generally sit in a ring and go on with what work they have in hand, such as needle-work, making string or cloth, or cleaning fish. They are supposed to be neither seen nor heard, though they must of course be at the beck and call of the men and attend to the fire.

Also in passing a man in the forest, she must always make way for the stronger sex, must cover her mouth with her hand and not speak unless spoken to.

The fifth verse merely describes how intent the lady was upon her sewing. She looked at "the point of her needle, and fixed her gaze upon the eye end thereof," says the legend.

Verse six. The water-wagtail is much esteemed by the Ainu, for they consider it to be a bird of good omen. It is supposed to be the first bird that was created, and is thought to be a special favourite and companion of the gods. Hence verse seven tells us that this bird was chosen and sent to convey the intelligence of Okikurumi's love-stricken heart and critical condition to this beautiful and industrious damsel. The burden of the bird's speech is contained in verses eight to eleven.

Verse nine. The words "two bad fish and two good fish" form an expression indicating that whatever food was placed before Okikurumi, whether good or bad, he could not touch it. He was so very love-sick. "Dear, dear," says the thirteenth verse, "how badly he felt!"

Verse ten expresses what a sad calamity it would be if Okikurumi were to die. He was the very life and hope of the Ainu.

Let every one take warning from verses twelve and thirteen. It is not good to look upon a woman and become love-stricken and love-sick on her account. See what Okikurumi suffered.

The remainder of these verses merely tell us how easily the great Okikurumi himself was deceived by a shadow.

The moral the Ainu draw is:—Do not be too easily deceived by woman's love, for it soon passes away like a mere unsubstantial phantom or shadow; or as the words are:—"it is not," i. e. it ceases to be. *Therefore beware.*

VI.—A LEGEND OF OKIKURUMI AND HIS WIFE TEACHING THE AINU HOW TO FELL TREES.

I suppose there are very few persons now residing in Japan who doubt that the Ainu once inhabited, at all events, the whole of Japan proper, north of Sendai. And, indeed, there appears to be ample proof showing that they also penetrated farther south even than Tōkyō.

The scene of the following legend is laid in the northern part of Japan, probably in the province of Nambu or Tsugaru. It is said that Okikurumi and his wife were very old people when they taught the Ainu how to cut down trees, and that this is the last act Okikurumi did among the Ainu, for both he and his wife ascended to heaven riding upon the sound of a falling tree and enveloped in fire. In fact, I am told that the act here recorded took place after Okikurumi's death, but that he was sent down from heaven with the express purpose of assisting the Ainu to fell a "metal pine tree," and, having accomplished this work, he returned thither. It is a curious legend, and I confess that I cannot quite understand its drift; however, I will record it here as another specimen of curious Ainu folk-lore.

KAORI.\*

1. Samoro moshiri	kaori	1. At the head of Japan there
moshiri peketa	"	was a metal pine tree.
kani shungu	"	
ash ruwe ne	"	
2. Kamui kouwekarapa	kaori	2. Now, the ancients, both noble
nupuru kamui	"	and ignoble, came together
nupan kamui	"	and broke and bent their
emush koreuba	"	swords (upon that tree).
emush kokekke	"	
shir'an awa.	"	
8. Nowenchikko	kaori	8. Then there came a very old
nowenpakko	"	man and a very old woman
utura ine	"	upon the scene.
ariki.	"	

\* *Kaori* is the tune or tone of voice in which this legend is recited.

4. Nowenchikko	kaori	4. The old man had a useless old
wen kamanata	"	axe in his girdle, and the old
shitomushi	"	woman a useless old reaping
nowenpakko	"	hook.
wen iyokbe	"	
shitomushi	"	
5. Kamui utara	kaori	5. So they caused the ancients to
euminare	"	laugh at them.
6. Kamui katap ne	kaori	6. Even the ancients were unable
kan' niukeshbe	"	to cut down the tree, so they
nowenchikko	"	said: "Old man and old woman,
nowenpakko	"	what have you come hither to
hemanda	"	do?"
kara gusu	"	
ariki	"	
kamui utara	"	
itak awa.	"	
7. Nowenchikko	kaori	7. The old man said:—"We
ene itak-hi	"	have only come that we may
ingara poka	"	see."
aki gusu	"	
ariki an awa.	"	
8. Itak-tek koro	kaori	8. As the old man said this he
wen kamanata	"	drew his useless old axe and
shiko-etaye	"	striking the metal pine tree
kani shungu	"	cut a little way into it.
taugi awa	"	
pon no ouguru	"	
9. Nowenpakko	kaori	9. And the old woman, drawing
wen iyokbe	"	her useless old reaping hook,
shiko-etaye	"	struck the tree and cut it
taugi awa	"	through.
oattuye.	"	
10. Horak hum	kaori	10. There was a mighty crash;
konna,	"	the earth trembled with the
turimimse	"	fall.

11. Nowenchikko	kaori	11. Then the old man and woman
Nowenpakko	"	passed up upon the sound
humrikikatta	"	thereof, and a fire was seen
ouhuye shirika	"	upon their sword-scabbards.
kari shiri.	"	
12. Kamui utan	kaori	12. The ancients saw this and
nukara,	"	greatly wondered, and then
oro oyachiki	"	they understood that it was
Okikurnmi	"	Okikurumi and his wife.
uturesh-koro	"	
ne rok okai.	"	

## NOTES.

Verses 1, 2. The words I have translated by "at the head of Japan," are, in Ainu: *Samoro moshiri*, *moshiri paketa*, and this means "at the north" or "north-eastern" or "eastern end of the island of Nippon." *Samoro moshiri* is never used to designate Yezo.

"Metal pine tree" rather indicates that the pine trees were very beautiful rather than that they were really made of metal. The word *kani*, "metal," was often used in ancient times to express a thing of beauty. Thus:—*Kani pon kasa*, "a pretty hat;" *kani chisei*, "a magnificent house;" *kani to*, "a beautiful lake;" *kani nitai*, "a delightful forest," and so on. However, verse 2 shows us that not beauty only is indicated here, but also hardness; for the ancients bent and broke their "swords" (the Ainu had no axee) in trying to fell this "metal pine tree." The word I have translated by "ancients" is, in Ainu, *Kamui*, which is a term applied to the gods, but the words *nupuru* and *nupan*, "noble and ignoble," or "high and low," show that men are here intended.

For a discussion of the term *kamui* see Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. xvi, pt. i, page 17 *et seq.*

Verse 3. The words *nowenchikko* and *nowenpakko* are terms applied only to Japanese of very ripe old age. *Chikko* and *bakko* are said to be ancient Japanese words meaning respectively, "old man" and "old woman."

Verses 4-7. The ancients had been working hard to fell that tree, therefore they thought it ridiculous that such an old couple with such poor tools should come to try their hand. Say they:—"Old man and old woman, what have you come hither to do?" "Merely to look at you," says the old man; "we have only come that we may see." The old gentleman appears to have been a little sarcastic, for verses eight to eleven say that he struck the tree with his useless old axe and made

a little cut in it, and that the old woman gave it a blow with her useless old reaping hook, and the tree fell with a mighty crash, so that the earth trembled with the fall thereof ; and, with the sound of the mighty crash, and in a cloud of fire they both ascended to heaven. Then, says verse eleven, the Ainu understood that the old man and woman were no other than Yoshitsune and his wife ! So ends the legend.

It may be asked, " who was Okikurumi's (Yoshitsune's) wife ? " This question I will dismiss by merely saying that I do not know. Possibly we may be able to learn in the near future. I have heard, however, that he married an Ainu woman called " Tureah Machi," but this only means " the younger daughter of a house." We can produce no positive evidence showing who she may have been.

The moral the Ainu teach from this legend is :—" Let not the younger laugh at the elder, for even the very old people can teach their juniors a great deal, even in so simple a matter as felling trees."

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## VII. POIYAUMBE.\*

If any student of philology is desirous of seeing what the ancient language of the Ainu was really like, he may surely find it in the text of this tradition. Many of the words here used are never heard now excepting in the like traditions and legends, and most of the younger Ainu can neither explain nor understand such language unless they are first specially taught it by their elders. It really requires much patient toil and study to grasp the peculiar meaning of the words, and still more to understand the drift of certain allusions and idiomatic phrases, especially as many of them either have already become or are fast becoming obsolete.

I have seen the following tradition listened to by old men full of years with wrapt attention. And indeed, I hardly wonder at it, for it is an exciting tale, full of pathos and graphic description, but it loses much of its beauty by being translated.

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\* *Poiyaumbe* is the name of the subject and means " the brave Ainu."

In order that it may be the better understood as it is being read to you, I would ask you kindly to bear the following few remarks in mind.

1. *Pouyaumbe* may be taken to mean "ancient Ainu warriors."

2. The *deer* which will be brought before your notice are human beings, inhabitants of a place called *Samatuye*. They have come to fight the Ainu. The speckled buck is their chief and the speckled doe is the chief's wife. The man leads the men, and the woman the women. Women as well as men used to fight.

3. These *Samatuye* people are said to have been a very warlike race. They travelled far and wide in search of conquest and fame. They used to travel and fight in the air, and could assume the forms of different kind of animals. Thus they came in the form of deer to wage war with the Ainu.

4. As soon as the battle is commenced, they assume their proper form and carry on the fight in the air.

5. But the Ainu warriors could also mount upon the clouds and fight; hence, the *Pouyaumbe* here brought before our notice was able to travel through the air to *Samatuye* and so carry the war into the very camp of the enemy.

I will now give the tradition, reserving all further notes and comments till the end.

#### POTYAUMBE.

1. Chisei ta turesh, akoro yupi  
eren a ne wa ramma-kane okan  
ruwe ne.

2. Shine anchikara mokoro poka  
iki aetoranne an an awa, ingar'an  
humi hene ya, wendarap an humi  
hene ya, aeramushkare.

3. Akoro petpo, pet turashi,  
ingar'an iké, pet etokushbe kamui  
nupuri, kamui shikuma kata apka

#### POTYAUMBE.

1. We three, my younger sister,  
my elder brother and I, were always  
together.

2. One night I was quite unable  
to sleep, but whether what I now  
relate was seen in a dream or  
whether it really took place I do  
not know.

3. Now I saw upon the tops of  
the mountains which lie towards  
the source of our river a great herd

topaha shinnae kane ; topa atpake  
poro shiapka ushiush apk, kirau  
ne yakka ushiush ki ruwe ne.  
Mommambe topa atpata ushiush  
momambe topa atpa etereke kane  
anukan' ruwe ne. Tambe gusu,  
shotki kata aki hopuni, uwok kane,  
earasaine no atumamkosaye ; kasa  
kasa-rantupet ayaikoyupu, kina-  
tuye hoshi ayaipoki-shiri karakara  
kane, kani shutu keire aureechiu,  
kamui rangetam akutpokichiu,  
tarush ikayup atek-sayekare, ka-  
rimba unku ku-nuna noshike atek-  
sayekare aki, soyoshima.

of male deer feeding by themselves.  
At the head of this great herd  
there was a very large speckled  
buck; even its horns were speckled.  
At the head of the herd of female  
deer there was a speckled doe skip-  
ping about in front of its fellows.  
So I sat up in my bed, buckled  
my belt, winding it once round  
my body, and tied my hat  
strings under my chin; I then  
fastened my leggings, made of grass,  
to my legs, slipped on my best  
boots, stuck my favorite sword  
in my girdle, took my quiver sling  
in my hand, seized my bow, which  
was made of yew and ornamented  
with cherry bark, by the middle,  
and sallied forth.

4. Pet turashi ru an toi ka' wa  
hopuni, rera iyorikikuru puni kane  
ouse nishka abopuni arapa an awa;  
akoro yupi chisei ta turesh iseturu  
ka yairarire ki rok okai.

4. The dust upon the road by  
the river-side was flying about; I  
was taken up by the wind and really  
seemed to go along upon the clouds.  
Now, my elder brother and youn-  
ger sister were coming along behind  
me.

5. Paye an awa; kamui shikuma  
kata, soon no poka apk topa shin-  
nae kane, topa atpata ushiush apk  
kirau ne yakka ushiush ne ruwe  
ne; momambe topa, topa atpata  
ushiush momambe chiterekere ki  
ruwe ne.

5. And as we went along, in  
truth, we saw that the mighty  
mountains were covered with great  
herds of bucks and does; the bucks  
had a speckled male at their head,  
even its horns were speckled;  
there was also a speckled female  
deer skipping about at the head of  
the does.

6. Tata orota, push shikorui

6. On coming near them, I took

hewe an kane, tap orowa no apka topa, topa ikiri orosama ai-eroshki, ne-i korachi shikuma kata apka topa ipatoye chiuchiubare. Momambe topa akoro yupi orosama ai-uiruge, ne-i korachi momambe topa yaemoshkara sama kane, irnkai tomta apka topa aukettektek ; momambe topa aukettektek. Rapo-keketa, uhunak yuk ne rok be, ainu pito an nangora ? airamushkare.

an arrow out of my quiver and shot into the very thickest of the herd, so that the mountains became covered with the multitude of those which had tasted poison (i. e. which had been lit with poisoned arrows). And, my elder brother shooting into the thickest of the herd of does, killed so many that the grass was completely covered with their bodies; within a very short time the whole herd, both of bucks and does was slain. How was it that that which but a short time since was a deer became a man ? That I cannot tell.

7. **Araka itak eashinge ene okai-i** :—“ Poiyaumbe eposo gusu konrametok, tu moshiri ika re moshiri ika assuru ash guru e ne wa gusu, hokamgin no chishimemokka ackarakara gusu, ek an awa ; autarihipo chiko-okere iyekarakara ki abe gusu, e an-rapoki akari kuni eramu gusu, e konrametok neun hene newa ne yakka e an-rapoki akari anak ne shomo ki nangoro.”

7. With angry words he said to me :—“ Because you are a brave *Poiyaumbe* and your fame has spread over many lands, you have come hither with the purpose of picking a quarrel with me. Thus then, you see that you have slain my friends and you doubtless think you can defeat me, but however brave you may be, I think you will probably find that you are mistaken.”

8. **Pakno ne koro, shisak utarapa tem ka honna shikayekaye, yupke tamkuru ikoterekere an no ikippo, aemondasa ashinuma ka atem ka konna shikayekaye, yupke tamkuru akoterekere iki an ita, tam ok humi oara isam. Aekotpokba ewen kane, ashinuma ka a emush, emush kane**

8. When he had spoken so much, this lordly person drew his sword with a flash and struck at me with powerful strokes ; in return I also flashed out my sword, but when I hit at him with mighty blows there was no corresponding crashing sound. It was extremely difficult to come

etu peken rera ne. Ayaikara kane ekotpoka ewen kane kirok ine, itni pa katu aerampeutekbe iki a koroka, atuman-kashi wen kempa na kohopuni, wen ainu nitne shinuma ne yakka tuman-kashike wen kempa na kohopuni :

upon him; it was as though the wind caught the point of my sword. Though this was the case, though it was difficult to strike him, and though I did not realize that I was struck, yet much blood spurted out of my body. That abominable, bad man was also bleeding profusely.

9. Rapokeketa, chisei ta turesh akoro yupi etun ne ine ushiush momambe uwetunangara ; tun kane tam sep ukohopuni shiri ki. Aine, kimatek kata iki, koroka iki, ingar' an ike, akoro yupi arasereke aikne tuye moshiri shokata tek-kuwapo koechararase shiri ki ita ; yupke tamkuru akoterekere, tup ne rep ne ausatuye iki an ita, shichup kata shiknu pito ne. Hum erikikuru puni kane, hontomota kando kotoro orun utasa tam sep serekosamba. Eara utoro un etuyesere hum serekosamba inu an gusu, chisei ta turesh shichup kata inotu oroge hopuni hum ko keurototke.

9. Whilst things were going on in this way, my elder brother and younger sister met with the speckled doe, and both attacked it with drawn swords. With great fear they fought ; and, when I looked, I saw that my elder brother was cut in twain ; as he fell, he put out his hands and raised himself from the earth. I then drew my sword and cut him twice or thrice, so that he became a living man again. Then riding upon a sound like thunder, he quickly ascended to the skies and again engaged in the fight. I now heard a sound as of another person being slain elsewhere : it was my younger sister who was killed. With a great sound she rode upon the sun (i. e. she died with a groan).

10. Tata orota wen shiwentep wen repun mat yayoparase-chiure kane, moshiri shokata horaochiuwe. Tap orowa no shiwentep etun otutam iworo ore-tam iworo iyeterekre re iki an aine, wen shiwentep tup ' ne rep ne ausa-tuye, shichup kata

10. Upon this the bad foreign woman boasted and said that she had slain my younger sister and thrown her to the earth. Then, the two, the woman and man, fell upon me with all their might and main, but I struck the bad woman

hum erikikuru tesu kane, shiknu kamui ne hum erikikuru tesu kane, okaketa wen ainu nitne ikoyaaisana sange kane kurukashike itak oma-re, ene okai-i :—

11. “Poiyaumbe eposo gusu, ekonrametok tu assuru oroge hopuni awa ; e iki ap gusu, akoro kotan reihe koro katu Samatuye kotan ne ruwe ne. Akoro akihi akoro turesh tun ne ine chashi shikkashima, kamui otta ka konrametok aihunara akoro akihi ne ruwe ne na. Sekoro an gusu eiraiye yakka akoro akihi ikemnu yak ne po ishiknupo e ki nangora, eyaikoshunge e ki nangon na.”

12. Hontomota wen ainu nitne homaretara atuye humi aeramu an. Tasa tamkuri yainutumnu obon no ne ya setak no ne ya ayainutumnu. Orosama, akoyaishikarun; ingar'an gusu, ashkai samma amut-emushi aekurukashike tamun-tamun ; ai-kap sama moshiri ka ushbe a wa kina ayaipekap, shinrit kata akoo-pentari.

13. Orosama, koyaishikarun aki ruwe ne. Ayaikoshiramshuye ike, neita an kotan reihe koro kuni Samatuye kotan ne wa gusu, chi-ishitomare aiyekarakara ki hawen ne koro, tukarikehe ahoshipi yak anak ne chi-emina ayekarakara ki

twice or thrice so that she rode upon the sun : she went to the sun a living soul. Then the bad, malignant man, being left alone, spoke thus :—

11. “Because you are a *Poiyaumbe* and the fame of your bravery has spread over many countries, and because you have done this, know ye that the place where I live is called *Samatuye*. The two, my younger brother and sister, are the defenders of my house, and they are exceedingly brave. Thus then, if I am slain by you, my younger brother will avenge my death and you will live no longer. You must be careful.”

12. Now I made a cut at that bad, malignant man, but he returned the blow, and I swooned. Whether the swoon lasted for a long space or a short, I know not. But when I opened my eyes I found my right hand stretched out above me and striking hither and thither with the sword, and with the left I was seizing the grass and tearing it up by the roots.

18. So I came to myself. And I wondered where *Samatuye* could be, and why it was so called. I thought that name was given to the place to frighten me, and I considered that if I did not pay it a visit I should be laughed at when

humih, oturai sambe aekotekara. I returned home, and thus feel humiliated.

14. Tambe gusu, ingar' an ike, tan inne topa ariki ruwe, ru kuru-kashi aehopuni, inne kotan, kotan upsoro koyaiterekere. Tap an topa ru kurukashike ehopuni arapan aine, tokap rere ko, kunne rere ko, chi-ukopishke no iwan rere ko, arapa an goro, atui-teksama aiyosange. Inne kotanchi-shiri anu.

14. Therefore I looked up and discovered the track by which this multitude of persons had come ; I ascended to the path and passed very many towns and villages. And I travelled along this path for three days and three nights, in all six days, till I came down upon the sea-shore ; here I saw many towns and villages.

15. Tap an ekaye-chish kando kotoro ko-yairikikuru puni kane, kurukashike kamui kot chashi chioushi kara, chashi tap ka nishpa turembe kuni chi-shiri ko-noye kane shiran chiki, chashi teksam aiyorange ; chisei sam kata humi mo apkash akourepentok noye kane ; puyara otbe akakoturi sep-ka uturu ashikposare. Ingar'an ike, abe etok ta pon ainu pon guru abe tek sam koisamkokka eshitchiure, hoka noshike koenitomum, charakiso un pon shiwen-tep an nangora, aeramushkare.

15. Here there was a very tall mountain whose top extended even into the skies ; upon its summit was a beautiful house, and above this circled a great cloud of fog. I descended by the side of the house, and stealthily walking along with noiseless steps, peeped in between the cracks of the door and listened. I saw something like a very little man sitting cross-legged at the head of the fire-place staring into the fire, and I saw something like a little woman sitting on the left-hand side of the fire-place.

16. Tap eashiri, chisei ta turesh eturu pak nanga yaikoropare hum shiwentep okai ruwe ne. Tata orota pon ainu pon guru ene itak-hi :—" Koingara gusu, akot turesh itak an chiki pirika no nu yan. Tan anchikatta kamui kuroro yai-kar'hum iayamokte ki ruwe ne na.

16. Here again was a woman who in beauty equalled my younger sister. Now, the little man spake thus :—" Oh, my younger sister, listen to me, for I have a word to say. The weather is clouding over, and I am filled with anticipation. You know, you have been

Koingara gusu ochiu tusure kinin tusure, pon ram orowa no e ki rok a na. Kekonhetak tusu wa en kore yan, kusu hum ashube anu gusu ne na."

17. Sekoro kane, pon ainu pon guru itak rok awa, pon shiwentep tu pase maushok yaierarapa ki rok ine, ene itak-i :—" Akoro yupi pon akoro yupi itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Nep irenga koro akoro yupihi ki katuhu ene ani, tuima kane assuru anup ; *Tomi-sumpet* shinutap kashi koassuru ashbe. *Pooyaumbe* kamui konrametok iki aige, motoho sak no po chishimemokka akoro yupihi ekarakara gusu *Pooyaumbe* shine okkayo iki yakka akoro yupili utat'tura no wen toi kando akokirukara ki ruwe ne. Ki rok okai rapokeketa, ya un guru moshiri orowa no pon kesorap kando kotoro chikurure ; kotonuyupu aki kush ne koroka, makan ne ko ene terekehe auwe-raye. Atui shokata atui chikoikip pon chikoikip kambekuruka koechararase, akoro kotan attom sama yaye ushi pak no ne koro rep un guru muttam, ya un guru muttam

a prophet from a child. Just prophesy to me, for I desire to hear of the future."

17. Thus spake the little man. Then the little woman gave two great yawns and said :—" My elder brother, my little elder brother, listen to me for I have a word to say. Wherefore is my brother thus in anticipation ? I hear news from a distant land ; there is news coming from above the mountains of *Tomisan pet*!<sup>1</sup> The brave *Pooyaumbe* have been attacked by my elder brother without cause, but a single man has annihilated my brother and his men. Whilst the battle proceeds a little *Kesorap*<sup>2</sup> comes flying across the sky from the interior ; and, though I earnestly desire to prophesy about it, somehow or other it passes out of my sight. When it crosses the sea it darts along upon the surface of the water like a little fish ; coming straight towards our town is the clashing of swords, the sword of a *Ya un*<sup>3</sup> man and a *Rep un*<sup>4</sup> man ;

<sup>1</sup> *Tomisan pet* is the name of a river said to be about a day's journey further up the West coast of Yezo than Ishkari.

<sup>2</sup> *Kesorap* is said by some Ainu to be a peacock, and by others a kind of eagle. Here, however, it signifies the victorious Ainu now on his way to desroy *Samatuye*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ya un*, "Ainu." <sup>4</sup> *Rep un*, the enemy of the Ainu.

uwatnikoro eshishuye, tu kem shui oro akushpare shiri ki aine, rep un guru muttam abun chup pok akotureyenu, ya un guru muttam pinue shikih shi-chup kata tonnatara ki-hi anak ne, ayai-komorep akot chashi iki a yakka, akoro chashi uwoma kunip shomo tap an na. Pak no ne koro ashik etoho ushikosamba ki ruwe ne na. Pirika no nu yan."

18. Hawash chiki, tanebo ekbe ashikopayara chisei samkata nishte toi oro aput'toi kunne aure poketa ush kane, apa orntbe kaishitapka terekere. Mindara kuruka koashima aki rok awa, apa tuika un shine ikinne ikohosari ki rok awa, nep kamui nukan rokbe kat un kuni itukarige koshik etumba, harikiso sam niwen chinika aikoturi.

19. Pon ainu pon guru eshisho un wa aureierutu abe hetok ne-hi akoisam kokkae a eshitchiure, kurukashike aitak omare ene okai-hi :—" Koingara gusu, *Samatuye un guru* pon ainu pon guru itak an chiki, pirika no nu yan. Nep rametok akoro wa gusu hange rep un guru tuima rep un guru chieuramtekuk iyekarakara ki rok gusu, *Samatuye un guru* e koro yupi moto sak no po chishimemokka iyekarakara, tap ambe ne ya ?

blood is spurting forth from two great wounds ; the sword of the *Rep un* man goes into the setting sun and is lost ; the handle of the sword of the *Ya un* man shines upon the sun. Although our house was in peace it is now in danger. In speaking thus much my eyes become darkened. Pay attention to what I have said."

18. As she said this, I pretended that I had but now arrived, and knocking the dirt off my boots upon the hard soil just outside the house, I lifted the door-screen over my shoulders and stepped inside. They both turned round and looked at me with one accord ; with fear they gazed at me from under their eye-brows. Then I walked along the left-hand side of the fire-place with hasty strides.

19. I swept the little man to the right-hand side of the fire-place with my foot, and, sitting myself cross-legged at the head thereof, spake thus :—" Look here, little *Samatuye* man, I have a word to say : attend well to me. Why has your elder brother, the *Samatuye* man, attacked us without reason ? Has he not done so ? As you have stirred up this war without reason you will be punished by the gods, you will be annihilated. Listen to

Tap an tumunchi moto sak no po  
echi kip ne gusu, kamui orowa no  
tumunchi seremak akopak guru  
anak chi-annu-raige aekarakan  
nangoro ; pirika no nu yan.  
Eepaketa nikap ainu a ne yakka  
iki, e koro kotan wen toi kando  
akokiru nangoro ; pirika no nu  
yan."

20. Pak no ne koro atemka  
konna shikayekaye, yupke tam-  
kuru akoterekere iki an awa ;  
peken rera ne, chisei kan kotoro  
kohopuni. Tap orowa no chisei  
pan nok chisei pen nok koyaikirare ;  
rapoketa puyara otta apa otta nep  
eupak kunip ainu ne manu apatui  
kata ukata tereke. Puyara otta  
Ainu ne manu kikiri pasushke ek  
an na yukara ; apatui kata ahun  
wa ambe kina otuye aekarakara.

21. Rapokeketa, pon shiwentep  
ene itak-hi :—" Akoro yupuhi nep  
burihi echu koro katuhu ene a ani-  
hi moto sak no po *Pooyaumbe* ne  
ap gusu ki rusuibe, rai ne heki ki  
wa gusu moto sak no po chi-shime-  
mokka echu ekarakara gusu, *Pooya-  
umbe* aramaukese ayaioraye ki  
nangon na. Pirika no nu yan."

22. Pon shiwentep itak keseta  
upshoro konna serikosamba ; tap  
orowa no apatui kata ahun wa

what I say. Besides, although I  
am a wounded man, I will over-  
throw your town. Listen to what  
I say !"

20. And when I had said so  
much, I drew my sword and  
flashed it about. I struck at him  
with such blows that the wind  
whistled. We ascended to the ceil-  
ing fighting, and here I chased him  
from one end of the house to the  
other. Whilst this was going on, a  
very great multitude of men con-  
gregated upon the threshold.  
They were as thick as swarms of  
flies ; so I cut them down like men  
mow grass.

21. Whilst this was going on,  
the little woman said :—" Oh my  
brothers, why did ye commit such  
a fault as to attack the *Pooyaumbe*  
without cause ? Was it that ye  
desired to slay those who had no  
desire to die that ye fell upon  
them ? Henceforth I shall cast in  
my lot with the *Pooyaumbe*. Listen  
to my words."

22. When the little woman had  
thus spoken, she drew a dagger  
from her bosom and cut down the

ambe, kina otuye ekarakan ruwe men at the door like grass ; we ne ; shine ikinne shine tam ani aki fought side by side.  
ruwe ne.

23. Shiri ki aine, usoinapashte aki ruwe ne. Ingar'an ike, moyo no utara chi-shire anu, utara seremak ta Samatuye un guru poneune hike, utara seremak ne yaikara kane; irukai nekoro, moyo no utara aukettektek. Okake an goro, *Samatuye un guru* niwen chinika akoturi kurukashike akitam etaye, yupke tamkuru akoterekere. *Samatuye un mat* iteksam peka koro yupihi yupke tamkuru koterekere.

24. Irukai ne koro, tup ne rep ne ausatuye inoto oroge hopuni hum kuru keurototke. Okaketa, Pon shiwentep tu chish wenbe yaiyekote, kurukashike itak omare ene okai-hi :—"Ashinuma anak aoyane nep, ara apaha sak guru kurukashike tam rarire ne wa gusu ; *Poイヤウムベ* pon yattuibo ikokararase ne no poka eara maukese ayiturare ki ruwe ne na. Pirika no nu yan."

23. Fighting so, we drove them out of the house. And, when we looked at them there were but a few left, but behind them stood the little *Samatuye* man ; yes, he was there. In a very short time those few persons were all killed. After this I went after the *Samatuye* man with hasty strides and drew my sword above him. I struck at him with heavy blows. The *Samatuye* woman also stood by my side and hit at her brother with her dagger.

24. In a short time he received two or three cuts and was slain. After this the little woman wept very much and spake, saying, "As for me, I am undone. I did not desire to draw my dagger against a man without friends. As the little hawks flock together where there is food, so have I an earnest desire to be with thee, O *Poイヤウムベ* ! Listen to what I say."

#### NOTES.

1. *Poイヤウムベ*. I have come to the conclusion that this word is most probably meant to designate the ancient Ainu, for, *ya un guru* is the word by which the Ainu used to distinguish themselves from foreigners, whom they called *Rep un guru*. *Ya un guru* means, "persons residing on the soil, or "natives." *Rep un guru* means, "persons of the sea;" or "persons residing beyond

the seas;" or "Islanders." Thus *Pooyaumbe* signifies, "little beings residing on the soil;" for the word may be divided in this way: *Poi* or *pon*, "little;" *ya*, "land;" "soil;" *un*, locative particle; *pe* "things," "being," "persons." *Pon*, however, should not be taken in this instance to really mean "small" or "little," but it is intended to express endearment or admiration, and may in this case be conveniently translated by "brave;" thus the word comes to mean "the brave Ainu." Persons who especially bore this name were the brave warriors of the Ainu race, what we should probably call the heroes of the people.

2. Sections *one* to *five* need no comment from me; I will therefore pass them over, merely saying that such minute and graphic description is common among the Ainu.

3. Section *six* asks:—"How was it that that which but a short time ago was a deer became a man? That I cannot tell." It was now for the first time that the Ainu discovered the deer to be human beings. They now assumed their proper form and were found to be enemies come to pick a quarrel and fight.

4. Section *seven* contains the challenge to fight. Here we see that the speckled buck, now turned into a man, accuses the Ainu of slaying his comrades. He seeks some ground of quarrel and attempts to shift the real cause of the war from his own shoulders to those of the Ainu, when, in truth, he himself had invaded the land. "You have slain my friends," says he. Then out flash the swords and the duel is fought with vigour and warmth.

5. In this section we have also an intimation that the Ainu was of great fame; his "fame had spread over many lands." What lands these were I cannot learn. Some tell me that the Ainu sailed in their boats to Manchuria and crossed the ice to Siberia, and there waged war and traded.

6. Section *nine* tells us of the fight between the foreigner's wife and the Ainu's brother and sister, both of whom were slain by her. The brother was cut in twain, but the *Pooyaumbe* went and struck him twice or thrice with his sword, which, it is said, brought him back to life! This is a very curious statement, but it is said that the Ainu once had the power of bringing persons back to life by cutting them with their swords. To this very day they have a custom of drawing their swords over a sick person and making a pretence of cutting him or her to pieces. This is supposed to have great efficacy in healing and restoring to life! The Ainu say that they have lost the power of restoring slain comrades to life by the sword, and this is the reason they have now given up fighting! In this section we have also an intimation of how the Ainu used to speak of life and death. The Ainu's sister rode upon the sun; i.e. she died. Death is riding upon the setting sun, and life is riding upon the rising sun, or a shining like the sun! This is a curious thing. What the underlying thought may be I will leave you to imagine.

7. Section *ten* tells us of the death of the doe, who had become a woman: her body was left, but her living soul travelled to the sun, i.e. she was slain.

8. Sections *ten* and *eleven* intimate that the antagonist of the Ainu was beginning to fear. He therefore threatens him with the vengeance of his brother and sister; he also tells him that the name of his country is *Samatuye*. Where *Samatuye* may be I cannot find out. *Samatuye* means, "to be cut in twain;" but it is said to be the name of a place or country.

9. Section *fourteen*. The path by which the enemy had come was in the air, and the Ainu followed it up till he came to the country called *Samatuye*. Here, the fifteenth section says, was an exceedingly high mountain, upon whose summit was built the chief's palace; at its foot was the capital city. Again the Ainu ascends to the air and comes stealthily to the door of the palace; he sees the brother and sister of his enemy and listens to their conversation. What he overheard is recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth section.

10. Sections *sixteen* to *eighteen*. The sister was a prophetess. There are still prophets and prophetesses amongst the Ainu, but their chief duty now is to tell the causes of illness, to prescribe medicines, to charm away sickness, and to make known the ultimate result, i.e. to tell whether a person will die or get well again. When a person prophesies he or she is supposed to sleep or otherwise loose consciousness, the spirit of prophecy or divination is thought to enter into the heart of the prophet, so that the subject merely becomes a tool or mouth-piece of the gods. The prophet is not even supposed to know what he himself says, and often the listeners do not understand what his words portend. When in the act of prophesying the prophet is in a fearful tremble; he generally breathes very hard and drops of perspiration stand upon his brow. Though his eyes should be open they have, for the time being, lost all power of sight. He sees nothing but with the mind. Everything he sees, whether relating to the past, present or future, is spoken of in the present tense. This spirit of prophecy is quite believed in by the people, and the prophet or prophetess is often resorted to. But curiously enough, no person can prophesy just when he or she pleases: he must wait till the spirit seizes him. Nor is a good drink of wine always needed, but contemplation and prayer are absolute necessities. The burden of prophecy sometimes comes out in jerks, but more often in a kind of sing-song monotone.

11. I have witnessed a prophet prophesying, and, truly, I think it would be difficult to find a more solemn scene. Absolute silence was observed by the people who were congregated together: no voice was to be heard but that of the prophet. Old men with grey beards sat there with tears in their eyes, silent and solemn; attentively were they listening to what was being said. The prophet appeared to be quite carried away with his subject, for he was beating himself with his hands. When he had finished, he opened his eyes and, for a moment, they looked wild and shone like fire; but exhaustion soon came over him. But to return.

12. Section *serenteen*. This sections contain the woman's prophecy. She sees the fight beyond the Ishikari river. She beholds her brother and his hosts slain

in battle. She sees the conquering hero, the Ainu, come flitting across the skies like a little bird. He darts along upon the seas like a fish skimming the surface of the water. She hears the clashing sound of swords coming straight towards their own city and palace. They are Ainu and *Samatuye* men that she sees. The Ainu, says she, is wounded. The sword of the *Samatuye* man, her brother, goes into the setting sun, i.e. he dies. The sword of the Ainu shines upon the sun, i.e. he conquers. And, lastly, she sees that the very house in which they are is in danger; and, no wonder, for the Ainu is at the very door listening. Then, say sections eighteen and nineteen, in walks the Ainu and challenges the brother to fight.

18. Sections *nineteen* to *end* tell us the result of this fight. The woman casts in her lot with the Ainu. She assists him in the fight. The *Samatuye* men are all slain, and the woman becomes the Ainu's wife! So ends this tradition.

## AROUND THE HOKKAIDO.

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By C. S. MEIK, C. E.

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[*Read 14th March, 1888.*]

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In the following paper there will doubtless be found a considerable amount of matter familiar to those who have read the paper contributed by Capt. Blakiston to the Royal Geographical Society in 1872 and the letters of the same gentleman to the *Japan Mail* some few years since. At the same time, while I have found it unavoidable to repeat some of the information supplied by Capt. Blakiston, I trust there will be found some fresh matter in this paper which will be of interest and assist in arriving at a more correct opinion of the capabilities of the Hokkaidō than has hitherto been the case.

I may say that the object of my tour round the island was with the view of advising the Government as to the most suitable sites for the construction of harbours for the better development of the trade of the island.

On my arrival in Japan in June of last year, I was fortunate enough to obtain as my colleague Mr. N. Fukushi of the survey department of the Hokkaido, a gentleman who is not only intimately acquainted with the geography of the country, but who also had the additional advantage of having accompanied Capt. Blakiston in some of his travels.

Our party, consisting of Mr. Fukushi, an engineering assistant and myself, left Sapporo on the 10th July, and proceeding by way of the road from there to Mororan, reached Tomakomai on the south coast on the evening of the same day.

This road is one of the very few in the Hokkaidō suitable for

wheeled traffic, and with the exception of one or two short lengths in the vicinity of Nemuro, no others of the same description were met with during our trip. Shortly after leaving Sapporo the road passes through deposits of volcanic ash and pumice, which render the ground quite unfit for farming operations, although trees seem to thrive fairly well upon it. Further on, in the neighbourhood of Chitose (Stocey), the ground appears to improve, and small lots near the road are under cultivation principally with root crops. In this neighbourhood some few years since deer were plentiful; now they are hardly ever seen, and the deer canning factory at Bibi has been closed for some time.

From Tomakomai eastward the road—or rather horse-track—follows the coast line, and passing through the villages of Yubutsu, Magawa and Sarubetsu, the small town of Shitsunai is reached, which place is well situated in a valley close to the mouth of the Shibichari river and possesses good accommodation for travellers. The occupation of the inhabitants along this district is fishing, both for salmon and sardines, the latter being all made into manure and shipped to the south for the rice-fields. The mouths of the rivers along this coast have a striking peculiarity: they all run parallel to the shore in a westerly direction before finding an exit to the sea. This is due to the sand drifting along the coast from east to west, owing to the prevailing winds coming from the east to south-east, and also perhaps to the tidal current setting to the westward close in shore. This action I will refer to further on when describing the north-east coast, where it is even more marked. At Sambutsu the first Aino population of any importance is met with, but they are apparently being rapidly mixed with the Japanese race, the number of half-castes being very noticeable. The country round about here appears to be very fertile, the small areas that are cultivated near the villages raising good crops. Horses are bred here in numbers, and as the winters in this district are not so severe as elsewhere in the island, they can generally subsist throughout the winter on the bamboo grass which grows luxuriantly and which they appear to relish. The quality of these animals is very inferior, however, chiefly owing to the want of proper regulations during the breeding seasons. After leaving Shitsunai, Urakawa is the next place of importance reached. Here there is a considerable population during the fishing and sea-weed

seasons, but after these are over the town loses more than one-half its inhabitants, who return to their homes in the northern end of the main island. The sardine manure harvest is over in the last week in July, being succeeded by that of sea-weed (*kombu*), which generally lasts two months, there being a fixed day for beginning and another for stopping operations, in order, I presume, to ensure the weed being gathered in the best condition. Referring to the sardine manure;—at Urakawa the price last year was about 160 yen per 100 *koku*, that is 42 shillings per ton with the yen at 4 shillings, although the price has been known to rise as high as 400 yen per 100 *koku* or 106 shillings per ton. The smell of these fishes drying in the sun is anything but pleasant to a traveller. As to the sea-weed, enormous quantities are gathered along this coast during the season and exported to the south of Japan and to the Chinese markets. In deep water off this coast the weed sometimes reaches a length of 90 feet and a width of six inches. It is highly nutritious, and not at all unpalatable when eaten with a little *shoyu*. The south coast of the Hokkaidō appears to be the only one in which this weed reaches perfection, although it is met with on the west coast. This is due no doubt to the rocky nature of the coast and to the cold current setting in along the shore from Cape Noshapu to the eastward towards Volcano Bay.

Horoidzumi is the next place of importance after passing Urakawa, and here the population is also to a great extent migratory and the trade much the same as at Urakawa. The road between these two towns was last summer very rough, no less than six separate ranges of hills 500 feet or so in height having to be crossed. A new road has, however, lately been opened along the shore, one or two tunnels having been made through the cliffs overhanging the sea, so that travelling on horseback is now much easier. The old road, though very rough, however, was well worth the extra exertion required, as the scenery was charming, occasional peeps of the sea being obtained from the hill-tops through the trees. The timber in this district is well grown, and in description is much the same as in England—ash, oak, elm, birch, chestnut and numerous others; also *Matsu*, three kinds—*Todo*, *Yezo* and *Shenku*. Wild flowers grow here, and in fact all round the coasts in profusion—wild roses, lilies, iris and all the descriptions seen at home.

From Horoidzumi the road cuts across the peninsula, terminating at Cape Erimo, and strikes the coast again at Sanorn. A new road has recently been made, so that travelling is now comparatively easy, only a couple of hills 800 to 900 feet high having to be crossed. Fogs are very prevalent along this coast from Erimo to Noshapu Cape during the summer months, and even in July the traveller feels the cold severely when he gets into one. As soon as the coast line is left, however, the heat is sometimes oppressive. Within the distance of a mile from the chilling fogs and east wind of the coast, the magnolia tree is found in full blossom under the shelter of a hill, and the thermometer stands at between 80° and 90° F. in the shade.

Passing through Birō and Birofune, Ohotsunai, at the mouth of the Tokachi river, is reached. This town is situated on the west branch of the river, but owing to the fact that this mouth is frequently blocked up by drifting sand, and also because good drinking water is difficult to obtain, the authorities are thinking of shifting the town to the east mouth, where the river is more likely to remain in its present position, since it is to a certain extent sheltered by a reef of rocks jutting out from the shore and where also good water is plentiful.

The Tokachi is one of the three large rivers of the Hokkaidō, and boats are able to navigate it for 28 *ri* from the sea coast. The land in this valley is of first rate quality, and provided some facilities were given for shipping at or near the river mouth, it would be one of the best districts for settlers in the Hokkaidō. Kushiro, about 18 *ri* to the eastward of the mouth of the Tokachi, is a town of considerable importance, and from its favourable situation is likely to become one of the chief towns of the island. One of the most valuable sulphur deposits in Japan, or perhaps in the world, exists inland from Kushiro at a mountain near Kushiro lake, the quantity of sulphur being for all practical purposes unlimited. Up till quite recently the mineral was carried on pack-horses to a point on the river 17 *ri* from Kushiro, whence it was brought down by boats to the latter place for shipment. A railway has just been opened, however, from the mines to the river, and the river itself has been cleared of obstructions to a moderate extent, so that when a good harbour is constructed at Kushiro the sulphur trade will assume a prominent place in the exports of the Hokkaidō. Coal has

also been discovered close to the town, and is at present used in the small river steamers towing the sulphur boats, and judging from appearances it is of fairly good quality. To the mineral products of this district must be added the exports of fish, fish-manure and sea-weed, and the produce that will arise from the cultivation of the land in the neighbourhood, which is of considerable area and of good quality. Akkechi bay, a few *ri* to the east of Kushiro, is one of the best anchorages on the south coast, the town at the head of the bay being a thriving place and having a first rate tea-house offering good accommodation for travellers. The large lagoon at the head of the bay, called Se-Chiripp, contains a great quantity of large oysters, some of the shells measuring 18 inches long. These oysters are dried, tinned and shipped to the Chinese markets. Hamanaka bay, having a good anchorage under Kiritap island, is a place of some importance and does a considerable export trade in fish and sea-weed. From this the road follows the coast to Hanasaki on the south side of the Noshapu peninsula, with a branch across to the town of Nemuro, the chief town in this part of the island. As I before remarked, fogs are very prevalent all along this coast during the summer, but they seem to excel at Hanasaki bay. During my visit to that place I only once saw the whole of the bay—about one mile wide—and that for the space of two hours only. Hanasaki bay is the port of call for steamers trading to Nemuro during the months of January, February and March, during which period the harbour at Nemuro is blocked up with drift-ice. Nemuro, situated on the north side of the Noshapu peninsula, is a thriving place and has increased in size very much during the last few years. It possesses a small bay or harbour suitable for small coasting craft, and is capable of considerable improvement. All the trade from the adjoining coast and islands concentrates at Nemuro, the value amounting to nearly one million yen annually. Within a few miles of the town a militia settlement has lately been established on the same principle as those existing near Sapporo. The soil here is of good quality, and fair crops can be raised of hemp, potatoes, turnips, daikon, beans and barley. Oats and wheat have not been attempted as yet, but there seems no reason why they should not succeed. In the neighbourhood of Nemuro there is also a large farm of over 9,000 acres enclosed in a ring fence now belonging to a private

gentleman, part of which is being broken up with the plough and part being put under pasture for cattle. Cattle and horse-breeding appears to be attended with success, but sheep-raising has not been tried as yet. This is the only place in the Hokkaidō, excepting the government farms at Nanae and Sapporo, where farming on a large scale has been attempted, and there is no reason to doubt that it will be perfectly successful with proper management. The country about here and in fact all along the peninsula consists of a flat table-land from 50 to 100 feet above sea-level, covered with undergrowth and stunted trees, the east winds and fogs no doubt preventing the latter from attaining large growth. The fogs, however, do not affect the production of cereals and root crops to an appreciable extent, and the climate generally appears to be somewhat similar to that of the east coast of Scotland, where admirable crops are raised in spite of east wind or fogs.

From Nemuro the road follows the shore line to Oneto, where the entrance to a large lagoon has to be crossed by a ferry. Passing on from there, still following the shore line and crossing another lagoon entrance, the Nichibetsu river is reached, where good quarters can be obtained at the small town of Bekkai or Bitsukai. The Nishibetsu is the best salmon river in Japan, although not by any means the largest one. At Bekkai the government established a salmon canning factory some years since under American direction. It is now, however, in private hands and appears to be well managed, although perhaps it would be an improvement to label the tins, not only as a guarantee of the genuineness of the contents, but also as a help for the extension of the trade. From information obtained on the spot, it appears that no less than 15,000 *koku* (2,200 tons) of salmon are annually taken out of the river, together with a considerable quantity from the sea coast in the vicinity. As the traveller proceeds northward along this coast, horses become more difficult to obtain, the quality of the animal begins to deteriorate, and it is a very rare thing to get a horse that has not bad qualities of some kind. Nine out of ten are inveterate stumblers : they will not keep their noses off the ground if they can help it. This is no doubt due to their being chiefly used as pack-horses, in which capacity several are usually tied together, the head of one animal being tied to the tail of the next in front, and so on.

From Bekkai to Shibetsu the road is not of the best description. After a heavy rain it is usually impassable owing to the swampy nature of the ground, and from this cause we were conducted along the sea-beach as being the only passable road. This beach is simply a stinking swamp of decayed vegetable matter and sea-weed, owing to the large amount of fresh water and the absence of tidal currents in the sea, due no doubt to the sheltered position of the locality under Cape Notake. Unless the traveller has a guide well acquainted with the locality, he is very likely to lose his horse, if not himself, in the bog. Under the most favourable circumstances his lot is not a pleasant one in hot weather, with the thermometer at 90° in the shade, innumerable bull flies and mosquitoes, his horses sinking below the knees at every step—all added to the very unhealthy smell arising from the decayed vegetable matter, make the road one to be avoided if possible. After passing the base of the Notske promontory, Shibetsu is reached, situated at the mouth of the river of the same name. On this coast the prevalent winds are from the north-east, and the tidal currents setting in from the same direction cause the sand to drift along the shore to the southward, and thus, as on the south coast, causing the rivers to run parallel to the shore for a considerable distance before entering the sea. At Shibetsu the inhabitants are continually fighting with the river to induce it to go into the sea, to which proceeding it has apparently a decided objection. Occasionally, however, after a heavy downpour of rain or a sudden thaw in the hills, the river itself does in a couple of hours what the natives cannot effect in a year—it makes a new mouth for itself, generally near the point where it first reaches the coast line. This mouth does not remain open long, however, the sand drifting in such large quantities and at such a rapid rate. There is practically no land under cultivation along this coast, the inhabitants subsisting entirely upon the produce of the salmon and herring fisheries, the latter of course being all made into manure. From Shibetsu a new road has lately been made across the Shari hills to Shari on the north-east coast. This road is shorter by 11 *ri* than the old road via Wakaoi, and the whole distance can now be traversed in one day, although there is a horse-station and accommodation for travellers in the heart of the hills at a place called Rubetsu. After leaving the coast at Shibetsu the road

passes through a forest for the whole distance (86 miles) until the sea coast at Shari is reached. There are first of all miles of birch trees, used by the inhabitants on the coast for firewood and for the manufacture of roofing shingles, for which purpose they make use of the bark of the tree after the outer covering has been stripped off. Ropes are also made by the Ainos from the bark of the *Shina*, a kind of ash tree, while stems of the young vine trees are often used for a like purpose. After proceeding further inland larger trees are met with, such as oak, ash, *todo* and *Yezo-matsu*, some of the last named being splendid trees, 51 to 18 feet in circumference and 150 to 200 feet high. The difficulty of transport to the coast, however, is at present so great that this fine timber can not be taken advantage of. In the Shari hills, at about 8 *ri* from Shibetsu, there exist some hot springs and also indications of petroleum, the former sending out a considerable volume of water at a temperature of about 150° Fahr. and having a slight trace of sulphate of iron. The petroleum flows out of the ground in very small quantities close to the stream issuing from the hot springs, and until a proper well is sunk it would be impossible to judge whether it could be obtained in paying quantities. Neither the hot springs nor the petroleum springs are likely to prove of much practical value for some years to come, but the place is well worth a visit by the traveller in the vicinity, although the road after leaving the main track is rough in the extreme. After leaving Rubetsu the road crosses the hills by a pass 1500 feet above the sea-level, and even in August, with the thermometer at 85° F. in the shade, snow is to be seen in the clefts of the mountains at an elevation of about 8000 feet or so. This snow melting under the hot August sun makes the river water delightfully cool, and a bath in it is very refreshing after a hot day's ride, although the bull flies do not suffer the bather to remain long in the free enjoyment of his tub. After passing Shari, which is only a small fishing village, the road follows the coast line to Abashiri, the place of most importance in this section of the coast. The shore along here is entirely formed of sand until Abashiri is reached, where a bold rocky headland juts into the sea. Before reaching this, however, the entrance to a tolerably large lagoon (Tobetsu) is crossed, having in its neighbourhood a few scattered Aino villages. Abashiri is a rising place, having about 880 inhabitants, all more or less engaged in the fishing industry,

although some small portions of land near the town have been cultivated for root crops. A fair anchorage exists under the lee of an island lying off the river's mouth, and the bay, which is sheltered both by this island and to a small extent by Cape Notoro, is one of the few localities on this coast capable of being improved into a safe harbour. The river here forms the outlet for a large lake situated inland about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ri. It is well wooded all round with all kinds of trees, some of them being oak of large dimensions. The depth of this lake varies from 18 to 28 feet, and the water is apparently of a high temperature—higher indeed than is due to the heat of the atmosphere. From the head of this lake a horse-track exists across the mountains to the south coast at Kushiro. From Abashiri the road passes through Tokoro on to Saruma lagoon, but in order to save time we avoided this road and proceeded by sea in a fishing boat. This did not turn out a success, however, as the boat only progressed at two miles per hour almost the whole distance to Saruma, there being no favourable wind. Fishing boats on this coast do not differ materially from those in use elsewhere in the north of Japan, but in any case the principle on which they are built and the manner in which they are propelled are not to be commended. In shape they are not unlike a coffin with a sharp end, and the oars are like crutches about six feet long, the latter being tied to the thwart of the boat near the bow by short pieces of grass rope. The boat is steered by two long sweeps at the stem, and these are also occasionally used in assisting the rowers. As to their sailing qualities, the less said the better. Owing to the shape of the boat and to the position of the sail they will do little else than run before the wind: beating to windward is quite out of the question. No doubt they have their good qualities, such as being easily beached should a storm arise; but for all that I think the Hokkaidō fisherman has a good deal to learn from his western brother in the matter of boat-building.

Saruma lagoon is a fine sheet of water about seven *ri* long by three *ri* wide at its greatest width, and covering an area of nearly 80 square miles. It is separated from the sea by a continuous row of sand hills covered with scrub and stunted oak trees, varying in width from 250 yards to three-quarters of a mile, and at its deepest part measures nine fathoms. The outlet into the sea is at some distance to the eastward

of the lagoon proper, and has evidently been gradually forced in this direction by the sand-drift travelling along the shore from north-west to south-east. The entrance at the date of our visit was very narrow and shallow, and the rush of water into and out of the lagoon very rapid. The outward rush of water is due to the tide and to the fresh water discharge of the rivers, two of which empty their waters into the lagoon, besides some smaller streams, while the inward rush is due to the tide alone, which in the sea rises between three and four feet and in the lagoon rather less than one foot. This of course always gives a head of water, except at mean tide, either in the lagoon or in the sea, according to whether the tide is ebbing or flowing. This tidal current, added to the effect of the fresh water discharge into the lagoon, has not, however, sufficient force to maintain an open mouth to the lagoon, and since my visit to the spot the entrance, or rather mouth, has been completely blocked up with sand. Whenever this happens the few inhabitants in the neighbourhood have forthwith to set to work and dig a channel to allow the water to escape, otherwise the water level in the lagoon rises and floods the surrounding country. Last winter the water level rose as much as seven feet during the time that one of these sand obstructions at the mouth of the lagoon was in course of removal. This lagoon would form a magnificent natural harbour provided this difficulty with the entrance to it from the sea were overcome, a thing not by any means impossible, but expensive. All along this portion of the coast of the island evidences of the magnitude of this sand drift are met with, and we passed several small rivers that were completely blocked up, and in some cases, owing to high tides and to a strong breeze causing waves, the sea water was flowing into the river over the bar instead of *vice versa*. The river water either finds its way into the sea through the sand, or else forms lagoons which increase in size until a heavy flood comes down the river and breaks through the sand bar, which is very soon re-formed, however. Saruma lagoon is very prolific in oysters, some of them attaining a large size, although not, as a rule, so large as those of Akkechi bay. They are not utilized in any way, although one or two attempts have been made, but without success, to tin and export them to the south. The east end of the lagoon appears to be gradually filling up with these shell-fish. The principal inhabitants

in this district are Ainos, the only Japanese being those at the horse-station near the mouth of the lagoon, where there is fairly good accommodation for travellers. Seal and mallard are seen in large quantities on the shores of the lagoon, but are difficult to approach in warm weather. In winter, however, we were informed that they can be shot in considerable numbers by the sportsman who is enthusiastic enough to spend a month or so in this out-of-the-way place. All trade by sea is stopped on this coast during the months of January, February and March by the ice drift which sets in from the north and works along the coast as far as Cape Noshapu, near Nemuro. The ice-field extends seaward for a distance of two or three miles from the coast and fills up any indentations in the coast line, such as river mouths, and forms one solid mass on the surface of the water, which rises and falls with the tide and often does serious damage to the bridges or other structures below high water mark. Piles are frequently lifted bodily out of the ground by the alternate rising and falling of this ice-field.

From the horse-station at Saruma on to Nurubetsu the road follows the sand hills between the sea and the lagoon to Yubetsu, one *ri* past the west end of the lagoon. Here the usual struggle between the river and the sand is visible, the latter always getting the best of the fight, much to the disadvantage of the inhabitants. The rivers between Saruma and Seya are of no great size, owing to the water-shed running parallel to the shore at about five *ri* distance therefrom. They are liable to sudden floods, however, which frequently open new mouths into the sea, thus often necessitating an alteration in the route of the horse-track. Near to Mombetsu several lagoons existed at the time of our visit with apparently no exit into the sea, but as it was, our guide—an Aino boy—was at fault more than once, doubtless owing to some alteration in the size or shape of these lagoons.

Mombetsu is a place of some importance, having a population of about 400 inhabitants during the fishing season, and it appears to be increasing in size. A fair anchorage for small vessels exists here, except with an easterly wind. From Mombetsu to Poronai and thence on to Isashi the coast line presents much the same appearance, the population being very sparse and travelling monotonous. Bamboo grass, which grows freely all round the Hokkaidō, is here met with in perfection. It

reaches a height sufficient to hide from sight both horse and rider, and when once the track is lost the horses are quite unable to force their way through it. If this grass were to be entirely burned down at the end of the warm weather and the ground broken up and cleared, good agricultural land would be obtained. Isashi is a place about equal in size to Mombetsu, these two places being the chief fishing-stations between Abashiri and Soya. The lessees of the fishings keep their boats, nets and gear at these places, and distribute them along the coast to the various fishing-stations when the season commences. The men employed at this time mostly come from the south, and as soon as they arrive build a large house or shed for their own accommodation, which they again dismantle or pull down at the close of the season. About five *ri* north of Esashi a spur of the mountain range forming the water-shed approaches the coast line, and the road here ascends the side of the hill and winds round the end of the projecting bluff at a considerable elevation above the sea. The road is very rough, and considerable care is required to prevent the horses losing their packs when rounding this promontory. Just before reaching this point a small bay is passed forming a well sheltered anchorage, except with due northerly winds. It is called Higashitomari by the inhabitants, which is literally "East-wind harbour." This is very appropriate, seeing that the anchorage is completely sheltered from that quarter.

At Sarubutsu, rather more than half-way between Esashi and Soya, there is a rest-house for travellers, now in rather a dilapidated condition, but the traffic in this district being very limited, sufficient inducement is not offered for the enterprising tea-house keeper to start business. The existing house was built by Government for the convenience of travellers. Close to Sarubutsu is the entrance to a large lagoon or lake, into which, however, the salmon passing along the coast will not enter, doubtless owing to the presence of some poisonous matter in the water, arising no doubt from the existence of coal and perhaps petroleum on the water-shed close by. Passing the small fishing village of Chietomai, Cape Soya is reached on the high land, above which a light-house has recently been erected for the benefit of shipping passing through La Pérouse straits. Saghalien is seen in the distance, the breadth of the straits from land to land being 30 miles.

At one time Soya was the principal town at this end of the island, being maintained chiefly by the travellers passing to and from Saghalien. Since the island was given up to the Russians in exchange for the Kuriles, Soya has been on the decline, and the town of Wakanai, on the opposite side of the bay, has taken the lead. This is accounted for by the fact that the anchorage off the coast at this point is much superior to that opposite Soya, where numerous reefs exist, on one of which H.M.S. *Rattler* was wrecked in 1868. The bay of Soya is completely blocked up with floating ice in the winter time, in a manner similar to the north-east coast. On the west coast, however, except in the vicinity of Cape Noshapu, no such thing occurs, the drift ice apparently all going down south along the east coast of the island. Its absence on the west coast may be due to a certain extent to the warm current of the Kuroshiwō, which sets to the northward along this coast, and also to the fact that the prevailing winds blow from the south-west and the tidal currents also set in the same direction. This is borne out by the tendency of the rivers on this coast to run to the northward before entering the sea. Between Esashi and Wakanai horses are not obtainable, with the exception of perhaps one or two at Soya, and it is therefore necessary to engage horses at Esashi for the journey on to Soya, at which place a sufficient number of fresh horses can always be obtained by sending forward to Wakanai. Travelling in this district is necessarily very slow, the road being very heavy, mostly in loose sand. The horses too are very inferior in quality and have little life left in them at the end of the third day's riding. After leaving Soya, the first day's riding finishes at Bakkai, about ten *ri* distant. This place takes its name from a peculiarly shaped rock which is supposed to resemble a woman carrying an infant on her back,—the word of course being of Aino origin. In the hotel or tea-house at Bakkai the *furo* or hot bath is of rather a primitive construction. It consists of a large fish caldron—such as is in use for extracting oil from herrings—set upon rough bricks and clay and having a fire of wood immediately under it. When the water has reached a high enough temperature, a piece of board about 18 inches square is placed on the surface, and the bather has to place his foot carefully in the centre thereof and to carry it down through the water to the bottom of the kettle with his own

weight. If not very careful, the inexperienced beginner is likely to capsize or burn his feet on the bottom of the cauldron. When once safely into this primitive bath, the bather is both washed and smoked at the same time.

A good view of the islands of Rishiri and Rebunshiri is obtained from Bakkai, the former being a majestic cone-shaped peak rising out of the water to a height of 6,000 feet above the sea-level, and the latter a flat table-island only 300 feet or so above the same level and forming quite a contrast to its lofty companion. The road from Bakkai on to the Teshiwo mouth is a dreary, monotonous ride of more than thirteen *ri* over sandy beach and sandhills, the only thing interesting in the slightest degree being the enormous quantity of drift timber lying scattered along the beach. Trees of all kinds, sizes and shapes are seen here, having evidently been brought down to the coast by the rivers discharging to the southward and carried up to this point by the tidal current and prevailing winds. The river Teshiwo is a fine, broad, deep stream, and is one of the three large rivers of the Hokkaido, the others being the Ishikari and Tokachi. The sand bar at its mouth, however, is a complete block to any craft other than boats and small junks obtaining access thereto. The mouth of this river is rather puzzling, since the stream runs parallel to the shore in a *southerly* direction for some distance before flowing into the sea, whereas all the other rivers on this coast tend in a *northerly* direction. At the present time, however, the Teshiwo mouth seems to be following the rule and is again working to the northward, and I think there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the sand does all travel northward along this coast. After leaving Teshiwo and crossing the Nembetsu river the coast changes its form; the sand-hills giving place to cliffs of yellow clay rock about 200 feet high, coming close up to the water's edge. These cliffs are gradually being washed away, and the loose material forming the beach being very slippery, renders it very difficult and sometimes dangerous to pass along the shore, especially when a strong south-west wind causes the waves to dash against the cliffs. The proper road along this part of the coast is on the top of the cliffs, but at the present time it is in such a wretched condition, owing to landslips and broken bridges, that the more difficult track along the beach is generally preferred.

Furebetsu, about 8 *ri* to the south of Teshiwo, is a small village containing a few houses and a tolerably comfortable tea-house, and 8 *ri* further on Tomamai is reached, which place may be said to be the northern limit of civilization on this coast. From this point southward the fishing industry is actively engaged in and villages are numerous. Approaching Tomamai from the north, the cliffs appear to be of hard rock-limestone, and are not disappearing in such a marked manner as those near Furebetsu. To the southward of Tomamai there exists a narrow strip between the sea and the high land at the back, which is thickly covered with houses. The table-land at the back is about 150 feet above sea-level, and is cultivated to a small extent for root crops principally. Potatoes, turnips, and daikon seem to grow very well, and the country struck me as being admirably adapted for farming and stock-raising.

From Tomamai to Rumoi and thence on to Mashike the traveller passes through numerous fishing villages which have a thriving appearance, this portion of the Hokkaidō coasts being the most prolific in the fishes of the north—salmon and herrings. Crossing the Kotambetsu and Oberaspe rivers, Rumoi is reached, situated on a river of the same name. Rumoi is the Japanese name for the town; the Ainos call it “Rurumoppe.” It possesses a tolerably good anchorage in its bay, having deep water close in shore, and as a harbour it is capable of considerable improvement. The trade here at present is all due to the fishing business, but there is every probability of Rumoi becoming a place of importance hereafter, both from its position on the coast line and from the fact that good coal has been discovered on the upper reaches of the river. Mashike, about four *ri* from Rumoi and close under Cape Kamuieto, is at present the chief town on the west and east coasts between Otaru and Nemuro. It has a population of between 2,500 and 3,000, a portion of this of course being migratory, although not to so great an extent as is the case on the south or east coasts. The town is well built, with wide streets and good water supply, and altogether it has a very prosperous appearance. The principal merchants and fishing lessees in this district have their headquarters here, and the greater portion of the fish and fish-manure produce of the adjoining villages is concentrated at Mashike and from

there shipped to the southern markets. The harbour, or rather bay, at Mashike is exposed to the north, and having bad holding ground it is dangerous for ships to remain at anchor therein with the wind in a northerly or north-westerly direction.

From Mashike going southward the road crosses the mountains to Hammamashike, reaching an elevation of 2,000 feet above sea-level, and thence follows the coast line to the Ishikari. As the road in question is anything but an easy one to pass over, however, travellers usually prefer to go by sea round Cape Kamuieto, and so avoid the mountain climb. As we had no further coast line to inspect before reaching the Ishikari, we embarked in one of the small steamers that run twice a week during the summer from Mashike to Otaru. This steamer was little better than a launch and very light in the water, and as a strong gale was blowing from the eastward we experienced a very rough passage, the boat being more than once nearly on her beam ends. An easterly gale is very severely felt in the bay of Otaru, and it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to land or embark on a steamer with the wind in this direction. Taking the train at Otaru we arrived in Sapporo after an absence of 68 days, having travelled a distance of 840 miles.

Having thus briefly referred to the ground travelled over, I will now give in as few words as possible the impressions I gained as to the present condition of the country and its inhabitants, and my opinion as to its future prosperity.

To begin with the climate. It is not unlike that of the British Isles, only having a winter rather more severe and lengthened, and with a more humid atmosphere during the warm season. I will not inflict upon you any figures relating to temperature, rain-fall, etc. These can always be obtained from the printed reports of the meteorological office. The productions of the soil are very similar in the two countries, only the growth of vegetation in the Hokkaidō is the more rapid of the two, due no doubt to the greater humidity of the atmosphere. This to a certain extent compensates for the extra length of the winter, which does not terminate until the beginning of April, when the snow begins to melt. It entirely disappears early in May.

A very small portion of the island is as yet cultivated, and that only in a superficial manner, excepting in the neighbourhoods of

Sapporo and Nemuro, where, owing to government help and direction, a fairly good system has been adopted. The agricultural population, mostly coming from the south, have not as yet gained sufficient experience to cultivate the land in the most economical manner. The system in force in the southern portion of Japan, where two and sometimes three crops are taken from the land in one season, will not prove at all remunerative in the Hokkaidō, where only one crop is obtainable. Horses being low in first cost and cheap to feed, ploughing should be more extensively resorted to, and the market gardening system of farming—if I may call it so—should be abandoned. Hitherto all kinds of root crops and cereals grown in the northern portion of the main island have been tried with perfect success, excepting rice and wheat. The former will never be grown as a paying crop, owing to the long winters, and the latter has not as yet arrived at that state of perfection which is desirable for the manufacture of good white flour. I see no reason, however, why, with an efficient system of subsoil drainage, wheat of good quality should not be grown and in paying crops. Potatoes of both kinds flourish, and the same may be said of turnips, daikon and beans, while Indian corn, millet, buckwheat and hemp produce average crops. The climate of the island is well adapted for the cultivation of hardy fruit trees, and in the neighbourhood of Sapporo large quantities of apples, pears, plums, cherries, etc., are now gathered annually and prove a very remunerative crop to the grower. As regards stock raising, cattle thrive well, and the beef produced is not inferior to that grown in the Kobe district. The chief obstacle to the more extensive rearing of cattle seems to be the want of capital on the part of the small farmer to obtain stock in the first instance. Sheep have not as yet been raised with success, owing no doubt to the want of suitable grass land, most of the grass—if such it can be called—being too rank for feeding sheep, and the dampness of the subsoil generally results in the animal being attacked with foot-rot. In the neighbourhood of Sapporo, however, I have been informed by Mr. Dun, who had charge of the Government farm there for some years, that there should be no difficulty experienced in the raising of sheep. There is therefore some hope that sheep-farming may yet be a success in the Hokkaidō.

Horses are at present bred in large numbers, especially along the south coast, where, as I have already said, their winter keep is not an important item of expenditure. Practically no supervision is ever exercised over the herd during the breeding season, and the result naturally is the production of an animal inferior in every respect. The price of a horse being very low—five or six yen on the south coast—their owners do not set much value on them, and consequently their treatment is not such as would be tolerated in England. Pack-horses are often used with their backs one mass of sores, caused by the chafing of the pack-saddles, while it is no uncommon sight to see foals of a month or two old trotting after their mothers for miles while the latter are carrying packs or travellers. These remarks do not apply to horse farms under government supervision, where the animals are well treated and where the breed is being considerably improved by the introduction of foreign blood.

Coming now to the population—that is the resident population—including Ainos, the number is roughly 220,000 (57,000 houses) and is gradually increasing. The condition of the inhabitants of the Hokkaidō on the whole is better than that of the individual of the same class in the south of Japan. He fares better, and when working as a labourer earns considerably better wages—generally one hundred per cent more than his brothers in the south. This is perhaps necessary, as he has to live better, the climate being colder, and also because for some time during the winter he may not be able to earn anything at all. His food consists of rice or maize, fish, daikon, and potatoes, for the first of which he has to pay a higher price than in the south. The other eatables, however, are plentiful and cheap, fish especially so. Firewood is plentiful, and can in all districts be had for the trouble of cutting. Coal is moderate in price, and would be considerably cheaper if the demand were greater. The houses in which the lower classes in the Hokkaidō live are not, however, adapted for the cold winters experienced, these being almost of the same construction as those used in the southern districts of Japan, where the winters are infinitely milder. What is wanted of the inhabitant of the Hokkaidō is that he should build himself a good warm house; give up eating rice and take to more heat-giving food, and such as can be

produced in the island, and adopt the plough as the means for cultivating the ground. That these ends will ultimately be obtained I make no doubt; in fact maize is now to a moderate extent taking the place of rice, especially among the children, and the plough is occasionally seen in the neighbourhood of Sapporo. But the sooner they are attained the sooner will the inhabitants improve in their physical and moral condition, and the Hokkaidō rise in prosperity. The principal want on the part of the immigrant from the south is undoubtedly that of capital. A good house cannot be built nor farming implements procured without money or credit, and as the former is scarce among the small Japanese farmers, it would, I think, be desirable to provide some means whereby he could avail himself of the latter to a moderate extent when making a start in the Hokkaidō. No doubt the government have to a certain extent recognised this in establishing the military settlements or "Tonden," but in this case a certain term of service as a soldier is necessary on the part of at least one member of the farmer's household. Some system similar to that of our Building Societies in England would, I think, meet the case as far as houses are concerned, and would also prove remunerative to the shareholders.

I have already made reference more than once to the very fine timber met with in the various districts passed through. Large as the quantity is that is seen near the coasts, I believe it is only a fraction of what the whole island contains. The Hokkaidō is yet, for all practical purposes, one large forest of splendid trees, mostly of the same kinds as those met with in the British Isles. Owing to the humidity of the atmosphere, the softer woods shrink and warp to a considerable degree after being used for constructive purposes. Nearly all the woods of the north require considerably more seasoning than those of the south of Japan, and as soon as the suitable kinds of wood receive proper treatment at the hands of the builder or manufacturer, the importance and value of the timber trade of the Hokkaidō will be recognised. Of the softer woods—*Yesso Matsu* and *Shenuku*, both species of pine, are the best. The latter is the best of the two for out-door work and where exposed to water, as it contains a considerable quantity of resinous matter, being in this respect not unlike the pitch

pine of North America, only rather harder. Yesso *Matex* is extensively used at present for house-building and also boat-building. If not thoroughly seasoned, however, it is apt to shrink if exposed to the hot sun of the summer, and for this reason the fishermen are very careful to house their boats or cover them with grass matting during the hot months of the year. Of the harder woods—ash, oak, etc.—not much use is made as yet, except for furniture and small fittings about dwelling houses, and what is to be seen in a manufactured state does not as a rule appear to have been in a seasoned condition when used.

When on the question of building materials, I may as well refer to stone and brick. The former is scarce—that is good soft building stone. Hard stone, such as granite, trachyte, etc., is plentiful, but of course expensive to work. Good clay suitable for brick manufacture is met with in several localities, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Sapporo first-rate bricks are made at a moderate price. Were the demand greater the price of these bricks could be reduced by a larger out-turn.

As to animals and birds,—bears and deer, once so plentiful, are now very scarce and only to be met with on the mountains towards the centre of the island. I never once saw either bears or deer during my trip, excepting one sickly looking bear cub in a cage which an Aino woman was carefully rearing so as to be in good condition for an Aino festive gathering at the beginning of the year. The smaller animals are much the same as with us at home. I was very much struck with the absence of small birds around the coasts. This may be partly due to the severe winter and partly to the depredations of the crows during the breeding season. These crows—most of them carrion-eaters—exist in hundreds of thousands, and while they are of use as scavengers in clearing off all kinds of offal and refuse of fish, they are almost as bad as hawks in preying upon the young of the smaller birds and also in eating their eggs. This scarcity of small birds is greatly to be regretted, as the insect tribe—more especially flies and mosquitoes—are a great pest in the warm weather. Bull-flies, sand-flies, mosquitoes, etc., seem to flourish in the uncultivated lands, but diminish rapidly when the land is cleared and cultivated. The larger kind of bull-fly is a great plague to the horses. He fastens himself on to the back and neck

of the unfortunate pack-horse, and only falls off when he is gorged with blood. A dozen or so of these large flies will draw enough blood from an ordinary horse to render him useless for some time to come. If there were more small birds, especially swallows and swifts, travelling would be much pleasanter during the months of August and September.

Before concluding this paper I should like to draw attention to the tides on the coasts. The peculiar thing about these tides is their diurnal inequality, which amounts to about three feet at spring tides along the south-east coast, the maximum rise of a spring tide being six feet, while the range of an ordinary spring tide is about four and a half feet. The lowest tide at new and full moon occurs about 10 A.M., and the second daily tide reaches a minimum about three and a half days before new and full moons, or at the change of the tides. On the south-east coast this minimum afternoon tide occurs about 6 P.M. and only registers a few inches; while on the west coast, at Abashiri, there is practically only one tide in the 24 hours for four days before and one day after new and full moons, and during this period the tide takes 16 hours to rise and eight hours to fall. The range of the tides gradually decreases as the coast line is followed east and north and thence south down the west coast. At Abashiri the maximum is three and a half feet and at Mashike only 2.20 feet. The tide registers on the west coast, I am sorry to say, were very imperfectly kept, and it is therefore very difficult to arrive at any conclusions as to the times and extent of any inequalities that may exist in the tides there.

This diurnal inequality of tides exists I believe on most of the shores bordering on the Pacific ocean, but not having any information on the matter, I cannot say to what extent it affects the southern shores of Japan. Tides similar to those described occur on the southern coast of Australia and also at Singapore, and are accounted for by the interference of tidal waves having different heights and generated in different parts of the ocean, and which are modified by the configuration of the land and depths of water. The tidal wave proper in mid-ocean has a height of nearly two feet at Spring tides.

In this paper it will be noticed that I have not made any reference to the Aino question. That you have I believe had often put before you by gentlemen who have given the matter more attention than I in my

comparatively short trip have been able to do. The Aino men struck me in some cases as being handsome and in all cases very dirty. The younger women are sometimes good looking, in spite of the wretched ornament with which they adorn their lips and of which they appear ashamed.

In conclusion, I think the prosperity of the Hokkaidō has a very favourable outlook. The country has considerable mineral wealth, enormous quantities of timber, very fair agricultural land, and a healthy climate. I have already expressed an opinion on the agricultural problem, and all that is wanted to develop the minerals and timber is the extension of private enterprise by the introduction of more capital and the employment of suitable and energetic men to direct the labour—easily obtainable—so as to ensure the capital being laid out to advantage. The government of the country have given the island a good start in the right direction. It remains with the people themselves to carry out the development of the Hokkaidō with energy and determination.

INŌ CHŪKEI, THE JAPANESE SURVEYOR AND  
CARTOGRAPHER.

BY CARGILL G. KNOTT, D. Sc., F. R. S. E.

[*Read April 18, 1888.*]

It may be matter of surprise to many, and surely of interest to all, to know that Japan has not been without her scientific giants in the days of old. My work in connection with the recent Magnetic Survey of Japan has brought very particularly to my notice the labours of one who might be named the Japanese Picard.<sup>1</sup> A short account of his life may well find a place in the pages of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Inō (originally Jimbō) Kageyu<sup>2</sup> was born in 1744 in a small village called Sagaramura in the province of Shimōsa, Japan. Inō was the name he acquired by marrying into a family, in accordance with the very usual Japanese custom. The position of such a son-in-law (*muko-yōshi*) is by no means an enviable one, and it is said that Inō's lot was not particularly happy. His wife, it seemed, was somewhat of a shrew and ruled her husband with a high hand. She did not permit him even to eat with the family, banishing him instead to the servants' mess. Notwithstanding this treatment Inō proved ultimately

<sup>1</sup>Inō has sometimes been called the Japanese Newton; but Seki Shinsuke a famous mathematician, who invented a kind of differential and integral calculus, has perhaps a greater claim to such a high title. Picard was the French astronomer who made the first really good determination of the size of the earth, and thus gave Newton the only sure foundation on which to build his grand theory of universal gravitation.

<sup>2</sup>This is his common name or *teishō* (通稱). His *jitsu-meis* or *na-nori* (實名, 名榮), by which he is usually known nowadays, is Inō (Chūkei) (伊能忠敬). *Taishō*

the repairer of the family's fortunes. His father-in-law was a *sake* brewer, conducting a business which had descended from father to son for many generations. On his death, affairs were found to be in a very bad state. Inō thereupon applied himself diligently to the business, and through his untiring efforts, combined with strict economy, he gradually amassed considerable wealth. In his fiftieth year, that is about 1794, he transferred the whole business to his son and began his scientific career.

Astronomy was the study to which he devoted the "declining years" of his life. The books at his disposal were all in Chinese and contained many obscure passages which he in vain tried to understand. Nothing daunted, however, he made his way to Yedo, and sat at the feet of the Takahashis, father and son, astronomers to the Shōgun.

Takahashi Sakuzaemon Tōkō, the father, had been called from Ōsaka to Yedo to superintend the construction of the calendar. In all his work he was greatly aided by Asada, a practical astronomer resident in Ōsaka, who was probably the better man of the two. The elder Takahashi died in 1804, and it was with the younger Takahashi that Inō had most to do. Certain letters written to him by Inō still exist, and their style is such as would naturally be used by one addressing a former teacher. Takahashi Sakuzaemon Kageyasu, the son, is however himself famous in connection with an episode of Western significance. Towards the close of Von Siebold's first visit to Japan, Takahashi gave to the great scientific traveller two maps, one of the Main Island of Japan and one of Yezo, in exchange for some books and papers of Western Science. Von Siebold also obtained temporarily on loan Mamiya's <sup>8</sup> Travels to Eastern Tartary and Saghalien and a map of Kyūshū. In 1830 Von Siebold set sail from Deshima. The story is that he suffered shipwreck, and that amongst his baggage cast on shore the two precious maps were found. An investigation followed, and Takahashi was cast into prison and tried for high treason. Before the trial was ended he died, but the judge in giving sentence said that, had the culprit lived, he would certainly have suffered capital punish-

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<sup>8</sup>It was Mamiya who discovered the strait between Saghalien and the continent of Asia.

ment. Probably, in accordance with old Japanese custom in such circumstances, the body of Takahashi was preserved in salt until the trial was ended and the sentence pronounced.

To return, however, to Inō, we find him in 1800 setting out, by permission of the Government, to survey the Island of Yezo at his own expense. In the following year he was instructed to survey all the coasts and islands of Japan. The survey of the north-eastern coast was finished in 1804, and by 1818 his labours in the field were completed. In the work he was assisted by thirteen others, four of whom were pupils studying under him. It should be mentioned, perhaps, that certain parts of the coast were surveyed very imperfectly—such as the eastern and the north-western coasts. Exactly when he died is not known certainly, but for some time after the completion of the survey he seems to have been engaged in the construction of his maps.

The instruments which Inō employed in the survey were destroyed by fire; but in 1828 two instruments,<sup>4</sup> said to be exact copies of the original ones, were made by Ōno Yasaburo, the father of the late engineer who constructed the Mint at Ōsaka. A compass-needle, made and used by Inō, has however been preserved by his family.

Ōno's instruments are two, one for measuring azimuths and the other for measuring altitudes. The former is simply a horizontal circular disc of copper 19 inches in diameter, graduated by radial lines into degrees. Seven concentric circles are traced near the extremity of the disk at such distances apart that, when a straight line is engraved joining the point where the inmost circle cuts a given radial line to the point where the outmost circle cuts the next radial line, this so-called diagonal gives by its intersections with the intermediate circles angular intervals corresponding to 10' or one-fifth of a degree. The graduated circular disc rests on three legs provided with levelling screws. From its centre rises an upright wooden pillar which is surmounted by a tube (or perhaps a telescope) for sighting distant objects. The levelling of the circle is accomplished by means of a brass "plummet" hanging down one side of the upright pillar. The pillar rotates freely,

<sup>4</sup> Through the kindness of Mr. Arai, of the Meteorological Office, these instruments were exhibited before the meeting at which the paper was read.

and carries with it a horizontal rod resting on the graduated circle. The position of this rod indicates at once the angle to be read.

The instrument for measuring altitudes is a brass quadrant, 19 inches in radius, with a telescope fixed to one of the straight limbs. The whole is mounted on an upright wooden pillar resting on three legs. The telescope and quadrant, which move together in a vertical plane about a pivot passing approximately through the centre of gravity, can be clamped in any required position. From the angle of the quadrant a "plummet-line," in the form of a brass rod, hangs. The position of this rod, as it hangs just free of the quadrant arc, indicates the angle to be read. The quadrant is graduated in a manner very similar to the azimuth circle, only to a finer degree of division. The radial lines measure to thirds of a degree; and by means of the "diagonal-scale" arrangement, angles can be read to half-minutes. On the azimuth circle again it would be difficult if not impossible to read to minutes even.

With such instruments, which were about a century and a half behind the Western age, did Inō carry out his survey. About 1185 direct measurements of latitudes were taken by means of the quadrant. The distances between successive stations were measured by three distinct methods. Ropes were used as our land surveyors use chains; also a kind of wheel or roller, the number of revolutions of which measured the distance travelled. Then with the azimuth instrument a triangulation by means of prominent hills and land-marks was carried out. From the distances so obtained, the longitudes seem to have been calculated.

The results of Inō's labours are given in the "Dai Nippon En-Kaijis-soku-roku," or, the Record of the True Survey of the Coasts of Japan (1821, 14 volumes). This treatise existed simply in manuscript till 1870 (Meiji, 8), when it was published in proper book form by the Tōkyō University (Hitotsu-bashi)—at that time known as the Daigaku Nankō. Three kinds of maps were constructed, the largest consisting of 80 different sheets, the medium sized of two, and the smallest of one. These maps have been the basis of all subsequent ones; and for many places in Japan Inō's measurements of latitude (and longitude) are the only ones which have as yet been made.

On completion of the survey, Takahashi published an epitome of the results in a book having the title, "Inō's Table of Latitudes and Longitudes." In the preface to this work are some interesting remarks about Inō's modes of operation. For the following translation of these I am indebted to Mr. H. Nagaoka, post-graduate student in the Imperial University. "The Europeans," it is said, "are of opinion that the magnetic needle generally deviates towards the west, never pointing true north, and that there exist local variations. These statements are to be found in Dutch books. In the coast survey made by Inō Chūkei, the compass needle formed an essential part of his stock of instruments. The best needles are made in Europe, but Chūkei was under no obligation to Western skill. With needles of his own construction, he determined the configuration of the coast line as well as the positions of mountains and islands. . . . . He found that the needle always pointed true north and south, and had no westward deviation. . . . . Chūkei again says that in using the needle one must have no steel ("hammered iron") near. For under the influence of the spirit (or atmosphere) of iron, the needle points sometimes east, sometimes west, and cannot then be said to have no deviation. Hence the sword<sup>5</sup> ought not to be worn during survey work, nor should there be any piece of iron allowed near the body. Due attention to these particulars destroys all risk of causing a deviation in the needle."

It would appear that Inō rather doubted the truth of the magnetic variation, and was inclined to refer its appearance in Europe to carelessness either in the construction or handling of the compass-needle. There can be little doubt, however, as to the accuracy of Inō's own observation that in Japan at that time the direction of magnetic north coincided with the direction of geographical north. At present the magnetic variation has a mean value of nearly 5° W. for the whole of Japan.

According to Inō the mean length of one degree of latitude is 28.2 *ri*. From a copy of the standard *shaku* used by Inō—the original seems to have been lost by fire—this distance has been estimated as equivalent to 110.7 kilometres. The true value is 111 kilometres.

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<sup>5</sup> It is said that, as Inō was compelled by national etiquette to wear the appearance, at least, of a sword, he substituted for the real sword a wooden one.

The lengths of a degree of longitude in latitudes  $35^{\circ}$ ,  $40^{\circ}$ ,  $44^{\circ}$  are given as  $28.1\text{ ri}$ ,  $21.6\text{ ri}$  and  $20.285\text{ ri}$  respectively. Reduced to kilometres, these are 90.7, 84.8 and 79.66. The true values are 91.08, 85.18, 79.99, differing in no case from Inō's values by as much as one-half per cent.

When we consider the age at which Inō began his scientific career—an age at which most men are thinking of retiring from the busy field of life—and when further we call to mind the rude instruments with which he did his work, we cannot but feel that we have here a man worthy of a high place amongst the scientific leaders of the last generation. In these days of candid criticism, his work has stood the severest tests and remains a grand monument of his perseverance, patience and accuracy. His greatness is now fully appreciated, and some six or seven years ago received Imperial recognition. The rank of Shō-shi-i (正四位), or Senior 4th class, was at that time conferred on Inō. Excepting nobles, very few held that rank in the days when Inō flourished, although it is common enough nowadays. Such posthumous honours are, besides, very rare. His countrymen may indeed well be proud of Inō Chūkei, almost a unique figure in the history of science in Japan.

In preparing this short biography of Inō, I have been fortunate in the hearty assistance of Mr. Arai, Superintendent of the Meteorological Office, and of Professor Yamagawa and Mr. Nagaoka of the Imperial University. Without the aid of these gentlemen, indeed, I could have done little or nothing; and in here recording my indebtedness to them, I would also express my warmest thanks.

## CHINESE AND ANNAMENESE.

By E. H. PARKER.

[*Read 16th May, 1888.*]

It has now been fairly well demonstrated by the combined efforts of a number of students that the Chinese languages or dialects form one indivisible and homogeneous whole. Of the 40,000 characters given by K'ang-hi, perhaps 10,000 will suffice to cover the whole field of general literature, the remaining 80,000 serving the same special objects as 100,000 of the 120,000 words to be found in the completest English dictionary. The 10,000 characters committed to memory by natives of all provinces alike are the true basis of the language; and, making a reasonable allowance for exceptions, variants, and inexplicable accidents, we may state of these 10,000 words that they are relatively the same in all Chinese dialects, each dialect having diverged more or less from a presumed original form, which original form has been maintained unmutilated through the whole history of Chinese lexicography, from the Shwoh-wén down to K'ang-hi. So far, it has been impossible to define what this original form was in a positive sense; because, Chinese being destitute of letters, it is only possible to express the original sounds by presenting the initials and finals of characters still having a modern sound in each dialect. Though the general average of dialects may, by process of elimination or comparison, point to an old form, which old form might have been reduced to certainty by committing it to alphabetical shape, there is no modern dialect which has so little diverged from the presumed ancient form, mother of all, that it can be pointed to with present certainty as being the uncorrupted representative of the original; but the internal evidence of Chinese

dialects themselves, together with the external evidence of the corrupted forms introduced into Corean and Japanese, prove beyond doubt that modern Cantonese, if not actually the same as ancient Chinese, is, at least, the dialect which, word for word, has least deflected from the undefinable original; and that Hakka, which on the whole is more corrupted than Cantonese, still preserves a few ancient finals which have been lost to the superior dialect of Canton. Thus, though it is impossible to say that 法 箕 and 菩 were actually pronounced *fap*, *pit*, and *tet* in ancient times, the evidence is universal that the two first represent what the sounds were as far back as we can go in the direction of the original; whilst, in the case of the third, the balance of evidence is in favour of the supposition that Hakka has improperly evolved a final *t*, or else that Hakka preserves finals anterior in date to the introduction of Chinese words into Corean and Japanese. Regarding the remaining 80,000 words, none of these being known to colloquial, and thus none of them forming the living original from which dictionaries must necessarily have been and be constructed, they have no etymological value; for the speakers of each dialect must of necessity hunt up the sounds, and fix them by the light of the 10,000 well-known sounds which are used to define the sounds of the remaining 80,000 rare characters. It might be more reasonable, judging by the average knowledge possessed by a Chinese literate, to take 5,000 as the sum of the living key, and 85,000 as the sum of the rare characters to which the key must be applied; but that does not affect the principle of the theory. In addition to the 5,000 or 10,000 words in common use, characters for which are recognized by the dictionaries, there are a few hundred vulgar words in each Chinese dialect, which either possess no characters at all, or no characters recognized by the dictionaries. The reason probably is either that words have a low, ignoble, or local signification, or that they have never been used by any of the lights of literature, just as with us a number of well-known slang, obscene, local, or ignoble words exist which are never admitted into dictionaries. But, even with regard to these condemned words, there is a considerable homogeneity in Chinese, and it is not easy to find a vulgar word the use of which is totally confined to one single dialect, which is not represented by some accidentally forgotten character, or which cannot

be explained. In other words, when allowance is made for the few foreign words which even such a conservative race as the Chinese must have introduced into its language, it has been proved that, from a literary point of view, the Chinese dialects are one homogeneous whole, and that even from a vulgar and local point of view, there is nothing in any of them to point to an extensive non-Chinese influence. If the vulgar words mentioned find no analogues in Corean or Japanese, it is naturally because, being unwritten and thus undefined, they can never have been deliberately introduced into Japanese or Corean.

Now, Annamese is another link in the chain which proves the soundness of the theory above propounded, and the writings of those gentlemen who have made Annamese their special study deserve to be carefully considered. First and foremost is M. Landes, whose *Notes sur la langue Annamite*, in vol. viii, No. 19, of the admirable series of *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, merit the most respectful attention. It is simply marvellous if M. Landes has arrived at such just conclusions from data furnished by study of Annamite alone; his paper, however, shews signs of extended reading, and it is more probable that he has not diednained to avail himself of the light afforded by those who have studied the same subject in China. M. Landes tells us that "Annamite counts six tones, inclusive of the even tone; these tones are not identical in all the provinces, and these variations are also found in Chinese." It has already been elsewhere explained that the whole of the eight Chinese tones are represented in Annamese-Chinese, but that the intonations of the two Annamite entering tones are the same as the intonations of the two Annamite departing tones. In my papers on the Canton, Hakka, Foochow and Wênchow dialects, I have shown how the Chinese entering tones (that is how words ending in *t*, *p*, or *k*) have the same intonation (differing in each dialect) as some other non-entering tone (that is as words ending in *n*, *m*, *ng*, or a vowel); and thus in some dialects it may be pardonable to count two tones having the same intonation as one tone; this, however, is an error, for, where the entering tones drop the final consonant, and where they do not happen to have the same intonation as another non-entering tone, they form separate tones. Thus it is absolutely necessary to keep theory and practice apart, just as, in French, the fact that final

consonants are not sounded, or are confused, is no justification for saying that they do not separately exist. They are often *brought into* existence again for rhyming purposes, and in combinations of words, just as, in Chinese, tones must be recognized in poetry even if they exist in the imagination alone. The "variations" to which M. Landes alludes do certainly exist, but they do not affect the rule, and even so far as they may appear to affect the rule, the causes for such variations may be either explained or reasonably surmised. There is one very important point, however, which calls for examination. How comes it that pure Annamese, which is a tonic and monosyllabic language like Chinese, but with only 10 per cent of Chinese words in its colloquial form, has in living speech exactly the same sounding tones as Annamese-Chinese? The peculiar construction of Annamese, and the fact that the Annamese have invented mongrel Chinese characters for pure Annamese words, seem to prove (what is easily provable on other grounds) that Annamese has or had an independent existence of its own. The answer must be either (1) that the Annamese had no tones, or no well-defined tones when they began to introduce Chinese words; or (2) that finding Chinese tones absolutely necessary for literary purposes, they have gradually modified their own tones (originally six) and the Chinese-Cantonese tones (six in fact, but eight in theory) so as to form one set. In Chinese, the tones, accordingly as they are an upper or lower series, constitute the distinction between an initial surd and an initial sonant (in some dialects an aspirate), and, accordingly as they are entering or non-entering, constitute the distinction between a surd and a nasal final. It is most important that competent Annamese scholars should elucidate two points: (1) Is it an absolute fact that there are really only six tones for pure Annamite words, and that these tones are and were really exactly the same in sound as in the Annamite-Chinese words: (2) have or had the said tones, in the case of pure Annamite words, the same or any effect upon the initials and finals of different dialects, as in Chinese? From the fact, stated by M. Landes, that *voi* (=Chinese 下平) means "to reach from afar," and *rōi* (=Chinese 上去) means "the trunk of an elephant," whilst *voi* (=Chinese 上平) means "an elephant," is very important, if it can be shewn that the three words are etymologically connected: but,

unless the same bastard character is used for all three, how can it be assumed that there is any etymological connection ; and, even if the same bastard character be used, what literary weight have such bastard characters at all ? This query opens a correlative Chinese question. When we are told that 燕 means "a swallow," or "Peking," accordingly as it is read *yen* or *yen*, why should we admit the right of the Chinese to call two words one, just because the same character is used ? Or, in other words, when the Chinese use a character for two or more different sounds and meanings, have they always been careful to preserve proof of their etymological connection ?

The Annamites, says M. Landes, possessed, "dit-on," a phonetic writing previous to the second century of our era, but its use was abolished by *Si Vuong* in favour of Chinese. This statement is made by most writers on Annamese subjects, but there is no ground whatever given for the statement, which seems to have been copied from writer to writer : the error, if error it be, may probably be traced back to some vague Chinese statement about the 亶禪 who came with the earliest missions from Yuehshang. In an Annamite book, printed in Chinese character with the word-for-word vulgar Annamese or *chu nom* forms side by side, called the 四字經, it is stated that "During the Wu or three Empire period, *Si Vuong* [士王] was pro-consul : he taught the Odes and History, and civilized the Annamites." Nothing whatever is said of an ancient alphabet, though true, the example of the Coreans and Manchus shews that alphabets have failed to compete with character elsewhere. I have enquired of all the Europeans I have met who are likely to have heard any traditions there may be, but not one has shewn to me the slightest ground for believing that the Annamites ever knew any writing but Chinese. The two words *chu nom* meaning "borrowed characters" or "vulgar characters" have no separate meaning, but as the first word is vulgarly written with two characters 字, and the second with the phonetic character 燕 it is surmised that the first word is a corruption of the Chinese word 字 (pronounced *tu* or *ti* in Annamite), and the second a corruption of the Chinese word 南 (pronounced *nam* in Annamite), the whole meaning "characters of the south" in accordance with the primary rule of Annamite that the adjective follows the noun.

M. Landes thinks that, as the Annamites (like the Coreans and Japanese) have borrowed from the Chinese all their administrative, legal, scientific, and religious knowledge, and have not during 2,000 years had any other linguistic influences to contend with, their language may well have been so impregnated that, even admitting the postulate that the Annamite and Chinese races originally came from two stocks, it must be admitted that Annamite has now been so affected that it is as much a dialect of Chinese as Spanish and Portuguese are of Latin. M. Landes refers to a book by M. Abel des Michels on *Les origines de la langue annamite*, but he says that he has not read that book. He quotes, however, a sentence of M. Michel's with which we entirely agree: "*La grande majorité des racines annamites ne peut s'expliquer par le chinois, et la syntaxe des deux langues est complètement différente.*" I do not know Annamite, but after a tolerably wide experience of Chinese dialects, and with the assistance of a dictionary (kindly furnished to me by M. Landes some years ago) giving the Annamite sounds of Chinese words, it is not difficult for me, having now read through the whole of M. Petrusky's Annamite grammar, to positively assert two things: (1) Annamite-Chinese, with no more exceptions than are found in Chinese dialects, strictly follows the "laws" of change, and the Annamite pronunciation of every Chinese word can be predicated with the same certainty, tone included, as the Cantonese pronunciation of every Chinese word: (2) colloquial Annamite, as exhibited in Petrusky's grammar, does not contain more than about ten per cent of leading Chinese words, whilst Japanese and Corean colloquial contain perhaps twenty or thirty per cent. As this second point is one upon which my own judgment would run unusual risks of erring, I have enquired of M. Dumontier (Hanoi) and M. Navelle (Saigon), both of whom fully share the second opinion, and also the first as far as their studies have enabled them to understand that particular point. As M. Landes points out, and as I have pointed out with reference to Corean and Japanese, "*il ne sera pas sans intérêt de déterminer d'abord quels sont les éléments chinois qui font aujourd'hui partie de la langue Annamite et quelles altérations ils ont subies.*" There is no difficulty whatever in both determining and proving this, but the value of such a proof goes further; it enables us to say: given proofs

of how Chinese words have changed, let us assume that the same changes have affected pure Annamite or other foreign words, and then we can decide two things:—

- (1) Whether these assumed pure Annamite words belong to a more ancient stock of Chinese (as I think is the case with pure Japanese) or not (as I think is the case with pure Corean);
- (2) Whether, as is very probable, side by side with regularly adopted Chinese words, there are not also a number of irregular Chinese words irregularly adopted into colloquial from various Chinese dialects: just as, for instance, the French have the word *choquer* as we have the word *shock*, but, in addition, adopt for irregular purposes the English word *shocking* in English dress. I have noticed a number of words which seem to fall under this category; for instance the two words *chû nom* (for *thû nam*), *lanh*, "cold" (for *lanh*), etc.

M. Landes very justly points out that the Annamite pronunciation of Chinese is archaic, and makes the excellent remark that *Le chinois n'étant ici que la langue de quelques lettrés qui le recevaient par tradition dans les écoles, il ne devait pas se corrompre aussi facilement qu'en Chine où il formait la langue commune.* The Cantonese, however, is hardly corrupted at all, whilst the Pekingese is the most corrupted: it appears then to be rather the influence of strangers—such as the Tartars—which corrupts the colloquial, which colloquial, as has been shown in my papers on various Chinese dialects, varies considerably in China. In Canton the colloquial is practically pure: in Ningpo a system of double sounds is preserved, and to a certain extent also in Foochow: north of the Yangtsze it has become almost impossible to preserve with the colloquial a record of the more ancient sounds. In Corea and Japan, Chinese words, however travestied, may be said to follow the rules except as to tone more strictly than in China. M. Landes' comparison with the pure Latin, which was preserved almost as a spoken language during the middle ages, in all but Latin countries, by a small class of clerks, is very much to the point and illustrates in a measure the state of Chinese as adopted into Corean, Japanese, and Annamite. M. Landes accordingly divides into three categories the Chinese words which have passed into Annamite.

1. Direct importations from modern dialects, recognizable, but subject to no regular etymological laws; few in number, and chiefly Canton, Fuh Kien, or Swatow [Trieu Chau] slang or trade jargon.
2. Authentic importations into the vulgar through the "Mandarin" Annamese, and seldom varying much from the tone and sound which the Chinese dictionaries would assign to the words as affected by the genius of the Annamese tongue.
3. Words distantly resembling, or differing from, Chinese words of the same meaning, but subject to laws of change which prove them to be of one source with Chinese; some appearing in categories 1 and 2.

Regarding the first two categories, there is no difficulty and no question. Regarding the second M. Landes asks: Were these words imported at a date anterior to historical importations, or were they imported in historical times, and owe their great change to the fact of their having been adopted into colloquial Annamite, and thus freed from the check imposed by literary tradition? M. Landes (writing in 1884), says that monographs of the Chinese dialects and of the Indo-Chinese dialects will be necessary for the solution of this problem, and that, up to that date, no such preparatory work had been done for Annamese. Pending the appearance of the required monographs, M. Landes thinks that, despite a number of irreducible elements, Annamite may well be a Chinese dialect in the largest sense; or, if not so, then a toneless monosyllabic language, gradually impregnated with Chinese elements, and thus become a mixed, and tonal, besides being a monosyllabic language.

It would be rash to pronounce absolutely upon this subject; but as I have now examined natives in Hanoi and other places in the delta, and in Cochin China; spoken with different missionaries who have spent many years of their lives in Tonquin, and Central Annam; consulted such of the French gentlemen in Annam as have given their attention to the scientific examination of Annamese; and, lastly, compared notes with the eminent Doc-phu-su Hwang Tsing [黃靜], and the well-known Annamite scholar M. Petrusky [張永記], I think I may venture to point out how far the evidence thus far available will take us.

M. Kergaradec, who is in a peculiarly favorable position for pronouncing a sound opinion, states that the construction of Siamese is absolutely identical with that of Annamese. Siamese is at bottom a monosyllabic and tonal language like Chinese and Annamite, and has a number of words which are manifestly either derived from these languages or come from the same original source. But besides the fact that the body of individual Siamese words is totally different from the body of Annamese words (a fact which, as we see in the case of Corean and Japanese, is by no means incompatible with identity of grammatical construction), Siamese has always been subject to Indian, Burmese, Peguan, and Cambodian influences, and has borrowed largely from those polysyllabic tongues, whilst Annamese has been subjected to Chinese influences alone. Hence we find that Siamese has found it quite convenient to adopt an alphabet, and to mark the tones by a series of new letters and diacritical marks,—in other words to combine the genius of monosyllability and tones with that of polysyllability and *recto tono*; whilst Annamese, remaining purely monosyllabic, has found pure Chinese characters for pure Chinese words and bastard Chinese characters for pure Annamese words amply sufficient for its literary purposes.

According to M. Landes there are 1,600 syllables in Annamite, not counting the tones. This is double the number of syllables in the present Chinese dialects, not counting the tones; and it may safely be assumed that, of the 1,600, only 800 are pure Annamite. It is a very marvellous fact, however, that, as above stated, the intonations given to Chinese words correspond with those given to Annamite words. I have very carefully examined M. Petrusky with a view to arriving at an explanation of this very singular fact. It appears that, before the missionaries invented the *quoc ngu* or romanized Annamese script, the Annamese considered that they had three classes of tones, the 平 the 中 and the 叉. Thus the upper and lower even tones (marked by the missionaries *ma*, *má*) were 上平 and 下平. The upper and lower rising tones (marked by the missionaries *mà*, *mã*) were 上中 and 下中 (i.e. "midway" between even (*binh*) and uneven (*trac*)). The upper and lower departing tones (marked by the missionaries *má*, *mä*) were 上叉 and 下叉. The intonations of the upper and lower entering tones (also marked by the missionaries *má*, *mä*) were never distinguished by the

Annamene from the last two; and, although they followed the Chinese rules, and kept the distinction for poetical purposes, they never seem to have understood what was meant by the 入聲; and the fact that they never seem to have understood it seems to prove that they must have adopted their Chinese from Canton, *where alone* the intonations of the two 去 and the two 入 are identical, and are only differentiated by the fact that the 去 end in *m*, *n*, *ng*, or a vowel, and the 入 in *p*, *t*, or *k*. If the Annamites had had any knowledge of other Chinese dialects, where the intonation or intonations given to the 入 corresponds or correspond with other tones, sometimes 平, sometimes 上, sometimes the two 去 in reversed order, or where the intonation of the 入 has an independent existence of its own, the Annamites would not have failed to distinguish eight instead of six tones; nor, if the first missionaries had known Chinese, would they have placed the *quoc ngu* tonal marks upon so unscientific a basis.

Annamite throws light upon a peculiarity in Cantonese which has never been explained, namely the division of the upper entering tone into 上入 (mak<sub>u</sub>), and 中入 (mak<sub>o</sub>). This famous distinction is treated of at length in Eitel's Dictionary and Ball's Vocabulary. Now, the intonation of the 下去 and 下入 is the same in both Cantonese and Annamite, whilst the intonation of the 上去 and 上入 is also the same in both those languages *if we consider the 中入 to be the standard and the 上入 to be a bastard offshoot from it*. Instead, therefore, of saying that the upper entering tone in Cantonese is divided into 上 and 中, it would be more correct to say that the upper entering tone in Cantonese is divided into 上 (properly corresponding with the 去 which is also a 去) and the 二上 (improperly corresponding with the 上平), and this without prejudice to the fact that both have in addition a 變音 or "vulgar sub-division." This point is well worth the careful attention of sound Cantonese scholars.

Thus, just as the length of the modern Corean vowels has thrown unexpected light upon the meaning of Foochow tonal inflection, so we find that Annamite throws light upon the meaning of Canton tonal sub-division. In other words, we have advanced one more step in the direction of finding out what the purest ancient Chinese standard was.

With regard to the meaning of the two Annamite words *chu nom* (pronounced almost like *kyé nom*) or "bastard Annamite characters," it appears that the word *chu* is the native Annamite word having the same meaning as the Chinese Annamite word *tu* (字, pronounced like *ti* or *te*). The two bastard characters are written 字喃, and the second is a corruption of the word *nam* "South." This fact illustrates a number of things. 1. The invariable Annamite (and Siamese) rule that the adjective do follow the noun,—thus *tsz nam*, instead of *nam tsz*, "characters of the southern (realm)." 2. The fact that many Annamite words (like many Japanese words) shew signs of having either come from the same ancient stock as Chinese, or of having been adopted into colloquial and modified to a degree more considerable than is the case with recognized Chinese adopted words. 3. The principle on which the *chu nom* are invented,—partly ideographic, partly phonetic. In short, like the early Japanese, the Annamese at first found it difficult to make up their minds how far the Chinese characters should be used strictly as such; how far as synonyms; how far as mere syllables; and how far as a mixture of all three. The Si Vuong who is supposed to have forced upon the Annamese the study of Chinese is the 壮王 or 壮王仙 of the Annamese 四字經. The Annamite rhyming history 大南國史演歌, which has a Chinese running commentary, says that the person in question was surnamed 壮 with cognomen 燮, and that he was a native of 廣信 in 莺梧; that in his youth he went to study at the capital of the Chinese Hans (Loh-yang), and was appointed to be prefect of 交州 (in Tonquin). When the Chinese Go or Wu dynasty succeeded (Nanking and Wu-chang), Shi Sieh sent his son to Court as a hostage, paid annual tribute, and received a marshal's bâton. He ruled at the city of 趙陵, the present 超類麻. M. Petrusky, in his excellent grammar, says: "Tout porte à croire que les Annamites avaient une "espèce d'écriture phonétique, remplacée par celle qui fut imposée de "force par les ordonnances du roi lettré (Si Vuong)." He informs me, however, that he is not aware of the existence of any evidence in support of what he only intended to be a suggestion; nor can he recollect the date of the introduction of the *chu nom*, or the name of the introducer, [though he says that one of the history books gives the date and the name of the introducer] of the 俗字. M. Hwang Tsing (Paulus Cua)

is also unable clear up this doubt. A little Annamese book called the 初學開津 says that under the Eastern Han, one 士王 did teach the people (Chinese) letters 教民文字. The corresponding vulgar Annamite words are 戲民字變. And the Annamese book called the 啓童說教 says that at Ch'ao-lei city, the above-mentioned capital of Si Vuong, there is still a temple, with a tablet bearing the ancient inscription 南交學祖, and that "our taste for literature began with him," 我越有文風之習始於此.

M. Landes very truly observes that, if the Annamite sovereigns had given an impulse to the study of their national idiom, there would have been an Annamite as well as a Chinese orthography, and suggests that in ancient times there was probably the same want of certainty with Chinese,—a suggestion supported by the state in which we find the oldest classics. I am disposed to agree with the opinion ably expressed upon page 125 of the paper under notice that the earliest missionaries might have done better if they had, by the light of alphabetical knowledge which they possessed, so improved the *chu nom* that the Annamite language would have preserved the advantages of ideographic script whilst acquiring, by a judicious arrangement of radicals and phonetics, the advantages of syllabic script, instead of inflicting upon the Annamese people the *quoc ngu*, or *chu quoc ngu* [國語字]. As to the question which has arisen between M. Landes and M. Aymonin, whether, seeing that the *quoc ngu* with all its "bars," "beards," and other hideous diacritical and tonal marks, has a widespread existence, it is worth while to substitute a clearer alphabetical script, it does not appear to me to be of any but philological importance. For philological purposes it is highly desirable to know the relative values of a system of letters which produces such an eyesore as *Tru'o'ng Viñh-ký*, especially when it turns out that, in practice and actual result, the above strange combination is positively pronounced, in Tonquin at least, exactly like the corresponding Cantonese words which in Williams' system, we write 'Chéung "Wing-ki". Some time or other it may be worth while to go into this question, and reduce the whole *quoc ngu* system to a common denominator such as most of the Chinese dialects are now supplied with. Meanwhile, as the Saigon Imprimerie has been good enough to furnish me with a few *quoc ngu* types, I give a list of a few sounds as

they really are, when compared with Corean (*Grammaire Française*) or Chinese (Williams' Canton, Baldwin's Foochow) sounds: but I have not sufficient type to mark properly all the Annamese words used above. The bearded *u*, namely *u* is pronounced like the Corean *eu*

" " *o* " *o'* " " " " *e*

" " *uo* " **U' O'** are " " " " Canton *eu*

" *ay* is " " " " *ai*

" *ai* " " " " " *ai*

" *o* is pronounced like Foochow *o* (almost like *a*)

" *o* " " Canton *o* (Wade's *ou*)

" *e* " " " " *é* (Wade's *eh*)

" *é* " " the *e* in English *send*.

" barred *d*, namely *d̄* is pronounced like an English *d*.

" unbarred *d* is pronounced variously *y*, *z*, *j*, *r*, or a mixture of all. *S* and *x* are much confused; neither is a pure *s*, but both are soft sibilants, the second being rather aspirated. *R* sounds as an initial like *ry*.

## JIUJUTSU (柔術).

### THE OLD SAMURAI ART OF FIGHTING WITHOUT WEAPONS.

By REV. T. LINDSAY AND J. KANO.

*[Read April 18th, 1888.]*

In feudal times in Japan, there were various military arts and exercises by which the Samurai classes were trained and fitted for their special form of warfare.

Amongst these was the art of Jiu-jutsu, from which the present Judo (柔道) has sprung up.

The word Jiu-jutsu may be translated freely as the art of gaining victory by yielding or pliancy. Originally, the name seems to have been applied to what may best be described as the art of fighting without weapons, although in some cases short weapons were used against opponents fighting with long weapons. Although it seems to resemble wrestling, yet it differs materially from wrestling as practised in England, its main principle being not to match strength with strength, but to gain victory by yielding to strength.

Since the abolition of the Fudal System the art has for some time been out of use, but at the present time it has become very popular in Japan, though with some important modifications, as a system of athletics, and its value as a method for physical training has been recognised by the establishment of several schools of Jiu-jutsu and Judo in the capital.

We shall first give an historical sketch of Jiu-jutsu, giving an account of the various schools to which it has given rise, and revert briefly in the sequel to the form into which it has been developed at the present time.

Jiu-jutsu has been known from feudal times under various names, such as Yawara, Taijutsu, Kogusoku, Kempo and Hakuda. The names Jiu-jutsu and Yawara were most widely known and used.

In tracing the history of the art, we are met at the outset with difficulties which are not uncommon in similar researches,—the unreliableness of much of the literature of the art.

Printed books on the subject are scarce, and whilst there are innumerable manuscripts belonging to various schools of the art, many of them are contradictory and unsatisfactory. The originators of new schools seem oftentimes to have made history to suit their own purposes, and thus the materials for a consistent and clear account of the origin and rise of Jiu-jutsu are very scanty. In early times, the knowledge of the history and the art was in the possession of the teachers of the various schools, who handed down information to their pupils as a secret in order to give it a sacred appearance.

Moreover, the seclusion of one province from another, as a consequence of the Feudal System of Japan, prevented much acquaintance between teachers and pupils of the various schools, and thus contrary and often contradictory accounts of its history were handed down and believed. Further, it is to be noted that the interest of its students was devoted more to success in the practice of the art than to a knowledge of its rise and progress in the country.

Turning to the origin of Jiu-jutsu, as is to be expected various accounts are given.

In the *Bugei Shō-den* (武藝小傳), which is a collection of brief biographies of eminent masters of the different arts of fighting practised in feudal times,—accounts are given of *Kogusoku* (小具足) and *Ken* (拳), which is equivalent to *Kempō* (拳法); these two being distinguished from each other, the former as the art of seizing and the latter as the art of gaining victory by pliancy. The art of *Kogusoku* is ascribed to Takenouchi, a native of Sakushiu. It is said that in the first year of Tenbun, 1582, a sorcerer came unexpectedly to the house of Takenouchi and taught him five methods of seizing a man; he then went off and he could not tell whither he went.

The origin of the art of *Ken* is stated thus:—There came to Japan from China a man named *Chingempin*, who left that country

after the fall of the *Min* dynasty, and lived in Kokushōji (a Buddhist temple) in Azabu in Yedo, as Tōkyō was then called. There also in the same temple lived three rōnins, Fukuno, Isogai and Miura. One day Chingempin told them that in China there was an art of seizing a man, which he had seen himself practised but had not learned its principles. On hearing this, these three men made investigations and afterwards became very skilful.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of *Jiu*, which is equivalent to *Jinjutsu*, is traced to these three men, from whom it spread throughout the country. In the same account the principles of the art are stated, and the following are their free translations :

- (1) Not to resist an opponent, but to gain victory by pliancy.
- (2) Not to aim at frequent victory.
- (3) Not to be led into scolding (bickering) by keeping the mind (empty) composed and calm.
- (4) Not to be disturbed by things.
- (5) Not to be agitated under any emergency but to be tranquil.

And for all these, rules for respiration are considered important.

In the *Bujutsu riu soroku* (武術流祖錄), a book of biographies of the originators of different schools of the arts of Japanese warfare, exactly the same account is given of the origin of *Kogusoku*, and a similar account of *Jiu jutsu*; and it is also stated that the time in which Miura lived was about 1560.

In the *Chinomaki*, a certificate given by teachers of the Kitō school to their pupils, we find a brief history of the art and its main principles as taught by that school.

In it, reference is made to a writing dated the 11th year of Kuangbun (1871).

According to it there was once a man named Fukuno who studied the art of fighting without weapons and so excelled in the art that he defeated people very much stronger than himself. The art at first did not spread to any great extent: but two of his pupils became especially noted, who were founders of separate schools, named Miura and Terada.

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<sup>1</sup> Although the statement refers to an art of *seizing* a man, what is really there meant, we believe, is an art of kicking and striking an opponent.

The art taught by Miara was named *Wa* (which is equivalent to *Yawara*), and the art taught by Terada was named *Jin* (which is equivalent to *Jiu-jutsu*).

The date of the period in which Fukuno flourished is not mentioned in the certificate quoted above, but it is seen from the date in another manuscript that it must have been before the eleventh year of Kuanbun (1671).

The *Owari meisho dzus* (尾張所圖鑑) gives an account of *Chingempin*. According to it *Chingempin* was a native of Korinken in China, who fled to Japan in order to escape from the troubles at the close of the Min Dynasty. He was cordially received by the prince of Owari, and there died at the age of 85 in 1671, which is stated to be the date on his tombstone in Kenchūji in Nagoya. In the same book a passage is quoted from *Kenpōhisho* (拳法秘書) which relates that when *Chingempin* lived in Kokushōji in Azabu, the three ronins Fukuno, Isogai and Miura also lived there, and *Chingempin* told them that in China there was an art of seizing a man and that he had seen it; that it was of such and such a nature. Finally these three men, after hearing this, investigated the art and as a result, the school of the art called *Kitōriu* was founded.

In a book called the *Sen tetsu so dan* (先哲叢書), which may be considered one of the authorities on this subject, it is stated that *Chingempin* was born probably in the 15th year of Banreki according to Chinese chronology, that is in 1587; that he met at Nagoya, a priest named *Gensei* in the 2nd year of *Manji*, that is in 1659, with whom he became very intimate. They published some poems under the title *Gen Gen Shō Washu* (元元唱和集).

In another book named *Kiyu shō ran* (嬉遊笑覽) it is related that *Chingempin* came to Japan in the 2nd year of *Manji* (1659).

Again it is generally understood that *Shunsui* (順水), a famous Chinese scholar, came to Japan on the fall of the Min dynasty in the 2nd year of *Manji* (1659).

From these various accounts it seems evident that *Chingempin* flourished in Japan some time after the second year of *Manji*, in 1659. So that the statement of the *Bujutsu riusoroku* that Miura flourished in the time of *Eiroku* must be discredited. It is evident

from the accounts already given that Chingempin flourished at a later period, and that Miura was his contemporary.

There are other accounts of the origin of *Jiu-jutsu* given by various schools of the art, to which we must now turn.

The account given by the school named *Yō shinriu* is as follows :—

This school was begun by *Miura Yōshin*, a physician of Nagasaki in Hizen. He flourished in the early times of the Tokugawa Shoguns. Believing that many diseases arose from not using mind and body together, he invented some methods of *Jiu-jutsu*. Together with his two medical pupils he found out 21 ways of seizing an opponent and afterwards found out 51 others. After his death his pupils founded two separate schools of the art, one of them naming his school *Yōshinriu*, from *Yōshin* his teacher's name : the other named his school *Miarariu*, also from his teacher's name.

The next account is that of a manuscript named *Tenjin Shiryōri Tairoku*. In it there occurs a conversation between *Ise Mataemon*, the founder of the *Tenjin Shiryōriu*, and *Terasaki*, one of his pupils. The origin of *Jiu-jutsu* is related thus: There once lived in Nagasaki a physician named *Akiyama*, who went over to China to study medicine. He there learned an art called *Hakuda*, which consisted of *kicking* and *striking*, differing, we may note, from *Jiu-jutsu*, which is mainly seizing and throwing.

*Akiyama* learned three methods of this *Hakuda* and 28 ways of recovering a man from apparent death. When he returned to Japan, he began to teach this art, but as he had few methods, his pupils got tired of it, and left him.

*Akiyama*, feeling much grieved on this account, went to the *Tenjin* shrine in *Tsukushi* and there worshipped for 100 days.

In this place he discovered 808 different methods of the art. What led to this is equally curious. One day during a snow storm he observed a willow tree whose branches were covered with snow. Unlike the pine tree which stood erect and broke before the storm, the willow yielded to the weight of snow on its branches, but did not break under it. In this way, he reflected *Jiu-jutsu* must be practised. So he named his school *Yōshin-riu*, the spirit of the willow-tree-school.

In the *Tessiroku* it is denied that Chingempin introduced Jiu-jutsu into Japan—but whilst affirming that Akiyama introduced some features of the art from China, it adds, “it is a shame to our country” to ascribe the origin of Jiu-jutsu to China. In this opinion we ourselves concur. It seems to us that the art is Japanese in origin and development for the following reasons.

- (1) An art of defence without weapons is common in all countries in a more or less developed state, and in Japan the feudal state would necessarily develop Jiu-jutsu.
- (2) The Chinese *Kempō* and Japanese Jiu-jutsu differ materially in their methods.
- (3) The existence of a similar art is referred to, before the time of Chingempin.
- (4) The unsatisfactoriness of the accounts given of its origin.
- (5) The existence of Japanese wrestling from very early times, which in some respects resembles Jiu-jutsu.
- (6) As Chinese arts and Chinese civilization were highly esteemed by the Japanese, in order to give prestige to the art, Jiu-jutsu may have been ascribed to a Chinese origin.
- (7) In ancient times teachers of the different branches of military arts, such as fencing, using the spear, etc., seem to have practised this art to some extent.

In support of this position, we remark first that Jiu-jutsu, as practised in Japan, is not known in China. In that country there is the art before referred to called *Kempō*, and from the account of it in a book named “*Kikōshinsho*” (紀功新書), it seems to be a method of kicking and striking.

But *Jiu-jutsu* involved much more, as has been already made clear. Besides, a student in China, according to the books of instruction, is expected to learn and practise the art by himself, whilst in Jiu-jutsu it is essential that two men shall practise together.

Even although we admit that Chingempin may have introduced *Kempō* to Japan, it is extremely difficult to look upon Jiu-jutsu as in any sense a development of *Kempō*. Besides, if Chingempin had been skilled in the art, it is almost certain that he would have referred to it in his book of poems which, along with Gensei the priest with whom

he became intimate at the castle of Nagoya, he published under their joint names as the *Gengenshōwashiu*. Yet there is no reference in any of his writings to the art.

Apart from Chingempin, the Japanese could learn something of the art of *Kempō* as practised in China from books named *Bubishi* (武備志), *Kikōshinsho*, etc. We believe then that *Jinjutsu* is a Japanese art, which could have been developed to its present perfection without any aid from China, although we admit that Chingempin, or some Chinese book in *Kempō* may have given a stimulus to its development. Having thus discussed in a brief way the origin of *Jiujutsu*, and what *Jiujutsu* is in a general way, we shall now turn to the different schools and the differences which are said to exist between the several names of the art mentioned above. It is impossible to enumerate all the schools of *Jiujutsu*; we might count by hundreds, because almost all the teachers who have attained some eminence in the art have originated their own schools. But it is not possible, and also not in our way to describe them all or even to enumerate them. We shall be satisfied here by referring to some of the most important on account of the principles taught, and the large number of pupils they have attracted.

1. *Kitōriu* (起倒流) or *Kitō* School. This School is said to have been originated by Terada Kan-emon. The time when he flourished is not given in any authoritative book or manuscript, but we may say he flourished not very long after Fukuno, because it is stated both in the *Chinomaki* of the *Kitō* school, and in the *Bujutsu riusoroku* that he learnt the art from another Terada, who was a pupil of Fukuno, although there are opinions contradictory to this statement. Among the celebrated men of this school may be mentioned Yoshimura, Hotta, Takino, Gamō, Imabori; and of late Takenaka, Noda, Iikubo, Yoshida and Motoyama, of whom the two last are still living.

2. *Kiushinriu* was originated by Inugami Nagakatsu. His grandson Inugami Nagayasu, better known as Inugami Gunbei, attained great eminence in the art and so developed it that he has been called in later times the originator of *Kiushinriu*. There is great similarity in the principles of the *Kitōriu* and *Kiushinriu*.

The resemblance is so close, that we suppose the latter has been derived from the former. It is also said that in the second year of Kiôhô (1717) Inugami studied Kitôriu under Takino. This must of course be one of the reasons why they are so similar. Among those who were famous in this school may be mentioned Ishino Tsukamoto and Eguchi.

3. *Sekiguchi Jushin* was an originator of another school. His school was called *Sekiguchi riu*, after him. He had three sons, all of whom became famous in the art. Shibukawa Bangoro, who studied the art from his first son *Sekiguchi Hachirozaemon*, became the founder of another great school of Jiu-jutsu known after him as the *Shibukawariu*. *Sekiguchi Jushin* of the present time is a descendant of the originator (being of the ninth generation from him).

Shibukawa Bangoro, the 8th descendant of the originator of *Shibukawariu* is now teaching his art at Motomachi in Hongo in Tôkyô.

4. Another School we should mention is the *Yôshinriu*. As has been stated above, there are two different accounts of the origin of this school. But on examining the manuscripts and the methods of those two schools, one of which traces the originator to Miura Yôshin and the other to Akiyama Shirobei, the close resemblances of the accounts lead to the belief that both had a common origin.

The representative of *Yôshinriu* of Miura *Yoshin* at present is Totsuka Eibi, who is now teaching at Chiba, a place near Tôkyô. His father was Totsuka Hikosuke, who died but two years ago. This man was one of the most celebrated masters of the art of late years. His father Hikoyemon was also very famous in the time he flourished. He studied his art under Egami Kuanriu, who made a profound investigation of the subject and was called the originator of *Yôshinriu* in later times. This man is said to have died in 1795. Another famous master of this school was Hitotsuyanagi Oribe. The *Yôshinriu* art which this man studied is the one which is said to have come from Akiyama.

5. Next comes *Tenjin shinyōriu*. This School was originated by Iso Mataemon, who died but twenty-six years ago. He first studied Yōshinriu under Hitotsuyanagi Oriye and then Shin no Shintō riu (one of the schools of Jiu-jutsu which has developed out of Yōshin riu) from Homma Jōyemon. He then went to different parts of the country to try his art with other masters, and finally formed a school of his own and named it Tenjin Shinyōriu. His school was at Otamagaike in Tōkyō. His name spread throughout the country and he was considered the greatest master of the time. His son was named Iso Mataichirō. He became the teacher of Jinjutsu in a school founded by one of the Tokugawa Shoguns for different arts of warfare. Among the famous pupils of Mataemon may be mentioned Nishimura, Okada, Yamamoto, Matsunaga and Ichikawa.

We have mentioned different names, such as Jiu-jutsu, Yawara, Tai-jutsu, Kempō, Hakuda, Kogusoku. They are sometimes distinguished from one another, but very often applied to the art generally. For the present, without entering into detailed explanations of these names, we shall explain in a concise way what is the thing itself which these names come respectively to stand for.

Jiu-jutsu is an art of fighting without weapons and sometimes with small weapons much practised by the Samurai, and less generally the common people in the times of the Tokugawas.

There are various ways of gaining victory, such as throwing heavily on the ground; choking up the throat; holding down on the ground or pushing to a wall in such a way that an opponent cannot rise up or move freely; twisting or bending arms, legs or fingers in such a way that an opponent cannot bear the pain, etc.

There are various schools, and some schools practise all these methods and some only a few of them. Besides these, in some of the schools special exercises, called Atemi and Kuatsu, are taught. *Atemi* is the art of striking or kicking some of the parts of the body in order to kill or injure the opponents. *Kuatsu*, which means to resuscitate, is an art of resuscitating those who have apparently died through violence.

The most important principle of throwing as practised was to

disturb the centre of gravity of the opponent, and then pull or push in a way that the opponent cannot stand, exerting skill rather than strength, so that he might lose his equilibrium and fall heavily to the ground. A series of rules was taught respecting the different motions of feet, legs, arms, hands, the thigh and back, in order to accomplish this object. Choking up the throat was done by the hands, fore-arms, or by twisting the collar of the opponent's coat round the throat. For holding down and pushing, any part of the body was used. For twisting and bending, the parts employed were generally the arms, hands and fingers, and sometimes the legs.

The *Kuatsu* or art of resuscitating is considered a secret; generally only the pupils and those who have made some progress in the art receive instruction. It has been customary with those schools where *Kuatsu* is taught for teachers to receive a certain sum of money for teaching. And the pupils were to be instructed in the art after taking an oath that they never reveal the art to any one, even to parents and brothers.

The methods of *Kuatsu* are numerous and differ greatly in the different schools. The simplest is that for resuscitating those who have been temporarily suffocated by choking up the throat. There are various methods for doing this, one of which is to embrace the patient from the back and placing those edges of the palms of both hands which are opposite the thumb to the lower part of the abdomen to push it up towards the operator's own body with those edges. The other kinds of *Kuatsu* are such as recovering those who have fallen down from great heights and those who have been strangled, those who had been drowned, those who had received severe blows, etc. For these more complicated methods are employed.

#### STORIES OF FAMOUS JIUJUTSU TEACHERS.

About 200 years ago there was a famous teacher of Jiu-jutsu named Sekiguchi Jūshin, who was a retainer of the lord of Kishiu. One day while they were crossing a bridge in the prince's courtyard, his lord, in order to test his skill, gradually pushed him nearer and nearer to the edge of the bridge until, just as he attempted to overbalance

him, Sekiguchi, slipping round, turned to the other side and caught his lord who, losing his balance in the attempt, was about to fall into the water, and taking hold of the prince, said, 'you must take care.' Upon which the prince felt very much ashamed.

Some time afterward, another of the lord's retainers blamed Sekiguchi for taking hold of the prince, for, said he, if he had been an enemy, he could have had time to kill you. Then Sekiguchi told him that the same thought had also crossed his own mind, and that when he caught hold of his lord, although it was a very rude thing, he had stuck his *kozuka* (small knife) through his sleeve and left it there to show that he could have had time to stab him had he been his enemy, instead of his master.

During the year Kwan-yei there was a festival of Hachimangu at Fukui in Echizen. Skilful teachers of various military arts had gathered there from different parts of the country, and Yagiu Tajimano-kami, a famous master, was appointed umpire of the sports. As Yagiu was a very famous man, many visitors came to see him, and amongst them there was one friend with whom he began to play at *go* on the day before that appointed for the sports. They continued their play all day and all night, and when the appointed time came for beginning the sports, Yagiu did not appear, being still intent on his game of *go*.

The Prince of Echizen became very angry and threatened to punish Yagiu, and hearing this, one of his retainers set off on horseback to persuade Yagiu to be present in the place. When he reached the place he saw the players still engaged, and artfully proposed to join in the game. After a time, as if by accident, he mixed up the pieces on the board, and then reminded Yagiu of his appointment as umpire. Yagiu thereupon mounted the horse which had brought the retainer and galloped off to the field.

While engaged as umpire, another famous Jinjutsu teacher came up and offered to fight him. He declined on the ground that he was there as umpire. Still the man continued to urge him and suddenly tried to pull him down. Yagiu in a moment seized him, turned him over and threw him with great force on the ground, and so ended the attempt to overthrow Yagiu.

Terada Goemon was another noted man. He lived in Tōkyō some 40 years ago, and one day while passing the Suidobashi near Hongo, he fell in with the procession of the Prince of Mito. The *Sakibarai* (attendants) of the Prince, while making way for the procession ordered Terada to kneel down, which he refused to do, saying that a Samurai of his rank did not require to kneel unless the Prince's *Kago* would come nearer. The *Sakibarai*, however, persisted in their endeavours to force him to kneel, and five or six attempted to throw him down, but he freed himself and threw them all to the ground. Many other retainers then came about him crying, "kill him, kill him," but he threw them all down and seized their *jittei* (short iron rods) and ran over to the Prince's *Yashiki* saying, I am a samurai of such and such rank, and it is against the dignity of my prince that I should kneel down; I am very sorry that I had to throw your men down, but I had to do it to preserve my dignity, and here are the *jittei* which I return to you. The Prince was so much pleased that he asked Terada to enter into his service, but he preferred to remain with his own prince and so refused the offer.

Inugami Gunbei was a famous teacher of the Kiu Shin school.

One day he met Onogawa Kisaburo, the most famous wrestler of the time, in a tea-house. They began to drink *sake* together and Onogawa boasted of his powers to Inugami.

Inugami said, that even a great wrestler with stout muscles and steatorian voice might not be able to defeat this old man, referring to himself.

Then the wrestler became angry and proposed they should go out to the courtyard for a trial.

Onogawa then took hold of Inugami saying, can you escape? Of course, he replied, if you do not hold me more tightly. Then Onogawa embraced him more firmly—and repeated his question, receiving the same answer. He did this three times and when Inugami said, can you do no more, Onogawa, relaxing his grip but a little to take a firmer hold, was in a moment pitched over by Inugami on to the ground. This he did twice. Onogawa was so much surprised that he became Inugami's pupil.

## RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF JIUJUTSU.

There are now over 80 schools in Tōkyō representing the various schools of feudal times, but of these two are specially worthy of notice on account of the methods employed and the large attendance of pupils.

One of these is the school of Mr. J. Kano of the Gakushuin (Noble's school).

He first studied under Iso and Fukuda of the Tenjin Shin'yō school and then studied the principles of the Kitō school under a celebrated teacher named Iikubo.

After having acquired the art in this way, Mr. Kano made investigations into the history of the art, collecting manuscripts from all sources within his reach, comparing the various principles taught, until after much research and labour he elaborated an eclectic system of the art which now bears the name of Judo.

In feudal times the old form of Jinjutsu was mainly learned for fighting purposes. In this recent school it is developed into a system of athletics and mental and moral training.

In this school daily instruction is carried on by means of lectures on the theory of Judo, by discussion among the pupils and by actual practice.

In Jinjutsu as formerly taught, the art of pliancy, as it has been called, the *practice* of the art was of most importance: in Judo, which is an investigation of the laws by which one may gain by yielding, *practice* is made subservient to the *theory*, although when studied as a system of athletics, *practice* plays a more important part.

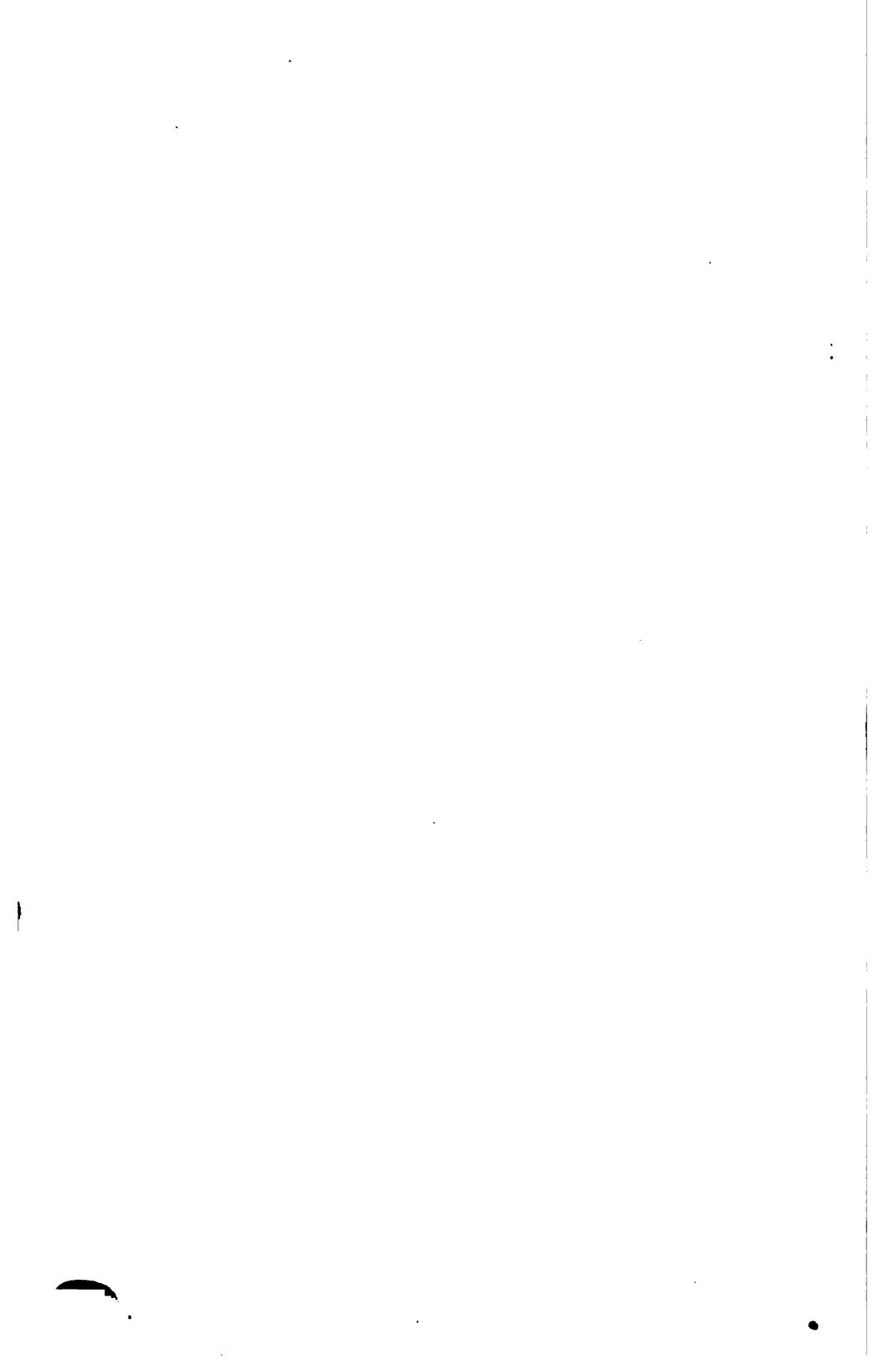
Saigo, Yamada, Yamashita and Yokoyama are the most celebrated of the pupils of this school.

In the *Police Department* of Tokyo all the police are obliged to study this art.

The method of instruction was quite of the old style until a few years ago, when at a meeting of teachers and pupils of the various schools in Tōkyō, the pupils of Mr. Kano so distinguished themselves that the Department resolved to adopt the methods of the art of Mr. Kano's school, and in 1879 appoint Judo teachers from among his pupils, named Yokoyama and Matsuno. In addition to these teachers

there are also Hisatomi Suzuki, Nakamura, Uyehara and Kanaya, all of whom may be considered as the present representatives of many of the important schools of Jiu-jutsu now existing in Japan.

In addition to the work of Judo as a system of athletics, it is also to be considered, as has been noted, a means of mental and moral training, and to this reference will be made in a future paper.





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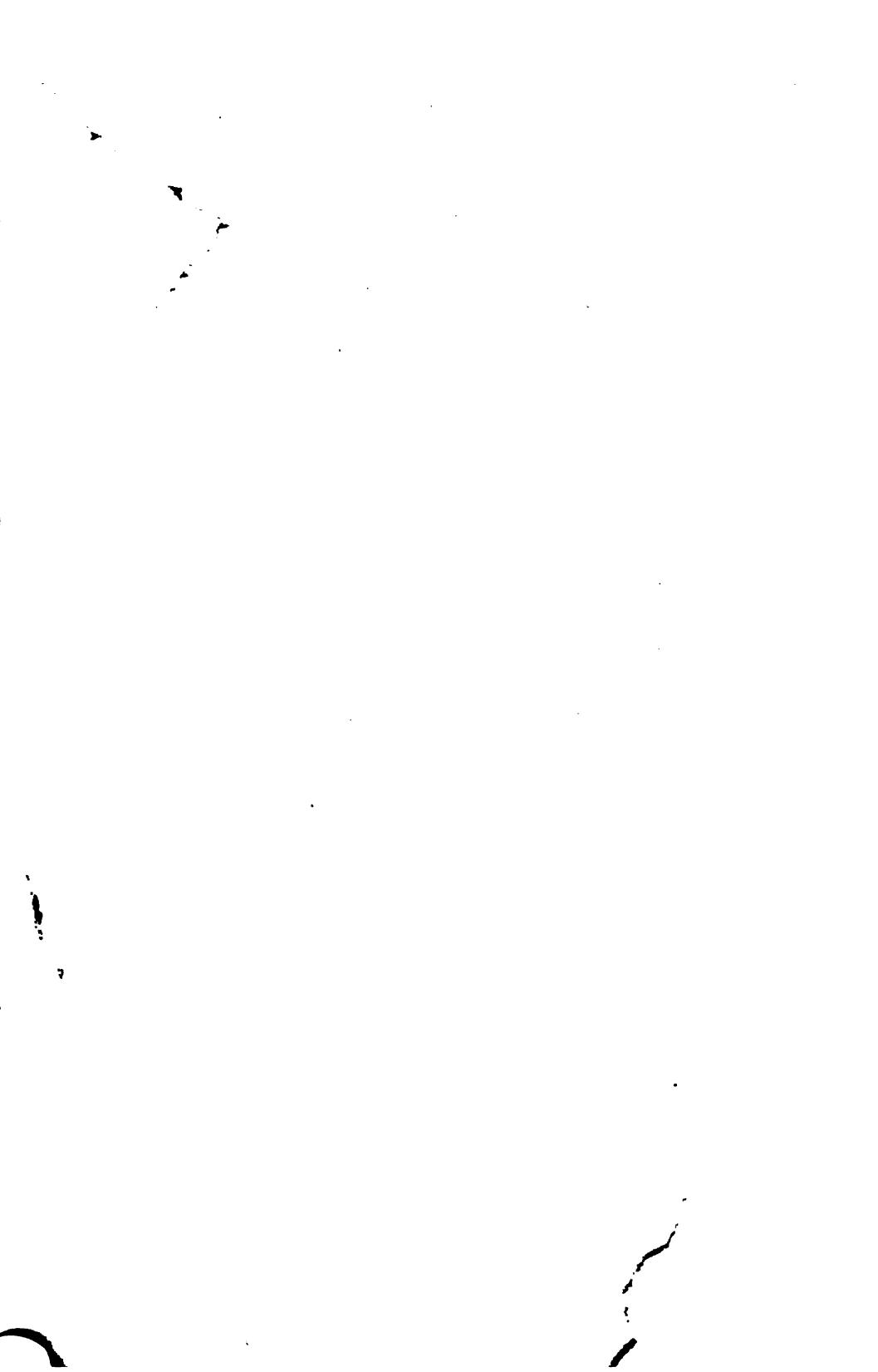
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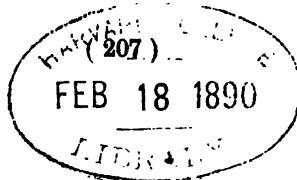
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## CHRISTIAN VALLEY.

By J. M. DIXON, Esq., M. A., F. R. S. E.

[*Read June 6th, 1888.*]

At the northern end of Tōkyō, in the district known as Koisshikawa, lies the valley of Myogadani—Ginger Valley,—whose southern end opens out on the banks of the Yedogawa. It is a narrow valley with precipitous sides, and for the most of its length runs almost due north and south. Here for many years, from 1709–1715, was imprisoned an Italian priest, the sole representative of his race and religion in the islands of Japan. An account of his arrest on the shores of the province of Osumi, and of his cruel journey to the capital,—a journey which cost him the use of his limbs from close confinement in the *norimono*—will be found in an earlier number of the *Transactions of this Society*, vol. iv, page 156. For an abridged account, giving in addition the sequel of his own and his jailors' deaths, readers may consult the *Chrysanthemum* magazine for September, 1882. I wish here to give a few amplifications of the story, being specially interested in the spot and its associations. My residence happens to be within a stone's throw of the enclosure where Père Baptiste Sidotti lived and died, and I have to pass daily by a headstone which marks the grave either of the priest or of one of the Christian residents of the valley.

In the year<sup>1</sup> 1702 a Sicilian priest, a man of good family, left the shores of Italy in the suite of the papal legate Maillard de Tournon, whom Pope Clement XI was sending on a mission to China. The party arrived in a French man-of-war at Pondichéry in the year 1704, having embarked on board this vessel in the Canary Islands. Here Father Sidotti, whose destination from the beginning had been Japan, parted

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<sup>1</sup> I follow Charlevoix's history.

company with the legate and set out for Manila, a port which he reached in the year 1707. The two succeeding years he spent in studying the Japanese language, and in preparing for mission work. His intention of proceeding to Japan becoming known, many of the residents of Manila encouraged and aided him, and the Governor of the Philippines gave him the full measure of his support. Through private munificence a vessel was fitted out, and a captain of some reputation, Dom Miguel de Eloriaga, volunteered to command it, and promised to land the Father on Japanese soil. The offer was accepted, and in the month of August, 1709, all preparations being complete, the vessel left the harbour of Manila. The voyage seems to have been protracted, for the shores of Japan were not sighted until the 9th of October. The crew were making preparations to land their passenger, when they observed a vessel, manned by fishermen, close to the shore. They decided to approach this vessel in the small boat and enter into parley with the fishermen, employing for their purpose a Japanese who was in the service of the Governor of the Philippines and had undertaken to enter Japan with Father Siodotti and see him safely settled. The Japanese put off to the vessel and entered into conversation with the fishermen, but after a short time signalled to the ship not to approach. When he returned on board he reported that it would be eminently dangerous to land, for the priest was certain to be arrested and put to death with horrible tortures by the reigning prince, a cruel ruler. Father Sidotti, after a short time spent in prayer, declared his fixed intention of landing, notwithstanding all the terrors that might await him. The captain urged the fact upon him that his object was to make converts, not to die as a martyr, and that he had better seek some more favourable spot; but to no purpose. Towards midnight, under cover of darkness, he prepared to quit the vessel. The parting scene was very touching. After writing some letters, he addressed the assembled crew, earnestly and tenderly exhorting them. He asked them to pardon his lack of diligence and care for their spiritual welfare, and ended by kissing the feet of all present, not only of the officers and seamen, but also of the slaves. The small boat then conveyed him ashore through a calm sea. On leaving it he kissed the earth and thanked God for having happily conducted him into a country which had for so long a time been the goal of his earthly

wishes. He then started inland, accompanied by some Spaniards, who carried a package for him. They had the curiosity to open this, and found that it contained a rosary, sacred oils, a breviary, the Imitation of Christ, some devotional works, two Japanese grammars, a crucifix, an image of the Virgin Mary and some stamps. Shortly afterwards they parted from him, having forced him to accept some gold pieces. Their return to the ship was not made without some difficulty from the rocks and sand-banks which lay in their way. Getting on board at eight in the morning, they set sail with a fair wind and entered Manila harbour on the 18th of October.

Such was the last that was seen of Father Sidotti by men of his own race and faith. To a Japanese author, Arai Hakuseki, we owe a full account of his subsequent life in this country. The first person whom he fell in with was a charcoal burner named Tobei, who ran to the nearest village to announce the arrival of a strange foreign-looking man. Two villagers returned with Tobei and found the foreigner where he had first been seen, apparently very weary. They took him to Tobei's house, and gave him something to eat, for which he offered gold, but this was refused. His language they could not understand ; but his dress was that of a Japanese, the material a light blue cotton cloth with the four rectangles of the badge of Yotsume. His hair was also done up in Japanese style and he carried a long sword of Japanese make and ornamentation.

The officials of the lord of Satsuma took him first to Nagasaki, where he was examined. He expressed great dislike of the Dutch, who accordingly were not brought into his presence ; but it was through the medium of a Dutch trader who knew a little Latin and spoke to him while hidden by a screen, that the Japanese learned his country and profession. A long journey to Yedo in a *norimono*, which he was not suffered to quit, crippled him, and he never afterwards regained the use of his limbs. He was imprisoned in Kirishitan Yashiki, Koishikawa.

The name "Christian Valley" had been applied to this place many years before the arrival of Father Sidotti. Mr. Satow, in a most interesting and valuable note appended to Mr. Gubbins' paper on the Introduction of Christianity into China and Japan (see vol. vi, pt. 1, p. 61), informs us that several Christian priests, who had abjured Christianity,

lived here under surveillance. One of these, an Italian named Giuseppe Chiara, became a proselyte of the head priest of *Muryō-In* Temple in Koishikawa, and lived to the advanced age of eighty-four. He had adopted the name and received the swords of Okamoto Sanyemon, a *samurai* who had been condemned to death, and he married the widow, so it is said, of another criminal. Chiara lies buried in the interesting old graveyard of the Temple, about half a mile distant from Christian Valley.

A visit to the *Muryō-In* graveyard will amply repay the curious visitor. The Temple, of insignificant proportions and dwarfed by the great *Denzuin* Temple topping the bluff to the south, lies among the rice-fields on the left of the road leading to the University Botanic Garden. The graveyard, however, is extensive and imposing, and the stones are in excellent preservation; indeed the condition of the grounds reflects credit on the staff of the Temple, who must bestow great pains in keeping them in their present condition. They form a striking contrast to the dilapidated precincts of the *Denzuin* temple close by, where Ieyasu's mother is buried.

In a square enclosure, rubbing shoulders with other headstones, stands the tomb of Giuseppe Chiara. The pedestal measures 3 feet in height and is square in section; on the top rests a foreign hat carved in solid stone, measuring 5 ft. 7 in. round the brim, and 3 ft. 1 in. round the base of the crown. The height of the hat from the lowest portion of the rim to the apex is 10 in., and the rim itself is raised 7 in. above the top of the pedestal, which gives a total height of 4 ft. 5 in. The impression conveyed to a person when approaching, is as if a human being stood there, whose legs were sunk in the ground and whose hat had been pressed down on his shoulders. My companion in my first visit, who had full means of knowing, declared it to be a priest's hat, the opinion entertained by Mr. Satow, who noticed the resemblance to the hats of Jesuits as depicted in Montanus. In any case it is a unique piece of carving, pronouncedly foreign in its origin. As a countryman remarked who was passing as we photographed it, "That's a foreign boshi."

The inscription I have now to show you. The character at the top, of which I have taken a separate tracing, is a sacred Sanscrit sign, having the reading *Kiriku*; its signification is unknown to the resident

priest, but is said to signify *death*. The rest of the inscription is intelligible enough. "This man certainly entered into Paradise on the 5th day of the 2nd year of *Jokyo* (1685)." The priests have a tradition that another foreigner is buried in their graveyard, but they do not know exactly where. For further information on this point Mr. Satow's note may be again consulted. So much for this interesting tomb.

To return to Christian Valley where the dead priest spent the closing years of his life. Inquiries made among Japanese residents in the vicinity during the winter by one of my students resulted in the gathering together of the following facts and traditions:—

"Myogadani, the ordinary name, literally means 'Valley of Ginger.' The valley, they say, was so called because it was full of this plant a long time ago. But it is strange enough that the hill opposite Christian Slope has also the name Myogadani. Why the name was given also to a hill is almost inexplicable, and we cannot but think that the people applied the name quite unconsciously.

"In the valley of Myogadani lies a certain lot of ground called 'Kirishitan Yashiki,' which signifies 'the Christian Inclosure.' The name itself tells us that there were once some Christians living there. But whence they came, what they were doing there, or whether they went, remains a matter of conjecture. I was exceedingly desirous of knowing more minutely about the place. One morning I went to Fujidera (Demmyoji), a Buddhist temple in the valley, and told the master-priest all that I wished to know. He was an old and kind-hearted man, who, by his own account, had been living in the temple for above forty years, and therefore I thought his words were trustworthy enough. I received, however, but little satisfactory information from him. This must be due to the fact that few Buddhist priests care much about Christianity. I dare say, however, that all he told me differed little from the truth.

"The old priest related that the Tokugawa Shoguns persecuted Christians as cruelly as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi did before them. But the third Shogun, Iyemitsu, was wise enough to think it unjust to punish a man merely for believing in a religion which the Japanese had never known before. He was filled with the notion that Christianity might be better than other old religions, and desired to learn clearly the

nature of Christianity before criticising it. But fear of the people prevented him from openly declaring his opinion. So he secretly picked out four or five faithful Christians among the people, and gave them a part of Myogadani for their residence. Iyemitsu made them 'Dōshin,' a class of constables under the Tokugawa dynasty. Thus they were apparently low officers, but really representatives of Christianity, who engaged the earnest attention of the then ruler of Japan. We must not forget, however, that Christianity was as strictly prohibited as ever all throughout Japan.

"It is quite true that nothing can be kept secret for ever. It was not long before they were noticed by people not to be mere officers; and they were soon discovered to be enthusiastic believers in the prohibited religion. Since then, their place of abode has been called 'Kirishitan-Yashiki.' A descent which leads to their houses from the main road of Takechō (the present Takehayacho) received the name 'Kirishitan-Zaka.' A part of the main street near their residence was called 'Doshin-chō,' from their official title.

"It is very uncertain how they all ended their lives, but tradition relates that the most pious and faithful of the Christians was murdered by a *samurai*. One dusky evening when this Christian was kneeling down on the ground to say his prayers, a murderer, with a drawn sword in his hand, approached the Christian from behind, and in a minute the latter lay dead. No one knew who the *samurai* was. The passenger will find a pyramidal stone, about three feet high, standing by the side of 'Kirishitan-Yashiki.' This is the tomb of the murdered Christian, which marks the place where he gave up the ghost. Very close to the tomb there is a small wooden bridge, 'Kōshimbashi' by name. Kōshin is one of the gods whom certain superstitious Japanese worship. The common people of that time believed that the Christian was not a man, but Kōshin, who clothed himself with flesh and appeared among men; whence the name 'Kōshimbashi.' There are two bamboo tubes inserted in sockets in front of the tomb, which I have never found empty, but always full of flowers in bloom. No one knows who offer the flowers, but they must be either descendants of the Doshin Christians, or believers in Christianity, or worshippers of Kōshin.

"In the valley of Myogadani there are four or five Buddhist temples, none of which are very old. Demmyoji is the one nearest to 'Kirishitan-Yashiki,' and is said to have been built two hundred and ten years ago. It is commonly known as Fujidera, because the *Wisteria chinensis*, which the Japanese call *fuji*, grows abundantly in its precincts. The second oldest temple, called Toku-un-ji, is the largest of all. About the others there is nothing worthy of mention."

A few additions may be made to the above. Mr. Satow states that the stone is commonly reported to mark the resting-place of a Japanese convert named Hachibei, and the *Mikado's Empire* of Mr. Griffis (cap. xxv, page 262) contains the following interesting paragraph:—

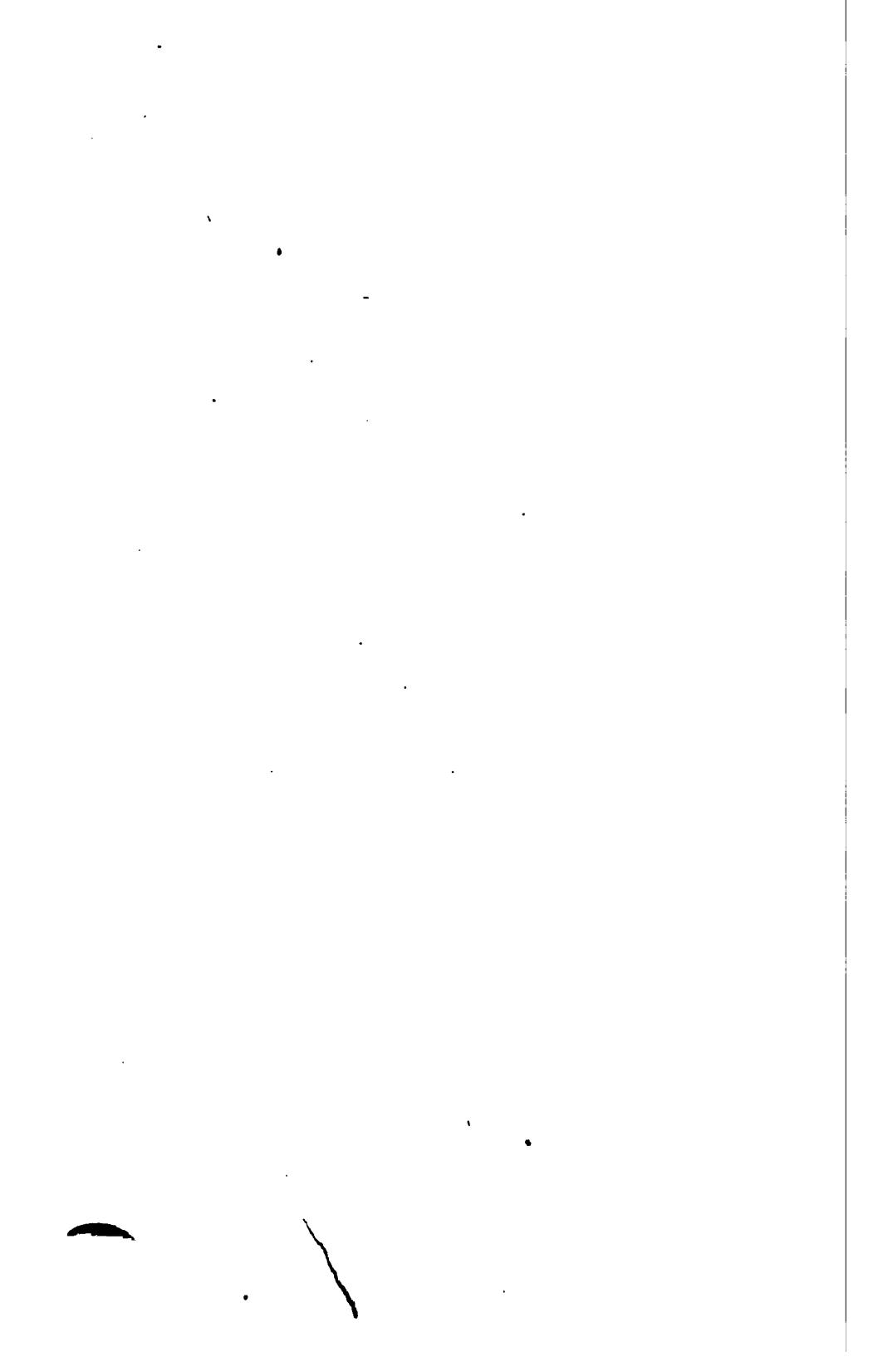
"Tradition says that the abbé was buried in the opposite slope of the valley corresponding to that on which he lived, under an old pine-tree near a spring. Pushing my way through scrub bamboo along a narrow path, scarcely perceptible for the undergrowth, I saw a nameless stone near a hollow, evidently left by a tree that had long since fallen and rotted away. A little run of water issued from a spring hard by. At the foot was a rude block of stone, with a hollow for water. Both were roughly hewn, and scarcely dressed with the chisel. Such stones in Japan mark the graves of those who die in disgrace, or unknown or uncared for. This was all that was visible to remind the visitor of one whose heroic life deserved a nobler monument."

The valley has changed somewhat since Mr. Griffis published his invaluable work. No stream issues from beside the stone, the water of the spring having probably been deflected in order to fill the fish-ponds in the hollow beneath. Vague traditions are afloat in the neighbourhood regarding the miraculous nature and powers of this spring, which was credited with healing virtues in cases of blindness. It is now contained within the grounds of Mr. Tsukahara, a prominent official of the Agricultural Department, who purchased the land several years ago and now resides upon it. The whole neighbourhood is changing and becoming rapidly an integral part of the city. Within the past year more than a dozen houses have been built north of the well-kept lane which Mr. Griffis found a mere foot-path a dozen years ago. The topography of a spot so interesting to Europeans deserves some notice at a time when rapid changes are transforming the old capital of the *Shoguns* into the likeness

of a foreign city. The area of the city widens remarkably every year, and houses displace the bamboo thickets and rice-fields which formerly made the valleys green in the spring time and early summer. Consequently it is often difficult to identify places in the environs of Tōkyō from descriptions made only a few years back which were perfectly accurate at the time. The residence of these unfortunate exiles, isolated among a strange people, whose religion some of them embraced, but only after the sternest and cruellest compulsion, must ever retain a peculiar attraction for us, Europeans like them. Again, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, we become familiar with the same landscape and tread the same soil, but under conditions how different!

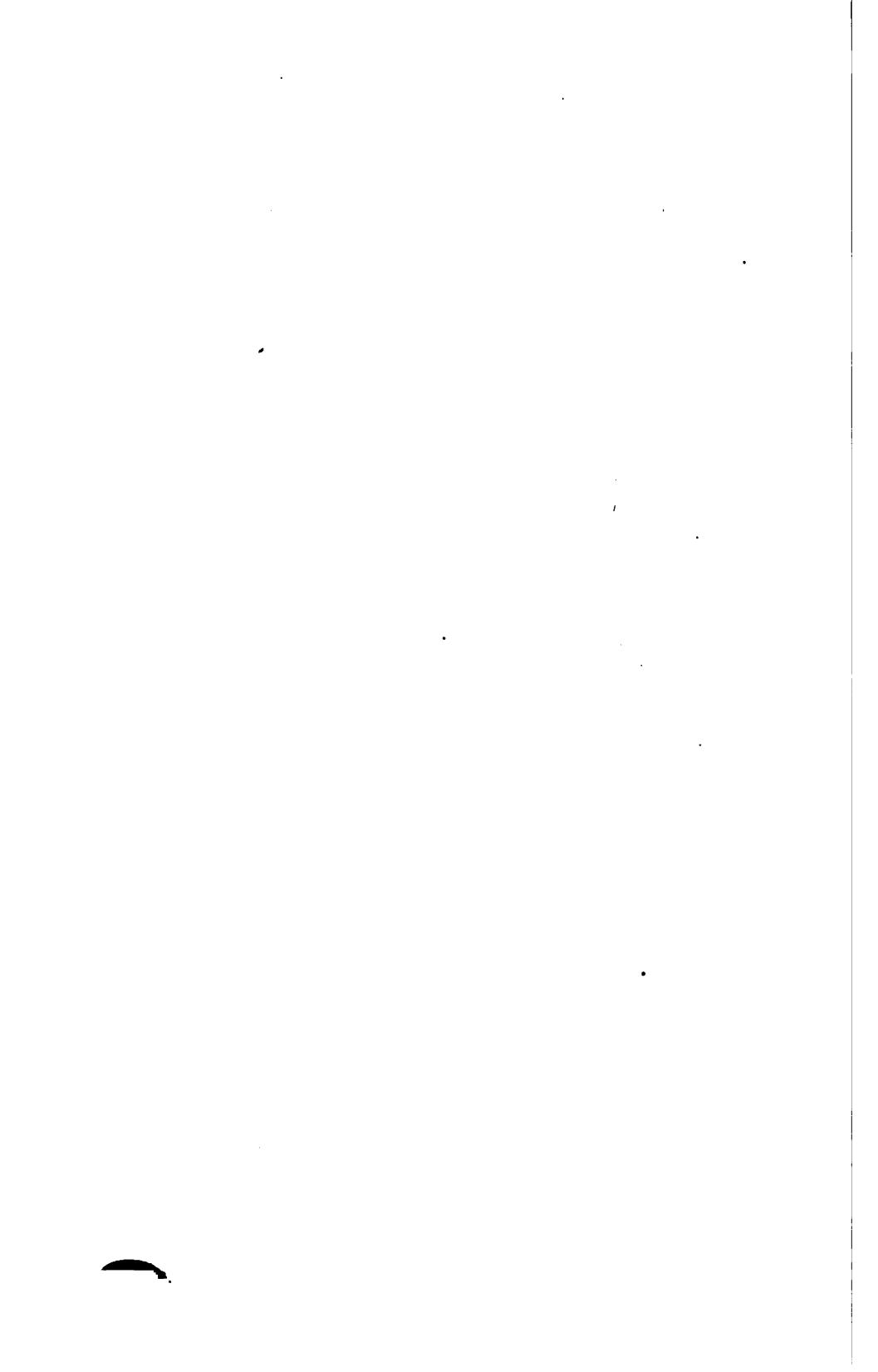


i. The Christian's Grave.



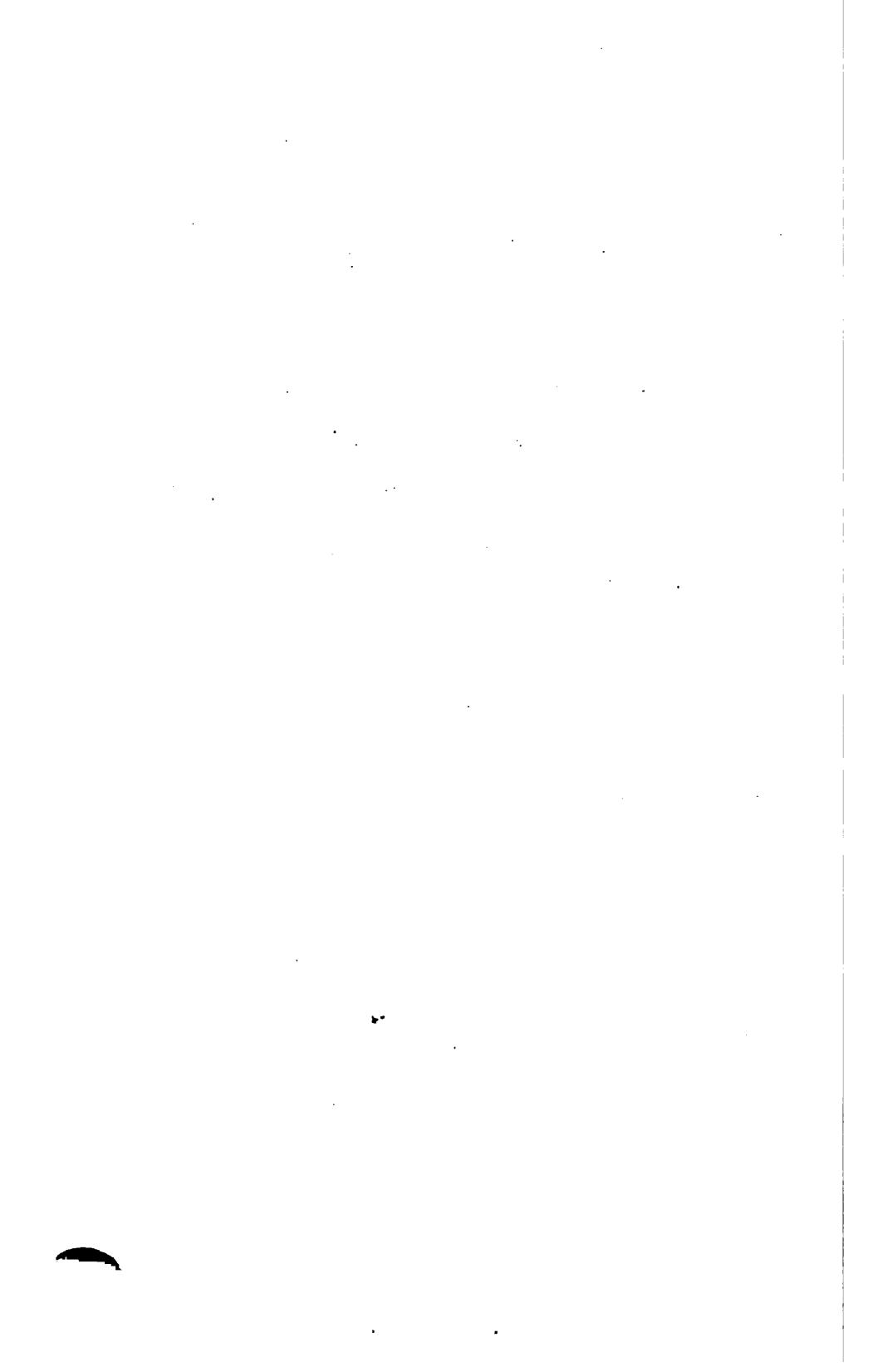


2. Christian Slope from the Christian's Grave, looking eastward.



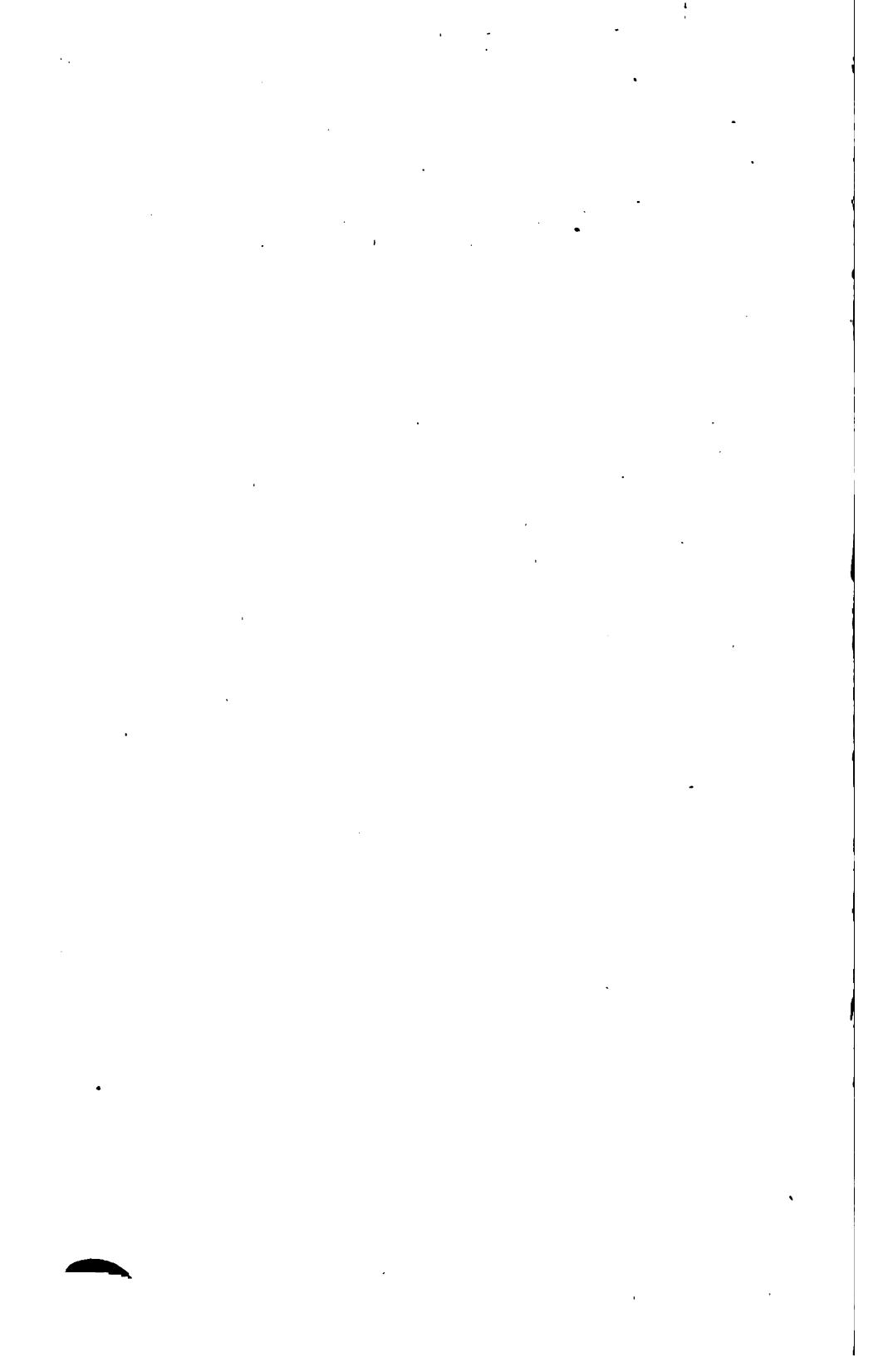


3. Christian Enclosure, looking southwest.





4. Joseph Chiara's Grave.



## A LITERARY LADY OF OLD JAPAN.

BY THE LATE DR. T. A. PURCELL AND W. G. ASTON.

[*Read June 20th, 1888.*]

The ancient classical literature of Japan has hardly even yet<sup>1</sup> received the attention which it deserves. Indeed doubts are sometimes expressed whether the term "classical" is fairly applicable to it. But those who have actually made themselves acquainted with the works produced by Japanese authors from the 9th to the 12th century of our era will not have much hesitation in admitting their title to this epithet. The degree of purity and perfection which the language attained in the hands of writers of this period, and the elegance of their style, have been the admiration and despair of all succeeding native authors, who are continually lamenting the debased idiom of their own degenerate times.

The original impulse which awaked to life the genius of Japan came of course from China, and for several centuries the intellectual energies of the Japanese nation seem to have been engrossed in appropriating and assimilating the treasures of thought which had been amassed there for centuries. For most subjects Chinese was the literary language of the country, as Latin was for Europe during the middle ages, but there was one exception—belles-lettres. For the lighter literature the native language continued to be employed, and as the men occupied themselves chiefly with Chinese studies, the honourable task of maintaining the credit of the native literature devolved mainly on the women of Japan. How they responded to the call has been shown in another paper contributed to this society by one of the present writers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was written fourteen for fifteen years ago.—W. G. A.

<sup>2</sup> An Ancient Japanese Classic. Read 30th June, 1875.

Partly for this reason, and partly owing to the comparatively quiet and peaceful times of which it was the product, this old Japanese literature has an essentially feminine character. Gentleness and grace and a vein of playful humour are its chief characteristics. We look in vain for the bold, irregular flights of imagination, or for that rude, untutored vigour which we are accustomed to associate with the first literary efforts of a nation just emerging from barbarism. Instead of war and rapine, of deeds of daring and revenge, the gentler muse of Japan at this time loved to dwell on nature in her varied aspects, to watch the moon rising over the mountains, or to listen to the hum of insects in the dusk of summer evenings. Next to nature, the domestic affections hold a prominent place, and here, as elsewhere, love is chief. The writings of this period are a perfect mine of sentimental lore, and the ladies who wrote it as well as their fair readers must have been thorough adepts in what Cowley has called—

" The politic arts  
To take and keep men's hearts ;  
The letters, embassies, and spies,  
The frowns, and smiles, and flatteries,  
The quarrels, tears, and perjuries,  
Numberless, nameless mysteries."

Those who are acquainted with the popular literature of Japan in modern times may be surprised to learn that in these old books there is a marked absence of anything coarse or indelicate. The domestic life of the day is vividly reflected in some of them, but it is chiefly the Court and capital which are brought before us. Of the people at large we hear but little. The truth is that this literature was not the literature of the nation, but of a very narrow section of it which comprised the Court and a small cultivated circle closely connected with it. The rest of the nation was sunk in ignorance, though it enjoyed the blessings of peace under the paternal rule of the Mikados.

The usurpations of the Taikuns, the accession to power of the military class, and the continual civil wars which accompanied these changes, disturbed this fair scene of peaceful rule and literary culture. The capital was repeatedly destroyed, the courtiers were dispersed into exile in distant provinces, or lost their lives in the incessant conflicts

which took place, and their wealth and power fell into the hands of men who valued more a keen sword forged by Masamune, or a retainer who could wield it worthily, than the most perfect compositions of Hitomaro or Akahito. The literary class once dispersed, the absence of general culture in the nation prevented its place from being supplied, and to this day Japan has never again produced anything worthy of her ancient literary fame. The effects of the government by the military class are plainly visible in the crude and coarsely drawn scenes of war and revenge, of murder and suicide, of lust and violence which disfigure so much of the later literature, and may be easily traced by English readers in such works as Dickins' translation of the "Chinshingura," or Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan."

It is pleasant to turn back from these degenerate modern days to what were emphatically the good old times of Japan. Our author, Sei Shōnagon, had the fortune to live while they were still in their prime. She belonged to a distinguished family, being directly descended from a Mikado, and her learning and talents obtained for her the honour of being appointed Chief-Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress. Her stay at Court was not a long one. It ended with the death of her mistress in A.D. 1000. She then retired to a convent, where she spent the remainder of her days in peaceful seclusion, receiving to the last frequent marks of her former master's esteem. She amused her solitude by noting down reminiscences of her life at Court, to which she has added her observations and ideas on things in general, the whole forming a curious medley, to which its title, the *Makura no Sōshi*, or "Pillow Miscellany," is not inappropriate.

The following extracts will give some idea of the contents of this interesting work. The four seasons form the subject of the opening chapter :—

"In spring," the author says, "I love to watch the dawn grow gradually whiter and whiter till a faint rosy tinge crowns the mountain's crest, while slender streaks of purple cloud extend themselves above."

"In summer, I love the night, when the moon is shining, and the dark too, when the fireflies cross each other's paths in their flight, or when the rain is falling."

"In autumn, it is the beauty of the evening which most deeply moves me, as I watch the crows seeking their roosting-place in twos and threes and fours, while the setting sun sends forth his beams gorgeously as he draws near the mountain's rim. Still more is it delightful to see the lines of wild geese pass, looking exceeding small in the distance. And when the sun has quite gone down, how pleasant to listen to the chirruping of insects, or to the wind sighing in the trees!"

"In winter, how unspeakably beautiful is the snow! But I also love the dazzling whiteness of the hoar-frost, and the intense cold even at other times. Then it is meet quickly to fetch charcoal and kindle fires. And let not the gentle warmth of noon persuade us to allow the embers of the hearth or of the brazier to become a white heap of ashes!"

#### FESTIVALS.

The ladies of the Court at this time led by no means the lives of strict seclusion which we are accustomed to picture to ourselves. At festival times in particular, they had many a glimpse of the outer world. But let our author speak for herself:—

"What delightful anniversaries festivals are! Each one brings its special pleasures, but none to my mind is so enjoyable as New Year's Day. It is early spring time then, when the weather is settled, and the morning breaks serenely. A quiet haze is spread over hill and dale, which the sun disperses when he rises, and shows the dew-drops sparkling in his rosy beams. The world seems glad and happy, and in the shining faces of the neighbours, glowing from the frosty air of morning, content and peace is plainly written. How pleasant it is to watch them as they pass, in holiday attire, intent on making their congratulations to their master, and ignorant the while that their very lightness of heart is an unconscious compliment to themselves.

"It is the 7th day of the month when people, tempted by the fitness of the weather, go out in company to pick the *Wakana* (wild pot-herbs). The snow is off the ground, and great is the excitement amongst the ladies of the Court, who have so seldom the opportunity of a country trip. What fun to watch the farmer's wives and daughters

arrayed in all their hoarded finery and riding in their waggons (made clean for the occasion) as they come to see the races in the Court-yard of the Palace. It is most diverting to observe their faces from our grated windows. How prim and proper they appear, all unconscious of the shock their dignity will get when the waggon jolts across the huge beam at the bottom of the gate, and knocks their pretty heads together, disarranging their hair and worse still, mayhap, breaking their combs. But that is after all a trifle when compared to their alarm if a horse so much as neighs. On this account the gallants of the Court amuse themselves by slyly goading the horses with spear and arrow point to make them rear and plunge and frighten the wenches home in fear and trembling. How silly, too, the men-at-arms look, their foolish faces painted with dabs of white here and there upon their swarthy cheeks, like patches of snow left on a hillside from a thaw.

"Then there is the 15th of the 1st month, when appointments for the next four years are made. How eagerly candidates for office rush here and there through falling snow and sleet, with their memorials in their hands. Some have the jaunty air and confidence of youth, but others—more experienced, are weary and dejected-looking. How the old white-headed suitors crave an audience of the ladies of the palace and babble to them of their fitness for the places they seek. Ah! little do they suspect when they have turned their backs, what mirth they have occasioned! How the ladies mimic them—whining and drawling!"

#### MISERIES OF AN EXORCIST.

The exorcist seems to have been a special object of our author's sympathy. She makes frequent reference to him, and always in terms of pity :

"How I pity an exorcist! It is bad enough I am sure to be an ordinary priest, but to be a holy man who professes to drive out evil spirits, one must indeed lead a miserable life. His ordinary food is the fasting diet of others. He dare not look upon a pretty face, however much he may long to do so, not even if he comes by chance upon a crowd of beauties—though perhaps he does so surreptitiously. He meets with all sorts of hardships amongst the mountains where he

is bound to pass his solitary life; and even when his reputation comes to be established his lot is hardly better. For no matter how exhausted he may be, if he only nods from want of sleep when he is called in to a man who is possessed, he is scolded for a lazy rogue. No matter what his inward troubles may be, when he comes into a room he must assume a consequential air and purse his mouth and try to look as if he doubted not his power to set everything right at once. He hands bells and maces to all the household, and grinds out his chaunt in tones like the note of the *semi* (cicada).

"But suppose his spells are a failure, and the benign influence of no avail. What mortification is in store for him! He sees the people who assist begin to doubt his power and sanctity. Yet he must not stop. Hour after hour he chants and prays in desperation, until he finds it hopeless to continue. At last he has to tell them to get up from their knees. He must take his bells and maces back, and with downcast look admit that he cannot break the spell. How sad his rueful face as he ruffles up his hair, and his forehead! How wearily he yawns and sighs and flings himself upon the mats to sleep!"

#### VISIT OF THE EMPRESS TO A MINISTER OF STATE.

"To-day the Empress went to visit the Daijin Narimasa. As the main gate of his residence is very large, her carriage entered easily. Would that we had entered with her! Preferring, however, for many reasons to avoid all observation, we went round and tried to drive in by the northern gate, which was unguarded and seemed deserted. We particularly desired to enter unobserved, because most of us, having been summoned hastily to attend our mistress, had not had time to dress our hair or to change our garments. 'This will be delightful,' said we; 'we'll make the carriage draw up at the very door and slip in quietly.' When, to our horror and consternation, with a fearful bump the unlucky vehicle stuck fast in the gate. What a predicament! Here were we caught in a trap, and unable either to advance or to retreat. It was raining heavily, and to make matters as bad as possible we were but lightly clad. Mats were, however, laid down for us from the carriage to the door, along which, whether we liked it or not, we had to walk.

What added most to our mortification and annoyance were the winks and nudges which we plainly saw exchanged between the courtiers, the gauntlet of whose mirth we had to run in our semi-clad condition. When we met the Empress and told her of our troubles, we got little satisfaction. Her Majesty only laughed at us and rebuked us for our untidiness. 'There are people staring at you now,' said she. 'Yes,' we returned, 'but they are our own people and we are accustomed to them. Just to think of a Minister of State having a beggarly gate through which a lady's carriage cannot pass! Won't he catch it when we see him!' And indeed, I had my revenge, for hardly had we done speaking, when in he came carrying the Empress's inkstone and writing materials. 'This is too bad of you,' said I. 'Why do you live in a house with such a wretched gate?' To which he replied that he was satisfied to believe that his house and his gate suited his requirements. 'Indeed,' said I,—determined to extinguish him with a quotation—'how little, then, you resemble that Chinese philosopher who, thinking more of the comfort of posterity than his own, had a gate constructed much too large for his necessities.' This historical allusion quite took his breath away. 'Dear me!' said the great man, 'you allude of course to the country of Utei. Who would have thought that anybody but a venerable pundit knew aught of that? I myself have occasionally strayed into the learned paths and fully understand you.' 'Indeed, then,' returned I, 'I must say I don't admire your paths at all. We were all very much put out by being obliged to walk along your matted paths.' 'Indeed, I am truly sorry,' he replied; 'and it was raining too. But I must attend the Empress;' saying which he made his escape.

"'What has put the Daijin out?' said the Empress, somewhat later in the evening. 'I cannot tell, I am sure,' said I; 'I only told him of our misfortune at his gate.'"

Here is a pretty bit of colour, delicate in the original as the sketch of a master upon a fan, but sadly blurred and smudged, it must be admitted, in the transfer to our canvas:—

"On the northern side of the Emperor's pavilion, where he is won't to take his exercise, the sliding doors have fearful pictures painted on them. These hideous monsters, all arms and legs, may be seen from the upper windows of the ladies' quarters, when the pavilion doors are

open. It chanced one day, that whilst sitting on the verandah and talking of these dreadful figures, the Dainagon—the brother of the Empress—came towards our room. He had on a cherry-coloured outer garment just old enough to have lost its stiffness and to fit him easily. Loose trowsers of thickest purple silk, and white silk underclothing, showing at the neck, completed his attire. As the Empress was engaged with the Emperor at the time, he sat himself upon the narrow verandah outside their door and talked with the Mikado. We saw them plainly through the semi-transparent curtains which were hung all round the room. What a pretty picture it was, and how lively ! The gay dresses of the waiting women adorned with *Wistaria*, the yellow *Kerria*, and flowers of other kinds—the sound of the attendants bringing in the Emperor's mid-day meal, and the officials calling to them to make less noise, and last of all the Chamberlain himself coming to announce dinner served, and then retiring to his own apartment. The Dainagon accompanied the Emperor to his dining room, and then returning to our quarters, stood beneath a huge blue porcelain vase in which were placed some branches of the flowering cherry full five feet long and loaded with blossoms. The Empress perceiving him, emerged from behind the curtain and gave him greeting, to which he courteously replied by descanting on the beauty of the place, the fineness of the day, and the good deportment of the servants, alluding, in conclusion, to the verse of poetry which says,

The days and months roll on,  
But the mount of Mimoro remains forever.

This whole scene impressed me deeply, and I wished in my heart that it might continue forever."

#### THE MEMORABLE ATTACK OF THE DOG OKINAMARO UPON THE CAT MIYŌBU-NO-OTOTÖ.

"The distinguished cat which was the subject of this adventure was a special favourite of His Majesty Ichijō-no-in, and in constant attendance upon the Imperial footsteps. As a reward for her fidelity, she had received a cap of honour and had been raised to the 3rd rank of nobility, with the title of Miyōbu-no-Ototo, or chief of the female

attendants. She was indeed a cat of many graces and good qualities. Now one day she happened to be basking in the sun on the verandah, after the manner of cats, when her nurse—a lady specially appointed to that honorable office—disapproving of her attitude in repose, besought her to come indoors. Had she but listened to this reasonable counsel, how much trouble might have been avoided! Being, however, in a wilful and disobedient mood, she turned a deaf ear to the nurse's entreaties, and, maintaining her position, continued to slumber unconcernedly. This was provoking. What was to be done? It was plain that as the cat was not to be managed by love, some other method must be resorted to. In an evil moment the old lady resolved to try what fear would do. So pretending to seek assistance from the dog, she called out "Okinamaro, Okinamaro, come and bite Miyōbu-no-Ototo." The foolish dog, mistaking jest for earnest, on being thus appealed to, lost no time in flying at the cat, who, rudely wakened from her nap, jumped up and in her fright dashed headlong behind the very screen where His Imperial Majesty was at that moment engaged at breakfast, and sought protection in his arms. His Majesty, much shocked and agitated, sent immediately for his Lord High Chamberlain, Tadetaka, and gave orders that Okinamaro should be thrashed forthwith and exiled to Dog Island. 'Such is our Royal will,' said he; 'see that you lose no time in executing it.' All the Court attendants hereupon gave chase to Okinamaro who, being caught and beaten, was forthwith banished. Was it not sad? He had hitherto been such a happy dog, and was much esteemed. To think that he it was who on the third day of the third month had been carried in procession in a willow litter with peach blossoms and hollyhocks upon his head. Ah! little dreamt he that in a few short days he would become an outcast. The nurse was also punished and reprimanded for her carelessness and finally dismissed. She received her fate with humility, and appeared no more before the Emperor."

The above extracts (which there has been no attempt to translate literally) give but an inadequate idea of the very varied contents of this entertaining miscellany. A curious feature of it is a number of enumerations of things which struck the author as being "dismal," "abominable," "incongruous" (as bad writing on pink-tinted paper,

"purple trousers on a serving man") "unsightly," etc., etc. In the last-named category, the author very appropriately reckons "the wrong side of a bit of embroidery," the "inside of a cat's ear," and "a litter of young rats which have been tumbled out of their nest before their hair has grown." Then she has lists of flowers, telling which are her favourites. Other parts read like a lesson in geography, but the names of rivers, lakes, mountains, and waterfalls have the appearance of being selected for poetical purposes rather than by way of general information.

But this grave and learned society has doubtless had enough of these frivolities, which read tame and pointless when divested of that charm of style which has preserved the original from oblivion during nine centuries. Indeed, this paper was condemned by its authors as soon as written, and if it had not fallen under the eyes of more lenient judges would probably never have seen the light at all. It may serve a useful purpose, however, if it directs the attention of students to one of the pleasantest by-paths of the ancient classical literature of Japan.

## A VOCABULARY OF THE MOST ANCIENT WORDS OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE.

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By B. H. CHAMBERLAIN, ASSISTED BY M. UEDA.

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[*Read 16th May, 1888.*]

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If we are ever to find out anything positive concerning the origin and affinities of the Japanese language, surely the first thing to do is to study that language in the earliest form of it that has come down to us. Indeed it is almost a truism to say so. Who would take Italian as his standard, when Latin is there ready for the measuring-tape and the weighing-machine? Nevertheless, and although Europeans have been studying Japanese for well-nigh three hundred years, and have been disputing about its origin for the greater portion of that period, no one seems to have thought of taking the essential preliminary step of ascertaining exactly what the oldest and simplest words of the language are.

The question of grammar is a less difficult one in the present case. Great practical dissimilarity between the earliest and latest forms of Japanese does not obscure the fact of a theoretical identity. In the languages of Western Europe we see a gradual change of grammatical system, ending in some cases,—that of English for instance,—in so complete an alteration of physiognomy, that it would be hard to believe that the ancient and the modern belong to the same family of speech, were it not that the intermediate forms have been preserved. Japanese, on the contrary, has gone on repeating itself. The spirit of its grammatical system is the same now as it was twelve hundred years ago, although the material elements of the conjugation are much changed. For comparative purposes, therefore, a study of any good grammar of

the Colloquial will do nearly as well as a perusal of a treatise specially devoted to the Classical or Archaic dialect. It will be seen at a glance that Japanese is an agglutinative tongue, that it is the grammatical *alter ego* of Korean, and extremely like Mongol and Manchu, which latter are included in the Altaic group.

But if the history of Japanese grammar bears no resemblance to that of English grammar, the history of the Japanese vocabulary does bear a marked resemblance to that of the English vocabulary. Later Japanese, like later English, has been interpenetrated by foreign elements; and no investigation of the language can be fruitful which does not take cognizance of this fact. But here a question suggests itself:—"In the case of English, the native Saxon and the imported French or Latin can be proved to derive ultimately from one common Aryan source. Now may not the same phenomenon exist in Japanese? May not the genuinely native vocabulary turn out after all to be related to the apparently foreign Chinese element imported into it during historic times?"

It is precisely this question which has recently been answered in the affirmative by two Chinese scholars of such repute as Dr. J. Edkins and Mr. E. H. Parker, in papers contributed by them to the last volume of these "Transactions." Dr. Edkins's paper is, indeed, short and somewhat enigmatical. Perhaps the learned doctor had not full leisure to give himself up to his subject. Mr. Parker's thesis, on the contrary, is worked out with all the thoroughness, as well as with all the daring, by which he is so eminently distinguished. He supports his views by means of an annotated vocabulary, wherein several hundreds of Japanese words are compared with Chinese words of more or less similar sound and meaning; and the particular conclusion he arrives at is stated by him in these terms: "Before Chinese was imported into 'Japanese (1) directly, and (2) indirectly, through Korea,—say before "A. D. 1—the Japanese spoke a language, the great majority of words "in which came from the same language-stock as Chinese." In other passages of his writings, Mr. Parker seems to have in view, less a common derivation of Chinese and Japanese from a single stock, than the wholesale derivation of Japanese from Chinese. Be this as it may, and though I myself was, I think, the first European to point out the

probability that some words hitherto regarded as pure Japanese are probably Chinese importations after all,—for instance *uma*, “a horse,” from Chinese 馬 (*ma*); *ame*, “a plum-tree,” from Chinese 梅 (*mei*), both names of things which were almost certainly introduced into Japan from China or Korea;—notwithstanding this, I confess that I am not yet converted to a belief either in the theory of a common origin for the two languages, or in that of wholesale borrowing by one from the other.

The agglutinative grammatical system of Japanese, whether ancient or modern, differs more from the isolating grammatical system of Chinese, whether ancient or modern, than Aryan grammar does from Semitic. The construction of sentences, the whole syntax, shows a divergence no less radical. In every point of grammar, even down to the smallest, Japanese agrees with Korean; in almost all it agrees with Mongol and Manchu, while none of the four agree with Chinese. Nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which Chinese and Japanese have clung each to its own principles during the whole time that the history of these languages is known to us, that is to say at least twelve hundred years in the case of Japanese, and between two and three thousand years in the case of Chinese. If there is no trace of a grammatical *rapprochement* even twelve hundred years ago, at what period of thousands or tens of thousands of years ago are we expected to postulate a hypothetical unity? And if, even in the case of historically certain borrowings, we find such dissimilarity as there is, for instance, between Japanese *ō* and Chinese *ying* 莺, “to correspond,” what clue can there be to guide us in our gropings through the darkness of scores of bygone ages? Mr. Parker’s ear discovers a similarity between Japanese *iro*, “colour,” and Chinese *色* (*set* or *shih*). But if *iro* is like *set*, what word is not like every other? It is true that related words in European languages sometimes sound very differently. English “bead” is etymologically the same as French “*chef*.” But the clue which enables the connection between such words to be discovered, the basis on which repose certain definite and well recognised laws of letter-change, is community of grammar. Now community of grammar is precisely what Chinese and Japanese lack.

On the other hand, if it is claimed that the Japanese vocabulary has been borrowed from that of China, all sorts of difficulties seem to me

to stand in the way. Japanese,—and it is important to insist on this point,—is of all languages the most given to repeating itself. It varies in outward details, it appropriates new materials *en masse*, but it never strikes out new methods so far as our twelve centuries' experience of it reaches. Now there is a striking peculiarity in the manner of Japanese borrowing from Chinese during the period open to our inspection. It is this:—nouns only are so borrowed; or, if other words are borrowed, they are forthwith converted into nouns. Words of Chinese origin are never used as verbs. I should say hardly ever; but the exceptions are really so few, as practically not to invalidate the truth of the assertion. Here are the exceptions. In modern Japanese we have the verb *rikimū*, “to swagger,” apparently derived from the Chinese word 里 (riki), “strength,” and the verb *ryōri*, “to cook,” derived from the Chinese words 烹 烹 (ryō ri), “cooking.” In Mediæval Japanese I have met in one passage with the word *mondawaru*, a conjugational form barbarously derived from the Chinese expression *mon dō*, 同 着. The Chinese term 着 着 (shō zoku), “garb,” “dress,” was also formerly conjugated as a verb with the gerund *shōzokite*, “having dressed.” But both these latter words have fallen into disuse. And this is the whole tale of such cases! So far, therefore, as experience goes, Japanese has not derived any of its conjugated words from Chinese during the last twelve centuries. But the hypothesis of wholesale borrowing assumes that conjugated words develop from Chinese originals as easily as nouns do.

Whatever may be thought of this reasoning, grammatical arguments are by no means the only ones which prevent us from accepting the borrowing hypothesis. History steps in, and asks how the borrowing could have taken place. Nations can only borrow words from the foreigners whom they meet, and under primitive conditions they never meet any but their nearest neighbours. But the Chinese and Japanese were not near neighbours in early days. The Chinese territory has not always extended to the sea; and even had it done so, primitive people do not cross wide seas. Korea, with Tsushima as a stepping-stone, was the only likely road from the continent of Asia to Japan. That it actually *was* the road is shown by all sorts of references in the mythology, the traditions and early history of these islands. Now there is no evidence of any language of the Chinese type having ever

been spoken in Korea. Korea was not even conquered by the Chinese till the second century before Christ. Accordingly we find that it is not until after that time,—not until considerably after that time (about 200 A. D.),—that the first accounts of Japan which testify to real intercourse and knowledge begin to make their appearance in the Chinese annals.<sup>1</sup> The Japanese names which these accounts quote—though unfortunately all too scanty,—support the opinion that the Japanese language then was substantially identical with the language as we know it from the native documents of five hundred years later. And to say five hundred years is really to overstate the interval. For though the documents themselves,—the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, and *Man-yōshū*,—date from the eighth century, they are simply compilations containing material of a much earlier period,—poetry which can well stand the wear and tear of time and of oral tradition, especially when invested, as some of this poetry was, with a partially sacred character.

We are thus led to the inference that the Japanese, when discovered by the Chinese, spoke substantially the same language as that used by them at the present day. Now we know positively that the process of borrowing has proceeded with increasing rapidity during the historic period, in other words that it was much less active in early times than it has been in recent times. But the theory under consideration would require that it should have been much more active and more thorough at the beginning than the end. Or, if it is not borrowing, but original organic unity which Mr. Parker has in view, then what we are invited to suppose is this: that two languages, one found in the middle of a continent (viz. in the upper part of the valley of the Hoang Ho), and the other in an archipelago beyond the seas, far away from that secluded valley, are related, although their grammatical systems are utterly unrelated, and although history points to the occupation of the intermediate territory by races speaking languages not cognate to either.

Such are some of the *a priori* difficulties in the way of our acceptance of Mr. Parker's theory. An examination of his list of words does not tend to allay our doubts. Some of the identifications are indeed ingenious; for Mr. Parker rarely attacks a subject without

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Aston's learned paper on "Early Japanese History," in Part I. of this volume.

leaving luminous traces of his passage. Some may be true instances of early borrowing. How disprove any thing when we pass beyond the reach of documentary evidence? But there are cases where documentary evidence does come in, and where it proves that those particular identifications are illusory. Take, for instance, the word *deki*, "can," the fourth on his list. Considering it as an original and simple word, his quick glance leads him to connect it with the Chinese 得 (toku), meaning "to get," hence "to achieve." The sound is like, and the sense is like. No, not really! The similarity is a deceptive one. *Deiki* is but a modern corruption. The original word was *ide-kuru*, a compound signifying "to come out." Indeed *deki* itself has retained that meaning in certain cases, as where it is applied to anything which comes out on the skin, such as a boil or an eruption. But in other cases the verb *ide-kuru*, whence *deki*[ru], passed from the sense of "coming out" to that of "happening," hence "being able to be," "can." All the changes in the meaning of the word belong to comparatively recent times.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Parker's twelfth word, *kaku*, "to sketch," is, on the contrary, one which leads us very far back. The identification of it with the like-meaning and like-sounding Chinese 画 (kaku) is illusory, for the simple reason that the Japanese word *kaku* did not begin by meaning "to sketch" at all. It meant "to scratch." In like manner his twenty-first word *tsuki*, "a month," began by meaning "the moon." If, therefore, it really has any connection with the Chinese word 月 (saku), it is not enough to show that the sense of "month" may be derived from *saku*. It would be necessary to prove the derivation of the sense of "moon" from the same source.

Again, Mr. Parker would connect Japanese *miya*, "a Shintō shrine," with the Chinese 廟 miao, "a shrine," especially "a Buddhist shrine." The likeness of sound is certainly great. So is the likeness of the ideas, especially to such as have not had the opportunity of realising the profound distinction drawn by the Japanese between things Buddhist

<sup>2</sup> The original signification of the word is still preserved in certain provincial dialects. Thus, as the Rev. E. B. Miller informs me, the Nambu people use *deki* where the Tōkyō people have *dēn*, and vice-versa. For instance, the phrase "He has gone out" will there be *Dekita*, whereas "It is well done" will be *Yoku deta*.

and things Shintō. Unfortunately, however, for the identification in question, a reference to the earliest books in the Japanese language shows *miya* to be a purely native word, a compound of *mi*, "venerable," and *ya*, "house," *ya* itself being an old gerundive form connected with the verb *iru* (*iru*), "to dwell." *Miya* therefore originally meant "a venerable dwelling," and was accordingly used both of the palaces of the native emperors and of the temples of the native gods. *Mikado*, lit. "the venerable gate," hence "the Imperial Court," "the Emperor," is another word formed from the same honorific *mi* and *kado*, "a gate." On the other hand Mr. Parker's number 92, *netsu*, "heat," "fever," is simply a Chinese word and acknowledged to be such, because known to have been imported during the early middle ages. There is therefore no need for identification in its case. *Natsu*, on the contrary, which he includes under the same rubric, has been a Japanese word from time immemorial. To identify it with *netsu* is to draw a bow at a venture. Indeed the probabilities are against two words so widely separated in time retaining so nearly the same sound, even if they were really originally connected.<sup>8</sup>

Similar negative criticism would dispose of great numbers of words on Mr. Parker's list. But the few instances which have been given may suffice to show the pitfalls into which even so eminent a scholar as he may be led by disregard of the fact that, Japanese being a language with a long and eventful history, a critical knowledge of that history is the indispensable basis for a sound Japanese philology. If the so-called "rules of letter-change," by which the comparison between Chinese and Japanese is guided, produce such errors where we can check the result by the application of the historical method, what confidence can we feel in the more numerous cases where we cannot thus check the result?

One of the arguments which Mr. Parker incidentally brings forward is a peculiarly ingenious one. Fearing that the identification of Japanese *iro*, "colour," with Chinese 色 (*set* or *shih*) may strain the credence of even the friendliest of his readers, he points out the

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Aston suggests that *natsu* may be connected with Korean *nyōrūm*, which has the same signification, the final *ām* being a mere termination, and Korean *r* or *l* corresponding regularly to final *tsu* or *dzu* in Japanese.

remarkable coincidence whereby the Chinese and Japanese words thus compared signify not only "colour," but "love" (in a bad sense),—"venery," as Mr. Parker styles it. Chinese *色* (*iset* or *shik*) means "colour" and "love;" Japanese *iro* likewise means "colour" and "love."

Now at first sight the coincidence seems so extraordinary, that the greatest sceptic must feel almost persuaded to turn believer. How could two unrelated languages possibly agree to hit on precisely the same metaphor? But just look round a moment on the languages of Europe, and see what you find there. Is it not, for instance, a most striking coincidence that exactly the same figure of speech which has produced the word *demi-monde* in French should have produced the parallel word *Halbwelt* in German? Does it not amount to a miracle that precisely the same figure of speech should occur in Russian, and even in modern Japanese itself?—No! it is not a miracle at all. There is no coincidence at all; the case is simply one of borrowing. A French author started the idiom, his compatriots adopted it, and other nations, thinking it good, have translated it. That is all. Or take a more ancient case, the case of the word "case" itself, as used by grammarians. The Greeks, on analysing their language, found that nouns had various forms. One of these (the nominative) they considered to be the standard, the natural form, the form which, as it were, stood erect and self-reliant, while the other four appeared to them to be "fallings away" from the standard, inclinations, deflections, inflections. The metaphor was perhaps not a very happy one. Nevertheless the Latins adopted and translated it, rendering the Greek *πτώσις* from *πίπτω*, "to fall," by their own *casus* from *cadere*, "to fall." The Germans followed suit with the word "Fall" from *fallen*, "to fall," then again the Russians with *padezh* from *padat*, "to fall," so that at last the poor faded little Greek metaphor conquered the whole grammatical world. And borrowing of this kind,—that is, the borrowing of a foreign idea and the fitting of that idea to a native word, is one of the most powerful engines in the transformation of language. It has altered and enriched the whole manner of speaking of civilised nations. All Europe speaks in idioms translated from alien tongues, and especially from Greek and from French.

Well, the case of Japanese *iro* meaning "colour" and also "love," and of Chinese 色 (*set* or *shik*) likewise meaning "colour" and also "love," is exactly parallel to that of *πρᾶσις* and its various equivalents in other languages, or of *demi-monde* and its German and Russian equivalents. We can prove, by reference to the early poetry of Japan, that the word *iro* formerly meant "colour" only. It took the sense of "love" or "venery" later on, owing to Chinese influence.<sup>4</sup> Dozens of such cases of "coincidence" might be quoted, which would lend themselves admirably to the function of mare's nests. For instance take the word *michi*, "road." How surprising it seems at first sight that this Japanese term should denote, not only "road" but "doctrine," exactly as the Chinese word 途 (*tao*) does! But examine Archaic Japanese, and you will find, in the first place, that *michi* is merely a compound of the already mentioned honorific prefix *mi*, and of *chi* or rather *ti* (also *te*), the original word for "road," and secondly that neither *ti*, *te* nor *michi* was ever used in early times to denote the idea of "doctrine." The term meant "road" and nothing more. The sense of "doctrine" was added in early classical times through literal translation of the Chinese idiom. Is not this a curious consideration? Does it not show what scrupulous care, what minute criticism, must be used in dealing with questions of such delicacy? In philology, at least, to cut the Gordian knot is not to untie it.

Put into two words, my position then is briefly this: Beyond the fact that its grammatical system closely resembles that of Korean and of the Eastern Altaic languages, the affinities of Japanese are still altogether obscure. The only way in which we can usefully employ ourselves at present is in collecting facts. The day for grand generalisations has not yet come. In any case, whether the day for generalisations has come or whether it has not come, all will agree that, for comparative purposes, the oldest form of the Japanese language must be the best. There is more difference between the language of a modern Japanese newspaper and that of an ode in the *Kojiki* or *Man-yōshū* than there is between a modern Greek newspaper and the language of Homer.

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<sup>4</sup>The earliest instance of its use in the new sense would seem to occur in the *Ise Monogatari*, a classical romance of uncertain date and authorship.

But there does not exist any vocabulary of the oldest, and none but the oldest, Japanese words. The native Japanese dictionaries do not distinguish the Archaic dialect, i.e. the language previous to the eighth century of the Christian era, from the Classical, i.e. the language down to the thirteenth century. I therefore determined to go through the materials which are most important for this investigation, with the help of a promising young scholar, Mr. Ueda Maunen, who took upon himself a portion of the necessary reading. The result is the vocabulary now offered to the Society. It is imperfect, no doubt. Neither Mr. Ueda nor myself have much leisure. The consequence is that numbers of words may have escaped us, especially of the rarer ones. Then, too, a small misfortune happened one day. There was a sudden gust of wind, and off fluttered a little pile of slips into the garden, and some of them out beyond the garden; and I never could make quite sure how many there were nor which they were that thus got lost. A much graver consideration is suggested by the fact that the Archaic literature is of small compass. We may, therefore, well suppose that numbers of words, only known to us as Classical or Colloquial words, were really Archaic also, though they do not happen to occur in Archaic texts. Sometimes there are indications to help us out, for instance in the case of the Colloquial word *uso*, "a lie," which does not even occur in the Classical literature, but whose continuous existence from the earliest times is rendered probable by the occurrence of the word *usoso* with apparently the same signification in one of the *Man-yōshū* odes. But as a rule this difficulty is one not to be guarded against. However, all deductions made, I venture to think that the list even now contains most of the words which are really important,—the radical words if one may so style them. By "radical words" I do not mean the "roots" of some scholars, those extremely problematical monosyllables which spring partly from a comparison of like-sounding words, partly from the inner consciousness of the investigator. I mean actual words found in authors, the simplest of such actual words, so far as they can be known. Compounds are of course discarded,—such words, for instance, as the already mentioned *mi-kado*, *mi-ya*, *mi-chi*; such others as *kaga-mi*, "a mirror," (from *kage*, "reflection," and *miru*, "to look"); *ko-ko*, "here" (from *ko*, "this," and *ko*, "place"); *ma-*

*koto*, "truth" (from *ma*, "true," and *koto*, "thing"); *utau*, "to sing" (from *utru* or *utu*, "to beat," and *au*, "to be mutual," i.e. "to beat time in concert"); *waga*, "my," from *wa* or *a*, "I," and *ga*, "of." All such words (and their name is legion) should indeed find their place in a dictionary, whose object it is to give information concerning the current use and signification of terms; but they must be as carefully excluded from a vocabulary intended for comparative purposes. For whoever should take *michi* or *makoto* or *waga*, or any such word, which is really a compound, as a simple word, and compare it with words in other languages, would be following a will-o'-the-wisp. My only fear is that many compounds may still lurk among the words here given as simple ones. All nouns over two syllables and all verbs of over three syllables are to be suspected. The danger is unavoidable in the present rudimentary stage of Japanese philology. One can but do one's best. And I, for one, have a horror of using my imagination in such matters, although I do of course use my spectacles. It is surely better that the results shall be trustworthy, even at the cost of their being scanty.

With regard to inflected words, viz., verbs and adjectives, the method followed has been to present them in the shortest form in which they actually occur. Adjectives are accordingly given in the stem form, as *naga*, *take*, for *nagaki*, *takeki* (Colloquial *nagai*, *takei*). Verbs are given in the conclusive form of the present tense, as *semu* (colloq. *sem eru*), "to press upon," *sugu* (colloq. *sugiru*), "to pass," "to exceed." This plan has the incidental advantage of including under one rubric verbs belonging indifferently to the first and second conjugations, such as *nagaru* or *nagaruru* (Colloq. *nagareru*) "to flow;" *wasuru* or *wasururu* (Colloq. *wasureru*), "to forget," etc., and likewise such pairs of verbs as *aku*, "to open" (intrans.), and *akuru* (Colloq. *akeru*) "to open," (trans.); *oruru* (Colloq. *oreru*), "to break" (intrans.), and *oru*, "to break" (trans.), etc. For the distinction between the first and second conjugations is not fundamental; it is a later growth. Similarly, all such pairs of verbs as *wakaru*, "to be apart," and *wakuru*, "to separate," are given under a single rubric,—in this case *waku*,—such verbs being, in fact, mere compounds of an original shorter verb with

*aru*, "to be," and *uru* "to get." Again, such derivative verbs as *tsunagu*, "to tie," *yadoru*, "to lodge," are not given at all. The nouns *tsuna* (here written *tuna*) and *yado*, from which they are derived, are enough.

Furthermore, it need scarcely be mentioned that words are only given in the senses in which they actually occur in the earliest texts. For instance, the common verb *yomu* will be found in the list, but not with its familiar sense of "to read." Archaic Japanese has no word for "to read." How should it, seeing that the people were ignorant of the use of letters? *Yomu* meant "to count." When the art of reading was introduced, the word for counting was pitched on in a rough and ready fashion to do duty for the idea of reading. The solitary idiom *uta wo yomu*, which means, not to *read* poetry but to *compose* it, is a relic of the original signification of the word. It refers of course to the counting of the syllables in each line. The necessary limits of this paper do not permit me to treat other words in detail after this fashion. To do so would fill not a paper, but a volume, and a large volume. It must suffice thus merely to point towards lines of research which perhaps others may follow up. A beginning has indeed already been made in this direction by Mr. Satow in the notes to his literal translation of the Shintō Rituals,—notes containing more solid matter than goes to the forming of many a thick volume. But what has been done,—valuable as it is,—is but little in comparison with what remains to be done, both philologically and archaeologically. And the charm of the study is that in it one treads on certain ground. Results once obtained are obtained for good. They are not mere speculations, like the theory we have been reviewing.

Only one more item before closing these introductory remarks. Just a word on the subject of orthography. In the absence of a clear knowledge of what the pronunciation of Japanese was at the earliest time of which any traces of the language remain, I have decided to adhere to that system which, by the almost common consent of native scholars, is deemed to represent most truly the pronunciation of early ages. According to this, the *kana* spelling is followed syllable by syllable, and the series

タ チ ツ テ ヲ	is transcribed	ta ti tu te to. <sup>5</sup>
ダ デ ツ デ ド	"	da di du de do.
サ シ ス セ ソ	"	sa si su se so.
ザ ジ ズ ゾ ゾ	"	za zi zu ze zo.
ワ ウ エ ヲ	"	wa wi we wo.

Only in the series ハ ヒ フ ハ \* have I ventured to strike out a new line, and to transcribe thus:—*pa pi pu pe po*. Some scholars, both native and foreign, would prefer *ha, hi, hu, he, ho*, others *fa, fi, fu, fe, fo*. It appears to me that there are sufficient grounds for believing the *h* with which some of the letters of this series are now pronounced to be a corruption of *f*, and the *f* again to be a corruption of *p*. The colloquial use of *p* in such words as *pika-pika*, connected with *hikaru*, “to shine,” and the frequent use of *p* after a nasal and of double *p* in words borrowed from the Chinese and having a *p* in that language point in this direction. But the fact that the *nigori* of the consonant in question is *b* raises the supposition more nearly to the rank of a certainty. Moreover, there is one weighty piece of historical evidence tending in the same direction. It is the transcription of the syllable *u* in the word *himeko* in a Chinese text of the third century by the character 王, of which Dr. Edkins says that its pronunciation as *pi* (not *fi* nor *hi*) is “beyond dispute.” On such a matter Dr. Edkins’s authority ought to be trusted when he speaks so positively; for the history of Chinese sounds is his specialty. Furthermore, he concludes

<sup>5</sup> In transcribing the *Kana* syllables チ and ツ by *ti* and *tu*, rather than by the values *chi* and *tsu* which they bear in modern pronunciation, I may seem to be disregarding the justly great authority of Mr. Satow, as expressed in his paper entitled “Reply to Dr. Edkins on *Chi* and *Tsu*,” and printed in Vol. viii of these “Transactions.” As I interpret that paper, however, Mr. Satow does not reject the idea of a very early *t* pronunciation of syllables now having *ch* and *ts*. All that he claims for the latter sounds is an antiquity greater by some centuries than that which Dr. Edkins had at first been willing to allow them. It is surely hardly necessary to add that the system of spelling followed in this paper is adopted for the purposes of this paper only. For all ordinary purposes I follow Dr. Hepburn and the Romanisation Society. The latter authorities consistently follow the modern pronunciation, and are therefore strictly scientific from one point of view. I, in this paper, follow what I believe to be the nearest attainable approach to the pronunciation of Archaic times. The leading principle is the same. The result is different only because the principle is applied to different data.

from it, as I would conclude from the consensus of all the evidence, that "we are warranted in regarding all Japanese words beginning with *h* as having in the third century begun with *p*." The chief reason, probably, that will make students of Japanese, and especially Japanese students of their own language, hesitate to endorse the *p* spelling of such words is one founded, not in logic but in custom. The familiar words look odd in such a garb. But, without wandering further than our native English, the labours of philologists have proved the occurrence of extraordinary changes of pronunciation within a few centuries; and the same could probably be shown to be true of almost every tongue. For myself, I do not wish to be bigoted in this matter of the transcription of the Japanese *ハ ハ フ ハ ハ* series by *p*. Considerable uncertainty hangs over the ancient pronunciation. The original letter may have been either *p*, *ph* (i.e. *p* + *h*) or *f*. It could hardly have been *h*. All that we know with tolerable certainty is that it was a labial surd. There is nothing in particular to show that it was aspirated. Under all the circumstances, therefore, it seems best to transcribe it by *p*, until such time as the superior suitability of *ph* or of *f* shall have been demonstrated. It is surely hardly worth while to remark that the modern pronunciation is untrustworthy as a guide in such matters. That will be admitted by all who have studied the subject. The only thing is to follow the *Kana* spelling. One does indeed sometimes wish to be able to get behind that spelling to a still more ancient stage of the phonetics of the language. Two native scholars, Messrs. Kurokawa Mayori and Tatsumi Kojirō, have actually endeavored to distinguish between *ru* and *u* in the single *Kana* letter *ゝ*, and between *yi* and *i* in the single *Kana* letter *ゝ*. But, as they follow no rule but their own imagination, I have not been able to make use of their alleged discoveries.

With these introductory remarks, I commend the vocabulary to the kind indulgence of competent critics. My object will have been attained, if Orientalists are induced to see how essential it is, in all questions of Japanese philology, to take the Archaic form of the language as the standard of comparison. It will be more than attained if any are led on hereby to the discovery of new facts in this almost virgin field.

## A.

*a*, a net. Probably by apocope for *ami*, a net, formed from *amu*, to net. Still as we find the compounds *a-biki*, drawing in a net, and *a-go*, a fisherman, it is possible that *a* was the original word, whence the verb *amu*, as *paramu* from *para*, etc.

*a* or *are*, I. The *re* is probably an agglutinated suffix. See s. v.

*a*, foot, leg. Possibly by apocope for *ashi*, which has the same meaning. Still, a consideration of the many very ancient compounds into which it enters, may make it a more probable opinion that *a* is the original word, and *ashi* but a compound. Undoubted compounds are *a-bumi*, stirrup, from *a* and *pumi*, to tread; *a-gura*, throne or seat, from *a* and *kura*, a seat; *ayupi*, leggings, from *a* and *yupu*, to tie; *a-oto*, the sound of footsteps, from *a* and *oto*, sound, etc.

*a*, also *aze* and *azu*, a dike between rice-fields.

*abura*, oil, grease, fat of any kind. In the earliest passage where the word occurs, it would seem to have the still vaguer signification of liquid of any kind. Mr. Aston suggests that it may be connected with *apuru* (modern *afureru*), "to overflow," which, though not happening to occur in the archaic texts, is probably an old word.

*adi*, a species of teal.

*adisawi*, the hydrangea bush. A compound, but of what?

*aduki*, a species of small, red bean.

*aduku*, to give in charge.

*adusa*, the catalpa-tree, used for making bows.

*agu*, to lift, to raise. Hence many derivatives, e.g. *agapu*, to compensate; *aga-ta*, upland rice-fields, i.e., rice-fields in the dry.

• *aka*, brilliant, hence red; possibly connected with *aki*, clear, and with *aku*, to open.

*aki*, autumn.

*aki*, clear,—as in *aki-raka*, clear; *aki-ra-muru*, to make clear.

*aku*, to open.

*aku*, to be satiated.

*akuta*, dust, dirt.

*ama*, sweet.

*ama* or *ame*, the sky, heaven, rain. Possibly two originally different

terms,—one meaning heaven and the other rain,—may have converged into one. In the sense of rain we also find *same* in quite a number of compounds, such as *ko-same*, *mura-same*, *paru-same*, *pi-same*. The insertion of a euphonic *s* being no usual feature of Japanese phonetics, are we to look on *same* as a separate word, or as a corruption of *ame*?

*ama*, many, as in *ama-neki*, many; *amaru*, to remain over; *amasu*, to leave over; *ama-ta*, many.

*amu*, to net. *Ama*, a fisherman, and *ami*, a net, are participial formations from this verb.

*amu*, to bathe.

*amu*, a horse-fly.

*ana*, a hole.

*ana!* ah! alas!

*ani*, not. Used independently, and also as a suffix, as in *sir'ani*, not knowing, from *siru*, to know.

*apa*, foam.

*apa*, millet.

*apabi*, the sea-ear.

*apare!* alas! what a pity!

*apu*, to meet, to be together, to do or be anything in company or mutually.

*apu*, to endure, to dare.

*apugu*, to wave, to fan.

*apupi*, the name of a plant,—the holly-hock.

*apuru* or *aburu*, to put close to the fire.

*aputi*, the name of a tree,—a species of melia.

*ara*, rough, new. This is a word very fruitful in derivatives, e.g. *aru*, to storm; *arare*, hail; *arashi*, a storm; *arata* (or, by metathesis, *ataru*), new. Probably also *ara-kazime*, beforehand; *arawasu*, to reveal; *aru*, to be born.

*ara-kazime*, beforehand, first. See *ara*.

*arapasu*, to reveal. See *ara*.

*aru*, to be born. See *ara*.

*aru*, (there) to be, there is.

*aru*, to wither.

*aruku*, or *ariku*, to walk. Possibly connected with *a*, the foot or leg.

*asa*, hemp.

*asa*, shallow, more rarely short.

*asa, asita*, or *asu*, morning, morrow.

*asaru*, to fish.

*ase*, sweat.

*asi*, a reed, a rush.

*asi*, the foot, the leg. See *a* (8).

*asi*, bad.

*aso*, a title of nobility.

*asobu*, to frolic, to play.

*ata* or *ada*, bad conduct, uselessness, a foe.

*atapu*, to give. See *atu* (1).

*ataru*, new. See *ara*.

*ataru*, also *watari*, neighbourhood, environs. Compare *atu*, to place near.

*ato*, a track, a trace. Possibly connected with *a*, foot or leg.

*atu*, to place near, to put upon, to fix on. Hence *atapu* (for *ate apu*), to give.

*atu*, hot.

*atu*, thick. Perhaps originally the same word as the preceding.

*atuma* or *aduma*, the east. The native derivation of this word *a ga tuma*, my wife, is untenable.

*atumu*, to collect.

*awi*, woad; hence a blue colour.

*awo*, green, blue. Probably connected with the preceding. It is thought also to mean white in some contexts.

*aya*, an ornament, a pattern, hence damask.

*aya*, an adverb or interjection corresponding somewhat to our word very.

*ayamatu*, to err. The termination *matu* is obscure. The initial syllables *aya* may possibly be identical with those of *ayasi*, strange and bad. If so, *aya* may have been originally a noun denoting something evil and uncanny.

*ayame*, the sweet flag. Probably from *aya*, an ornament or pattern.

*ayasi*, strange,—in a bad sense. Conf. *ayamatu*.

*ayu*, the east (wind).

*ayu*, a kind of trout.

*ayu*, to ripen.

*ayumu*, to walk.

## B.

*be(si)*. Must, shall, may.—The initial *b* probably represents an older *p*. It occurs in no other word.

## D.

*dani*, at least, even. The initial *d* occurs in no other word, and probably represents an older *t*.

## F. (See under P.).

## G.

*ga*, of. The form *go* also occurs, but seems to be less original.

*gari*, the place where a person is.

*gatera* or *gateri*, while.

*goto*, each, every, similar, like.—The initial *g* occurs in no other words, and probably represents an older *k*.

## H. (See under P.).

## I.

*i*, sleep. Conf. *nu*, to sleep.

*i* or *itu*, five. It is uncertain which of the two forms of this numeral is the original one. Judging from the analogy of the other numerals, in which the syllable *tu* is a mere suffix, and from the multiples *i-so*, fifty, and *i-po*, five hundred, one would incline to decide in favour of *i*. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the other even numbers are derived from the odd by a process of vowel-strengthening, thus: 1 *pi-to*, 2 *puta*; 3 *ni*, 6 *mu*; 4 *yo*, 8 *ya*. It is therefore

but natural to postulate a like relation between *itu*, 5, and *to*, 10. According to this view, the syllable *tu* is radical, and the initial *i* may either be radical also, but dropped from *to*, ten; or else it may be an expletive.

*ibu*, indistinct, dim, hence gloomy.

*idaku*, to embrace.

*idu*, to issue forth, to go or come out.

*idu*? what? (adjective).

*ika*? what? how?

*ika*, august.

*ikari*, an anchor.

*ike*, a pond.

*iki*, the breath.

*iku* or *oku*, to live. Probably connected with *iki*, the breath.

*ik(opu)*, to rest. (From the preceding?).

*iku*? how many? Conf. *ika*? what?

*ikuri*, a reef.

*ikusa*, a battle, war.

*ima*, now.

*imada*, still; with a negative, not yet.

*ime*, a dream, same as *yume*.

*imo*, a wife, a sister.

*imo*, a potato.

*imu*, to shuu, (as something unlucky,) to prohibit, to dislike.

*ina*, no.

*ina* or *ine*, rice in the ear. Another form of the word is *sine*. Conf. the remarks on *sane* under *ama* (2).

*inoti*, life. Possibly from *iki no uti*, while breath lasts.

*inu*, to depart.

*inu* or *yenu*, a dog.

*ipa*, a rock.

*ipe*, a house.

*ipi*, food.

*ipo*, a hut.

*ipu*, to say.

*iro*, colour.

*iru*, to aim, to shoot.  
*iru*, to enter, to insert.  
*isa*, or *iso*, brave, energetic.  
*isamu*, to reprove.  
*isatu*, to make violent demonstrations of grief.  
*isay(opu)*, to totter, to be on the verge of.  
*isti*, a stone.  
*iso*, the sea-shore.  
*iso*, busy.  
*ita*, a plank, a board.  
*ita*, violent, painful, sad. Hence *it(opu)*, to dislike, to shun ?  
*itadura*, uselessness.  
*itaru*, to reach.  
*iti*, vigorous, flourishing.  
*iti*, a town.  
*ito*, a thread.  
*itopu*, to dislike, to shun.  
*itu*, when ?  
*itu*, strength.  
*itu*, sacred.  
*itukuri*, pretty.  
*itya*, still more.  
*iyasi*, vile, base.  
*iza*, an exclamation used to call or encourage.  
*izaru*, to fish.

## K.

*ka*, an interrogative or exclamatory particle.  
*ka*, a prefix of no ascertainable meaning.  
*ka*, an odour.  
*ka*, a deer.  
*ka*, a mosquito.  
*ka*, thus.  
*ka* or *ke*, a day.

*ka* or *ke*, a hair.

*ka*, *ko*, or *ku*, a place. These words are probably but variants of the same original.

*kabe*, a wall.

*kabane*, a corpse.

*kad(apu)* or *kad(opu)*, to entice.

*kadi*, a paddle, an oar. This word curiously exemplifies that development in the sense of words, which accompanies the development of inventions. When boats came to be no longer steered by means of a simple oar, but of that differentiated kind of oar which we term a rudder, the word *kadi* passed over into the latter more specialised sense, while the general signification of "oar" was assumed by the imported Chinese word *ro*. *Kadi* is sometimes written *kai*.

*kaga* or *kage*, reflection, shadow, light.

*kagamu*, to bend.

*kaka*, an onomatope for the sound made in drinking water.

*kake*, a cock. Evidently an onomatope.

*kakeru*, to run.

*kaki*, a fence, a hedge.

*kaki*, an oyster.

*kako*, a boatman.

*kaku*, to be flawed, defective, to wane (of the moon).

*kaku*, to hang.

*kaku*, to scratch. Hence later to draw a picture, to paint, to write.

*kakumu*, to surround.

*kakuru*, (intrans.), } to hide.  
*kakusu*, (trans.), }

*kama*, a sickle.

*kama*, a pot used for boiling rice or water.

*kamame*, a sea-gull.

*kam(apu)*, to frame.

*kame*, a jar.

*kame*, a tortoise.

*kami*, a god. See *kamu* (1).

*kami*, above.

*kami*, hair. Perhaps identical with the two preceding, as only the hair of the head is so called. On the other hand, it should be remembered that *ka* also means hairs in general.

*kamo*, a wild-duck.

*kamu* or *kami*, a god. Possibly identical with *kami*, above. But the apparently superior antiquity of the form *kamu* is against this hypothesis, unless we may assume that the *kami* signifying above was also originally *kamu*.

*kamu*, to brew (rice-beer), to distill. In classical and later Japanese it also has the meaning of to munch, to chew, which is probably the radical signification of the word, though not happening to occur in the archaic literature.

*kana*, a carpenter's plane.

*kana* or *kane*, metal.

*kanasi*, sad.

*kane*, sake; as *ta ga kane?* for whose sake?

*kani*, a crab.

*kanu*, to do two things at a time; hence to be unable.

*kapa*, skin, fur, bark, in fact any exterior organic covering.

*kapa*, a river.

*kapo*, a kind of tree, supposed to be an oak.

*kaperu* (intrans.),      }  
*kapesu* (trans.),      } to return.

*kapi*, a shell.

*kapi*, a hollow.

*kapina*, the arm.

*kapo*, the face, perhaps also the whole body.

*kapu*, to exchange, to change.

*kapu*, to keep, to rear (animals).

*kara*, from, since.

*kara*, a husk, any useless and thrown off integument.

*kara*, pungent.

*karamu*, to wind.

*kari*, a wild-goose.

*karo* or *karu*, light (not heavy).

*karu*, to cut, to mow.

*karu*, to be apart, to be separated. It is generally believed by the native etymologists to stand for *wakaru*, from *waku*, to divide. But why should it not be an independent word?

*karu*, to decay, to fade.

*karu*, to hunt.

*karu*, to borrow. Conf. *kasu*.

*kasa*, a pile, a heap.

*kasa*, a hat, a sunshade.

*kasa*, an eruption on the skin.

*kasi* or *kasipa*, a kind of oak.

*kasiko*, awful, hence venerable.

*kasiku*, to boil—said of rice.

*kasi-masi*, rattling, noisy.

*kasu*, dregs, lees.

*kasu*, to lend. It is the transitive corresponding to the (grammatically speaking) intransitive *karu*, to borrow.

*kasoka*, or *kasuka*, distant and indistinct.

*kasumi*, haze or mist in spring. Probably connected with the preceding.

*kata*, side, hence direction, way; also one side, whence partial or defective numerically; also the side of the body, but specifically the shoulders; also the seaside when sandy, a shoal.

*kata*, hard.

*katami*, mutual.

*kataru*, to tell, to recount.

*katati*, shape. Conf. *kata*.

*kati*, on foot,—e. g. crossing a river on foot instead of in a boat.

*katu*, moreover, besides.

*katu*, to conquer.

*katura*, a creeping-plant, hence a head-dress.

*katura*, the cassia-tree.

*kaya*, a kind of rush used to thatch roofs.

*kaza* or *kaze*, the wind.

*kazaru*, to adorn.

*kazu*, number. Hence *kazouru*, to count.

*ke*, food.

*ke*, any small receptacle, e. g. a basket.

*ke*, vapour, spirit, aspect.

*ke*, to vanish, to melt. Probably a contraction of *kiye*, from *kiyu*.

*kedasi*, perhaps, if peradventure.

*keduru*, to comb.

*kepu*, to-day. See *pi* (1).

*kepuri*, smoke.

*kesi*, strange, uncanny.

*kesi*, a garment.

*keta*, the cross-beams of a house.

*ketu*, to cause to vanish or to melt, to extinguish (a fire). Connected with *kiyu*?

*ki*, rice-beer.

*ki*, a verbal suffix indicative of past time.

*ki*, a stockade, a stronghold, any enclosed space, a coffin.

*kigisi* or *kigisu*, a pheasant.

*kiku*, to hear.

*kimi*, a lord, a sovereign.

*kimo*, the liver.

*kinopu*, yesterday. See *pi* (1).

*kinu*, a garment.

*kip( opu )*, to strive.

*kipa*, an edge, the end or limit of anything.

*kiru*, to be misty, hazy.

*kiru*, to cut.

*kiru* or *keru*, to wear, to clothe (oneself).

*kisa*, an elephant.

*kisi*, the shore or bank of the sea or of a river.

*kisu* or *kesu*, to clothe (another). This is the transitive form corresponding to *kiru*, to wear.

*kitana*, dirty.

*kitu*, a fox.

*kiyo*, clear, pure.

*kiyu*, to vanish.

*kizo*, yesterday. Conf. *kozo*.

*kizu*, a wound.

*ko*, a basket.

*ko*, this.

*ko*, a child, a young person of either sex ; hence small.

*ko*, dark-coloured, thick.

*ko* or *ki*, a tree, also the substance wood. This word serves as a suffix to form many names of trees and plants.

*kobotu*, to break.

*kobu*, to flatter.

*kogo*(*siki*), solidified, coagulated.

*kogu*, to row (a boat).

*kogu*, to be charred, burnt.

*koke*, moss or lichen of any sort.

*kokoda*, many, much.

*kokono*, nine.

*kokoro*, the heart. Motowori believes it to be from *koro-koro*, which was, he thinks, a sort of onomatope for the bowels and inward parts generally. *Kokoro*, since early classical times, has been chiefly used to signify the metaphorical heart, the affections. This sense was before then expressed by *ura*, q. v.

*koku*, to pare, to scrape.

*konami*, the elder of several wives.

*komo*, matting.

*komu*, to crowd, to press, to shut in. Hence *komoru*, to be shut up, the colloquial *komaru*, to be bothered, etc.

*koporogi*, a cricket (insect).

*koporu*, to freeze. Perhaps connected with *koru*, to become hard, to coagulate.

*kopu*, to yearn, hence to ask, to love.

*kori*, incense.

*koro*, time.

*korobu*, to fall down, to tumble or roll over.

*koromo*, a garment.

*koru*, to take warning, to profit by experience.

*koru*, to coagulate, to become hard of form.

*koru*, to scold.

*kosi*, the loins.

*kosi*, a palanquin.

*koso*, a highly emphatic particle.

*kosu*, to cross, to go over. Connected with *koyu*.

*kotapu*, to answer. Perhaps from *koto apu*, words (or things) meeting, agreeing.

*koti*, the east wind.

*koto*, a thing (of the mind), a fact, an act. Hence *kotorari*, reason, lit. the division of things.

*koto*, a word. Perhaps identical with the preceding.

*koto*, especially. Perhaps identical with the two preceding.

*koto*, a lute.

*kowa* or *koue*, the voice.

*koworo-koworo*, an onomatope for curdling.

*koyaru* or *koyasu*, to lie down, to rest.

*koyu*, to cross over. Connected with *kosu*.

*kozo*, last year. Conf. *kizo*.

*kozu*, to pull up by the roots.

*ku* or *ko*, a place. Probably the same as *ka*.

*ku* or *ki*, yellow.

*kubi*, the neck.

*kuda*, a horn.

*kudaku*, *kudiku*, or *kuduru*, to break.

*kudaru* or *kudatu*, to descend.

*kudira*, a whale.

*kuga*, dry land, as opposed to the sea. Possibly from *ku ka*, the yellow place (as opposed to the blue main).

*kuku*, to pass in through, to dive under.

*kukumu*, apparently a variant of *pukumu*.

*kukuru*, to bind, to tie.

*kuma*, a bear.

*kuma*, a dark place, a hiding-place, hence a corner.

*kumo*, a cloud.

*kumo*, a spider.

*kumu*, to divide, hence to ladle out, to draw,—as water. The sense of dividing also passes over into that of distributing, whence to put together, to interlace. Thus, by insensible gradations, the opposite

senses of dividing and combining come to be expressed by the same verb. The earliest sense, that of dividing, was already obsolescent in archaic times, occurring only in proper names, as *Mi-kumari-yama*, the Mountain of the Division of the Waters, "Mount Water-shed."

*kunu* or *kuni*, a country.

*kupa*, a hoe.

*kupa*, a mulberry-tree.

*kupa(si)*, complete, perfect, fine, minute. Compare the verb *kupapuru*, (colloq. *kuraeru*) to add, which, though not occurring in the archaic texts, not improbably existed in archaic times.

*kupi*, a post, any piece of wood stuck in the ground. Conf. *ko* or *ki*, wood, tree. It would be in accordance with analogy to suppose an old form *ku* of the latter word.

*kupu*, to eat.

*kura*, anything to sit on,—a seat, a throne, a saddle: *oki-gura*, a stand, a table; *ame no iwa-kura*, the rock-throne of the gods in heaven.

*kura*, } dark.

*kuru*, } to grow dark. Conf. *kuro*, black.—*Kure*, dusk, twilight,

is the indefinite form of this verb *kuru*.

*kurage*, a kind of jelly fish, the medusa.

*kuri*, a chestnut.

*kuro*, black. Conf. *kura*, dark.

*ku(ru)*, to come. May it not possibly be connected with *kuruma*, a wheeled vehicle, which *turns*, *returns*? Conf. also the classical verb *kurupu*, to turn, to twist, hence to be in a frenzy.

*kuru*, to reel (thread).

*kuruma*, a wheel, anything with wheels. Conf. *kuru*, to come.

*kurusi*, vexatious, sad.

*kusa*, (1) herbs, grass. (2) a kind, a sort. This second meaning is probably derived from the first.

*kust*, a skewer, hence a comb.

*kusiro*, a bracelet.

*kuso*, animal secretions or excrements of any kind.

*kusu* or *kusi*, wonderful, supernatural.

*kusuri*, medicine.

*kuti*, the mouth.

*kutu*, a shoe.

*kutu*, to rot.

*kuyu*, to regret, to repent.

*kuzu*, the name of a plant resembling arrowroot,—the *Dolichos bulbosus*.

## M.

*ma*, a grand-child.

*ma*, space, room, interval.

*ma*, true, genuine, good. The native literati believe the honorific *mi* to be identical with this word.

*ma*, a horse. See *uma*.

*ma*, or *me*, the eye.

*made*, until, as far as. The form *mate*, which would be more archaic, seems also to have existed.

*madi*, or *madu*, poor.

*madu*, first of all.

*mad(opu)*,

*mad(apu)*, } to mix, to mingle; hence to go astray owing to

*mag(iru)*, } complications. Conf. also *maga*.

*maz(iru)*,

*maga*, crooked; hence evil.

*magu*, to seek.

*makaru*, to return, to die.

*maku*, to make, to set.

*maku*, to roll, to wind. Hence *makura*, a pillow.

*maku*, to sow.

*maku*, to be defeated.

*maku*, to order, to entrust.

*mame*, beans.

*mapi*, a bribe.

*mapu*, to go round, to dance.

*maro*, round. Hence *marobu*, to roll over.

*maro*, I.

*maru*, to excrete (faeces).

*masa*, true, right. Hence *masu* and *masaru*, to be superior, Conf *ma*, true, genuine.

*masi*, a verbal particle which implies that the action indicated by the verb might have taken place, but did not. It therefore resembles such English idioms as would have, ought to have been, etc.

*maso* or *mata*, complete. Conf. *ma*, true.

*masu*, to dwell; hence to be.

*mata*, a fork,—as of a tree or of the legs.

*mata*, again. (Derived from the preceding?)

*matasu*, to send. Perhaps the same as *watasu*, to hand across.

*mato*, a target.

*matu*, to await, to wait.

*matu*, a pine-tree.

*maturu*, to reverence, to offer reverently. (Connected with *matu*, to wait?)

*mausou*, to say; hence to govern.

*mazi*, a wicked spell, an act of witchcraft or poisoning. (Connected with the next?)

*maziru*, see *madopu*.

*me*, a woman.

*me*, the shoot of a plant, a bud. The Japanese literati plausibly see in this word a contraction of *moye*, the indefinite form of the verb *moyu* which signifies to bud.

*me*, a crowd. The Japanese literati see in it a contraction of *mure*, a crowd. See *muru*.

*medu*, to like, to love.

*megumu*, to treat with kindness.

*meguru*, to go round.

*mesu*, to summon, to send for.

*mi*, an adjective suffix signifying on account of, because of.

*mi...mi*, a verbal suffix occurring always in pairs, and having an alternative, repetitive, or frequentative signification.

*mi*, an honorific applied to the most exalted personages, such as gods and emperors. See *ma*, true.

*mi*, a berry, a fruit.

*mi*, three.

*mi*, deep, said of mountain recesses.

*mi* or *midu*, rarely *mitu*, water. It is hard to say which of the two first-given forms of the word is the original one. *Mi* occurs in all the oldest compounds, such as *mi-na-to*, an estuary; *mi-na-moto*, a river source; *mi-zo*, a ditch. At the same time, if *midu* is itself a compound of *mi* and *du*, what is the signification of *du*?

*midaru*, to be confused, disordered.

{ *midasu*, to confuse, to put in disorder.

*midori*, green; hence young.

*midu*, water. See *mi*, water.

*midu*, fresh.

*mimi*, the ears.

*mina*, all.

*minami*, the south wind.

*mira*, chive.

*miru*, a kind of sea-weed.

*miru*, to see, to look.

*miti*, the name of a marine animal, possibly the sea-lion or a species of seal.

*mitu*, to fill, to be full.

*mizi(ka)*, short.

*mo*, face, hence direction. See *omo*.

*mo*, a lower garment, a skirt.

*mo*, sea-weed.

*mo*, a particle whose most frequent sense is even, also; but in the oldest texts it seems to be rather a sort of expletive.

*mo*, a calamity, mourning.

*moda*, silence.

*mogoro*, similar, equal.

*momidu*, to grow yellow or red,—said only of the leaves in autumn.

*momo*, a peach-tree.

*momo*, the thigh.

*momo*, a hundred.

*momu*, or *momi*, a species of fir,—the *Abies firma*.

*mono*, a thing, any material object.

*mori*, a grove of trees.

*moro* or *muro*, a cave ; hence a dwelling-place.

*moro*, all sorts of, all.

*moru*, to guard, to watch.

*moru*, to fill, to pile up.

*mosi*, if.

*moti*, full,—said of the moon.

*moti*, bird-lime.

*moto*, the stem of a tree, hence origin, beginning. Hence probably

*moto-poru*, to return ; *moto-posu*, to repeat.

*motomu*, to seek.

*motu*, to hold ; hence to have.

*moyu*, to burn.

*moyu*, to bud.

*mozu*, the shrike or butcher-bird.

*mu*, a particle indicative of probability, especially probability in the future.

*mu*, six.

*mu* or *mi*, the body, the person, hence self.

*mugi*, wheat, barley. The *gi* is probably for *ki*, tree.

*mugura*, the name of a creeping plant,—the hop.

*muka*, opposite. Connected with the following.

*muku*, to turn towards.

*mukade*, a centipede.

*muku*, the name of a tree bearing berries, the *Celtis muku*.

*muna* (a less ancient form is *muda*), empty, vain, useless.

*munagi* or *unagi*, an eel.

*mura*, a cluster. A participial form of the next.

*muru*, to congregate, to be in a crowd or cluster, as the houses of a village, clouds in the sky, mountains in a district. Also used transitively as *uma uchi-murete*, having gathered the horses together.

*musi*, an insect. Probably from the following, on account of the swarming of insects in hot and damp places. If this is really so, the original sense of *musi* would be a swarm.

*musu*, to grow, especially in a damp place, as moss ; to swarm. Also apparently to produce or to be produced in general, whence *musu-ko*, a boy, and *musu-me*, a girl, lit. a produced child, a produced female.

*musu*, to choke.

*musubu*, to coagulate, to form or harden, as a fruit; also to tie.  
Probably derived from *musu* (1).

*muta*, together.

*mutu*, familiar, dear.

## N.

*na*, a name.

*na*, fish, alive or cooked; vegetables growing or cooked; food. It is uncertain which of these meanings is the original one. Possibly two or three independent words may have coalesced into one to form this general term.

*na?* what?

*na!* or *ne!* an emphatic and exclamatory particle.

*na*, non-existent. Also a prohibitive particle, similar to the Greek *μή* or the colloquial English "don't!"

*na*, or *nare*, thou. The *re* is probably an independent word. See s. v.

*na*, or *no*, of. *Na* would seem to be the older form of the word. It is preserved in such compounds (really phrases) as *mi-na-to*, the gate of the water, i.e., an estuary, afterwards a sea-port; *ma-na-ko*, the eye, etc.

*nabu*, } to put in a row, to be in a row. Hence *nabe*, together.  
*namu*, } Conf. *nara*, flat.

*nabu*, }  
*namu*, } to lick, to taste.  
*napu*,

*naburu*, to tease.

*nadu*, wet.

*nadu*, to stroke.

*nadumu*, to be weary.

*naga*, long. Hence *nagaru*, to flow, and *nagara*, while.

*nagi*, an onion. Perhaps a compound, for *ki* means tree. The form *negi* is later.

*nagu*, to throw.

*nagu*, to become calm, said of the wind; also of the passion of love; also to calm. Hence probably *nagisa*, the sea-beach.

*naka*, inside. Perhaps a compound, as *ka* means place.

*naka-naka*, on the contrary, contrary to expectation.

*naku*, to cry, to sing.

*name(si)*, rude, insolent.

*nami*, a wave.

*namita*, a tear.

*nandi*, thou. Probably a compound. Perhaps from *na-moti*, name-possessor, i.e., famous. This is the native derivation, and it is a plausible one; for it is in accordance with all that we know of Japanese methods of expression for a so-called pronoun to be resolvable into an honorific phrase.

*nanu* or *nana*, seven.

*nape*, a sprout, a bud.

*napo*, straight, right. Hence used adverbially in the sense of yet, moreover.

*napu*, to twist.

*nara*, the name of a species of evergreen oak.

*nara*, flat, level. Possibly *nabu* or *namu*, to put in a row, may be contracted from *narabu* or *naramu*, the verbal form of this word *nara*.

*nari*, that whereby a man gains his livelihood, business. Identical with *naru*, to become?

*naru* or *noru*, to become, to ripen.

*naru*, to get accustomed, to become tame.

*naru*,      } to resound, to make a noise, to cause to sound.  
*nasu*,      }  
*nasu*,      }

*nasu*, a pear-tree.

*nasu*, to do. Conf. *naru*, to become, of which it is the corresponding transitive.

*nasu*,      } to resemble.  
*nosu*,      }

*natu*, summer.

*natu(kasi)*, fond, wrapped up in (metaph.).

*natume*, the jujube tree.

*nawi*, an earthquake.

*nayamu*, to be sick.

*naz(opu)*, to compare, to liken.

*ne*, a root, the bottom or nethermost part of anything, e.g. of a mass of rocks.

*ne*, sound, resonance.

*ne*, a mountain peak.

*ne!* an imperative particle. Apparently different from the emphatic *na!* or *ne!*

*nedu*, to twist.

*negu*, to beg, to pray. Hence modern *negaū*, for *negi-au*.

*nerumi*, a rat.

*ni*, in.

*ni*, a load.

*ni*, earth, mud; hence a red colour.

*nigiru*, to grasp.

*nigu*, to run away.

*niko*,  
*nigi*,  
*nigo*,  
 } soft, tender.

*niku*, odious. Hence *nikumu*, to hate.

*nipa*, a courtyard.

*nipa(ka)*, suddenly. Perhaps connected with the next.

*nipi*, new.

*nipo*, the name of a bird, the widgeon.

*nipopu*, to be fragrant.

*nire*, a species of elm.

*niru*, to boil (food).

*niru*, to resemble.

*nisi*, the west wind. In later times it came to mean simply west, without any reference to the wind.

*nisiki*, brocade.

*no*, of. See *na* (7).

*nobu*, to lengthen. Hence *noboru*, to ascend, and *nobosu*, to cause to ascend.

*nodo*, the throat. From *nomi-to*, the drinking gate, as suggested by Japanese etymologists?

*nodo(ka)*, soft, gentle.

*noki*, the eaves of a house. *Ki* is here, as usually, probably the word for tree or wood.

*noku* or *soku*, to put aside.

*nomi*, only.

*nomu*, to pray, to worship.

*nomu*, to drink.

*noru*, to tell, to say. Hence *norito*, the name of the Shintō rituals, etc.

*noru*, to ride (on a horse, or in a boat).

*noti*, afterwards.

*nu*, a jewel.

*nu*, to be. The existence of this verb, though highly probable, is not absolutely certain. The form from which it is most safely inferred is the often recurring gerund *nite*.

*nu* or *inu*, to sleep. *Nu* seems to be the verb to sleep, and *i* the substantive sleep, as in *yasu-i si nasazu*, I do not do a comfortable sleep, i.e., I cannot sleep quietly. If this view is correct, *inu* is really two words, thus *i nu*, lit. to sleep a sleep. In classical times the longer form was preferred as more elegant. In the colloquial of our day the *i* has again been cut off, in accordance with a general habit of the later form of the language.

*nu* or *no*, a broad expanse of uncultivated land, a moor.

*nugu*, to take off (clothes).

*nuka*, the forehead.

*nuku*, to pull through (e.g. a string through a bead), to go through.

*nuno*, grass-cloth.

*nupu*, to sew, to stitch.

*nuru*, to smear, hence to varnish.

*nuru*, to get wet.

*nusa*, offerings to the gods.

*nusumu*, to steal.

*nute*, a small bell.

*nuye*, the name of an apparently fabulous bird.

*nuzi*, a rainbow.

## O.

*o*, that. (It occurs in *oti*, there, that way, a term corresponding to *koti*, here, this way, from *ko*, this; the syllable *ti* is probably the same as the word meaning road.)

*obiyu*, to take fright.

*oboru*, to drown.

*obu*, to bind round (the waist).

*odoro* or *osoro*, startling, frightening.

*okasu*, to transgress: *ayamuti wo okasu*, to make a mistake.

*oki*, the offing, out at sea. Probably the same word as *oku* (8).

*oki* or *oku*, lateness.

*okina*, an old man.

*oko(napu)*, to act, to behave.

*okosu*, to send hither (colloq. *yokosu*).

*oku*, to place, to put (aside), hence sometimes to exclude.

*oku*, to light or fall on,—as dew or hoar-frost.

*oku* or *oki*, the recesses or furthest part of any place, e.g. a mountain fastness, or an island far away from the mainland.

*oku*, to rise (especially from sleep). Hence the transitive *okosu*, to rouse.

*okuru*, to send (thither). Conf. *okosu*.

*okuru*, to remain behind, to be too late.

*omi*, a grandee. Perhaps, as the Japanese literati suggest, from *opo mi*, a great person.

*omo*, a mother.

*omo*, the human face, the surface of anything. Hence probably, by apocope, *mo*, face, direction.

*omo*, heavy.

*omopu*, to think of, to love. Perhaps from *omo*, heavy. The later language has formed from this same *omo*, a verb *omonzuru*, lit. to make heavy, hence to think much of, to esteem.

*ono*, self.

*opo*, big, great, many, rough, vague, general. It would seem from the texts as if the sense of vague were the most ancient.

*opopu*, to cover.

*opus*, to pursue.

*opus*, to carry on the back.

*opus*, to grow, to spring into existence.

*orabu*, to howl, to yell.

*ore*, thou, an insulting term.

*osi*, regrettable.

*oso*, slow (physically or mentally), silly.

*osu*, to push.

*oto*, a sound, a noise.

*otu*, to fall, to fail.

*oyazi* or *onazi*, same. The first is the older form.

*oyobi*, a finger. Hence modern *yubi*.

*oyobu*, to reach.

*oya*, to get old. Hence *oya*, a parent.

## P.

(This heading includes all words beginning with *f* or *h* in modern Japanese).

*pa*, a feather, a wing.

*pa*, the leaf of a tree.

*pa*, a tooth.

*pa*, the edge or extremity of anything; hence the beginning, the end.

*pa*, a thing, a person, that which. The classical and modern postposition *wa* is this word slightly disguised in pronunciation.

*pa*, each.

*pada*, the surface of anything, especially the naked surface of the body. Hence perhaps *padare*, snow in patches.

*padu*, to be ashamed.

*pagi*, the lespedeza tree. The second syllable is probably the word *ki*, tree, as in so many other names of trees and plants.

*pagu*, to flay.

*paka*, a grave. The syllable *ka* probably means place.

*pakaru*, to weigh; to reckon; hence to contrive, to plot.

*pako*, a box. Perhaps a compound, whose second syllable, *ko*, means basket.

*paku*, to put on, to wear (on the legs or feet), to gird on (as a sword).

*paku*, to sweep.

*paku*, to work.

(*paku* occurs for *kaku* in the sense of fitting a string to a bow.)

*pama*, the sea-shore.

*pamu*, to put or to be inside something else, to insert, to immerse.

*pana*, a flower, a blossom.

*pana*, the nose. Perhaps the mucous secretion of the nose, a sense which the word still retains, was the original sense. If so, is it not possible that this word may be identical with the preceding one?

*pana-pada*, very.

*pani*, clay. Conf. *ni*, earth, showing that this word is probably a compound, though the *pa* is obscure.

*panu*, to separate.

*papa*, a mother. This word is remarkable, for most languages possessing it or a similar one use it to denote, not mother, but father.

*papaki*, the name of a tree, the Kochia scoparia.

*papaki*, a broom.

*pape*, a fly.

*papu*, to creep.

*papu*, to prosper.

*papuru*, to bury.

*para*, the belly.

*para*, a moor, uncultivated ground.

*parara*, an onomatope for being scattered about, e. g. boats on the waves, or leaves in the autumn breeze.

*pari*, an alder-tree.

*pari*, a needle, a pin.

*paru* or *paro*, far, distant.

*paru*, spring. Connected with the next?

*paru*, to clear up, to clear away. Also to cultivate (?)

*paru*, to stretch.

*paru*, to stick.

*pasamu*, to hold between two other things, e. g. between one's arm and one's body, or between a pair of pincers.

*pasī*, beloved, dear.

*pasī*, chopsticks.

*pasī*, a ladder, a bridge.

*pasī*, same meanings as *pa*, (4). But the syllable *si* remains unexplained. *Pazime*, beginning, evidently belongs to the same group; but the syllables *zime* are unexplained.

*pasira*, a pillar.

*pasu* or *pasiru*, to run.

*pata*, a loom, a flag.

*pata*, a fin.

*pata*, again. Apparently a variant of *mata*.

*pataru*, to urge, to dun. Perhaps derived from the preceding.

*pati*, a bee, a wasp.

*patisu*, a lotus.

*pato*, a pigeon.

*patu*, to finish. It is often used of a vessel concluding its voyage by coming into port. Possibly this was the original sense of the word.

*patu*, first, earliest.

*patuka* or *waduka*, only a little, trifling.

*paya*, quick.

*payu*, to grow, to lengthen.

*paza*, a depression, an interval, a space.

{ *pazi*, the name of a tree used for making bows.

{ *pazu*, a bow-notch. The existence of these two words would seem to indicate the former existence of a word *pa*, or of some word beginning with *pa*, meaning bow.

*pe*, (*be*, rarely *pi*, *bi*, or *mi*), side, place, direction, neighborhood; hence employed in almost endless special significations, such as the *shore* of the sea (*pe tu nami*=the waves breaking on the beach), *out at sea* (*oki-be*), the *prow* of a boat, a mountain *district* (*yama-be*), the *top* of any thing (*u-pe*, modern *ue*), the *front*, lit. edge-side of any thing, (*ma-pe*, modern *mae*), the *evening*, more lit. even-*side* (*yupu-be*), etc., etc.

*pe*, a pot, a saucepan. Hence *na-be*, a pot for cooking food (*na*).

*pe*, a clan.

*pe* or *pu*, a fold, a layer.

*pedatu*, to separate.

*peru*, to spin.

*pi*, sun, day, fire. It is uncertain whether *pi* meaning fire is not a different word from *pi* meaning primarily sun and secondarily day. In the meaning of daytime there is also the form *piru*. But a comparison with *yoru*, night-time, shows the syllable *ru* to be a suffix. The word *kepu*, to-day, is supposed by the native literati to stand for *ko*, this, and *pu*, which would thus be an alternative form of *pi*, day, found also in *kinopu*, yesterday, the other syllables of which are obscure.

*pi*, a weaver's shuttle.

*pi*, ice.

*pi*, a species of conifer, the *Thuya obtusa*.

*pi*, a conduit for water.

*pibari*, a lark. Probably a compound, but of what?

*pibiku*, to resound, to echo. Possibly a compound of *piku*, to pull.

*pidari*, left.

*pidi*, the elbow. Conf. *piza*, the knee.

*pidu* or *pidutu*, to be wet. Hence *pidi*, mud.

*pikaru*, to shine.

*piku*, to pull, to draw.

*pima*, an interval,—of space or time. Almost certainly a compound, as *ma* alone has the same signification.

*pimo*, a string, a girdle.

*pina*, the country, as opposed to the town.

*piriragu*, to smart. Hence *piriragi*, holly. An onomatope?

*pira*, flat, level. Hence *piraku*, to open, for *pira-aku*.

*pire*, a scarf, a veil, a banner.

*piripu*, or *piropu*, to pick up.

*piro*, broad; hence an arm's breadth, i. e., a fathom. Same as *pira*, flat?

*piru*, garlic.

*piru*, a leech.

*piru*, to dry (intrans.), hence to ebb. The corresponding transitive is *posu*.

*piru*, to sneeze.

*pisa*, long-lasting.

*pisago*, a gourd.

*pisi*, the name of a plant,—the water-caltrop.

*pitapi*, the brow, the forehead.

*pito*, one, hence an individual, a person.

*pitu*, a large box, a chest.

*piza*, the knee. Conf. *pidi*, the elbow.

*po*, the top of anything, anything that sticks up or out, or that is *en évidence*, as an ear of rice, the top of a hedge, a love affair which has been bruited abroad, etc.

*po*, a hundred. This term seems to be older than the more usual word *momo*, which it replaces in such compounds as *i-po*, five hundred; *ya-po*, eight hundred.

*po*, good and big. (But the interpretation is uncertain.)

*po*, or *pi*, fire. See *pi* (1).

*podo* or *pono*, indistinct, vague, distant, a glimmering light,—as at early dawn.

*pogu*, to carouse, hence to congratulate.

*poka*, another place, elsewhere. Probably a compound, as *ka* alone means place.

*poko*, a spear.

*pokoru*, to be prond.

*pomu*, to praise.

*porobu*, to fall to pieces or into ruins.

*poru*, to wish.

*poru*, to dig, to carve. Hence *pora*, a hollow, a cave.

*posi*, a star. The Japanese etymologists consider this word to be a compound of *po*, fire, and *ishi*, stone. But is this likely? There is no evidence to support their opinion.

*poso*, thin, slender.

*posu*, to dry. See *piru*, to dry.

*poto*, the vagina.

*poto-poto*, almost. Connected with the next?

*potori*, neighbourhood.

*pototogisu*, the cuckoo. The first three syllables are probably onomatopoetic. *Gisu* or *gisi* is a termination also found in *kigisu* or *higisi*, the pheasant. Conf. also *ugupisu*, the nightingale.

*poyu*, to bark.

*pu*, a field.

*pu*, to pass.

*pu*, to dwell.

*pudi*, the wistaria-tree.

*puka*, deep. *Puku*, to grow deep or dark (said of the night), is the same word.

*puku*, to blow.

*puku*, to thatch.

*pukumu*, to contain, to enfold.

*pukuro*, a bag. (From the preceding, or from the following?)

*pukuru*, to swell.

*pumu*, to trend.

*puna*, a species of carp.

*puna* or *pune*, a vessel of any description,—not only a ship or boat, as in modern usage, but also a vat for liquor.

*pupumu*, to swell,—said of a bud about to burst.

*puru*, to fall,—said of rain, snow, hail, etc.

*puru*, old.

*puru*, to shake, to tremble.

*puru*, to touch.

*puru*(*mapu*), to behave.

*pusa*, a falcon.

*pusagu*, } to obstruct.

*pusegu*, } to obstruct.

*pus*(*apu*), to suit, to agree.

*pusi*, a joint, a knot,—whether in the human body or in anything else.

*pusu*, to lie down.

*pusuma*, coverlet. (From the preceding?)

*puta*, two. Formed from *pito*, one, by means of vowel change. The numerals *mu*, six, and *ya*, eight, are derived in like manner from *mi*, three, and *yo*, four.

*puti*, a deep pool or watery abyss.

*puto*, great, good, sacred; hence broad, stout, thick.

*puye*, a flute.

*pyyn*, winter.

## R.

(This letter cannot commence any really independent word.)

*ra* or *ro*, a particle indicating vagueness. Hence *ra* sometimes forms a sort of plural.

*rasi*, a verbal particle indicating appearance or probability.

*re*, a suffix of uncertain meaning, found in such pronouns as *are* or *ware*, I; *nare*, thou; *kore*, this; *kare*, that; *tare?* who? etc. The forms without *re*, such as *a*, *wa*, *ko*, *ka*, *ta*, etc., seem to be in all cases the older ones.

## S.

*sa*, a hill, a pass.

*sa*, narrow, small.

*sa*, genuine; hence often used as a kind of honorific and often merely expletive prefix. Another form is *sane*.

*sabu*, to be old, hoar.

*sadamu*, to settle, to decide. This word is not, as has been sometimes asserted, derived from the Sino-Japanese *sata* 𢂔.

*sade*, a scoop, hence a hand-net. This word is not improbably a compound, of which the second member is *te*, the hand.

*saduku*, to entrust, to give in charge.

*sagi*, a heron, the *Egretta candidissima*.

*sagu*, to lower.

*saka*, a hill, whence *sakasi*, steep. Probably a compound of *sa*, narrow, and *ka*, a place, in allusion to the narrowness of the top of a pass or hill.

*saka*, contrary, opposite to the right way.

*saka*, cunning, wise. Perhaps identical with the preceding.

*saka* or *sake*, rice-beer.

*sakapi*, a frontier. Perhaps a compound of *saka*, hill, and *apu*, to meet, q. v. a range of hills forming the natural frontier where two districts meet.

*sakebu*, to yell.

*saki*, front, a protuberance.

*saku*, to be happy, to succeed. The noun *saki* (also *sati*, and compound *satipapi*, modern *sairai*) means luck, success.

*saku*, to avoid.

*saku*, to be parted, to rip open, to tear asunder; hence to blossom.

*sakura*, the cherry tree. Perhaps derived from the preceding word, as having been always considered in Japan the blossoming tree *par excellence*.

*sama*, manner, fashion.

*sama(yopu)*, to wander about.

*same*, rain. See *ama* or *ame*, the sky, rain.

*samu*, cold.

*sane*, see *sa* (8).

*sapa*, many, much.

*saparu*,

*sapu*, } to hinder, to strike against.

*sayaru*,

*sape*, also. Apparently connected with *sopu*, to add.

*sapiduru*, to twitter.

*sara*, again. Same as *sura*, even?

*sarasu*, to expose to the action of air, light, or water.

*saru*, an ape.

*saru*, to depart, to leave, to omit.

*sasa*, an onomatope for whispering. Hence *sasayaku*, to whisper.

*sasu*, straight, direct.

*sasu*, to pierce.

*sasu*, to close.

*sato*, a village.

*sato*, quick of perception. Hence *satoru*, to understand.

*satu* or *sati*, luck.

*saya*, an onomatope for a rustling sound. Hence *sayagu* or *sawagu*, to rustle, to make a noise.

*sawo*, a pole.

*saya*, a sheath, a scabbard.

*saya*, } an onomatope for the rustling of leaves. Conf. *sayagu*.  
*soya*,

*sayu*, to be cold; hence to be clear.

*sazaki*, a wren.

*se*, an elder brother, a lover, a husband. In archaic times these ideas were not clearly distinguished. Hence the fact of the same word being used for all three.

*se*, a reach in, or the current of, a stream.

*seba* or *senia*, narrow, small.

*seku*, to dam, to bar.

*semi*, a cicada. Probably a Chinese word, for it is written with the Chinese character 蟬, which is itself pronounced *sen*.

*semu*, to press upon, to harass. (Related to *seba*, narrow?)

*si*, the wind. It occurs in such compounds as *arasi*, a rough wind, a tempest; *tumusi*, a whirlwind, etc., and in *nisi* and *pigasi*, names of winds.

*si*, you.

*si*, it.

*si*, a particle having a slight separative force.

*si*, a particle indicative of past time. Though used as the attributive form corresponding to the conclusive particle *ki*, which has the same signification, it was probably at first a separate word, just as the various parts of the English verb "to be" are derived not from one root, but from three different roots.

*si*, pure (?)—In the compound *simidu*, pure water.

*si* or *sizi*, thick, numerous.

*siba*, often. Probably connected with the preceding. Hence *sima-raku*, some time.

*siba*, a twig.

*sibi*, a tunny-fish.

*sibomu*, to close, to wither.

*sibu*, dirty water? a stain of mud? The word has some such sense as this, but is obscure. It may be connected either with *sibu*, the juice or sap of a tree, or with *sime*, to stain, more probably with the latter.

*sidaru*, to hang down.

*sidu*, quiet; also poor.

*sidu*, beneath. Hence *siduku* or *sidumu*, to sink.

*sige* or *simi*, dense, luxuriant. Said of vegetation.

*sigi*, a woodcock.

*sigure*, fine rain.

*siko*, rough, ugly, sometimes brave.

*siku*, to resemble, to be as good as. Hence *sika*, thus.

*siku*, to spread, to extend.

*sima*, an island.

*simo*, hoar-frost.

*simo*, below.

*simu*, to soak in, to stain.

*simu*, to shut.

*simu*, to fix on, to point out. Identical with the preceding?

*sina*, a difference in height, a grade, a gradation, a step. Hence in the later language, a quality, an article of commerce.

*sin(apu)*,  
*sin(ubu)*,  
*sin(upu)*, to bend under a burden; hence to grieve; hence to long for. See *sinu*.

*sine*, same as *ina* or *ine*, rice.

*sinu*, to falter and droop—as a heart full of sadness; to give way, hence to die. *Sinapu*, *sinupu* or *sinubu*, to bend under a burden, to grieve, to long for, to love, and *sinayu*, to decay, are evidently from the same root.

*sinu* or *sino*, bamboo-grass.

*sipa*, last (adj.).

*sipi*, an acorn.

*sipo*, salt, the brine of the sea.

*sipu*, to urge, to force.

*sira* or *siro*, white.

*sire*, silly.

*siri*, behind, the rump.

*siro*, an area, an enclosure. Hence, in the later language, a castle, also exchange, price: *musiro*, *yasiro*, etc., are compounds of this word.

*siru*, juice.

*siru*, to construct, to know, to govern. This last meaning was probably derived at very early period by literal translation from the Chinese, where the same character 知 signifies both to know and to govern.

*sisi*, any large animal which is hunted as game,—such as the boar and the deer.

*sisi*, flesh. Probably identical with the preceding.

*sita*, the tongue.

*sita*, below, beneath. Conf. *sidu*.

*sit(apu)*, to yearn after, to love.

*sira*, a wrinkle.

*sire*, an expletive somewhat resembling our phrase, well then !

*so*, hemp, a garment.

*so*, ten. This seems to be older than the more usual term, *to*, ten, which it replaces in such compounds as *mi-so*, thirty ; *i-so*, fifty, etc.

*so*, that.

*so*, gently.

*so* or *se*, the back, behind.

*soba*, a kind of tree, supposed to be the modern *kaname-mochi*, *Photinia glabra*.

*soko*, also *soku*, and *soki*, the bottom.

*soko*, much. Hence *soko-raku*, and *soko-baku*.

*soko-napu*, to spoil.

*soku*, to remove, to separate.

*soku*, *sogu*, *sosogu*, *susugu*, to pour, to purify by water, to clear.

*somu*, to dye. Conf. *simu*, to soak in, to stain.

*somu*, to begin (intrans.).

*son(apu)*, to provide, to complete.

*sopo*, wet.

*sopo*, vermillion (?).

*sopu*, to be alongside of, to add.

*sora*, the empty firmament; hence the sky; also emptiness, falsehood.

*su*, the extremity or lower part of anything.

*su*, a mat or blind made of small bamboos.

*su*, a sand-bank.

*su*, a nest, any small habitation made by an animal, e.g. a spider's web.

*su*, vinegar.

*suwu* or *sumu*, to control, to be chief. Hence *sumera*, or *sumerogi*, sovereign.

*subu* or *subo*, narrow, small. Conf. *seba*.

*sudaku*, to swarm,—said of insects.

*suga*, believed to mean clear, pure. Conf. *sumu* (2).

*suga* or *suge*, the name of a kind of rush.

*sugi*, the *Cryptomeria japonica*. Probably a compound, *gi* being the *nigori* of *ki*, tree, and *sumu* or *sugu* meaning straight.

*sugu*, to pass.

*suki*, a spade.

*sukosi*, a little.

*suku*, to help.

*sukuna*, small. Conf. *sukosi*, a little.

*sukune*, a title of nobility.

*sumi*, a corner.

*sumi*, ink. Probably a secondary acceptation of the term *sumi*, charcoal, which does not happen to occur in the archaic texts.

*sumire*, a violet.

*sumu*, to dwell.

*sumu*, to be clear, to be pure and limpid.

*sumu*, *sumi(yaka)* or *sugu*, straight, straightway, speedy.

*sunapati*, namely, to wit. (Connected with the preceding?)

*sune*, the shin.

*supe* or *sube*, a way, a method. (From *suru*, to do, and *pe*, direction?)

*sura*, even (adv.), no less than. Same as *sara*, again?

*su(ru)*, to do.

*suru*, to rub.

*susabu*, *susamu*, *susugu* or *susumu*, to advance or increase in degree, or in severity.

*suso*, the lower border or hem of a garment. A compound of which the second part is *so*, garment?

*susu*, an onomatope for a rustling sound.

*susuki*, the name of a species of perch, the *Labrax japonicus*.

*susuru*, to sip.

*suce*, the end or extremity of anything.

*sucu* or *suyu*, to set, to put.

*suzu*, a small bell.

*suzume*, a sparrow.

## T.

*ta*, a field.—Not necessarily, as in modern parlance, a paddy-field.  
*ta?* who?

*ta* or *te*, the hand.—Very numerous compounds exist, e.g. *ta-napira*, the palm of the hand; *ta-suku*, to save, lit. to hand-help; *ta-woru*, to pluck, lit. to hand-break; *ta-kumi*, a carpenter, lit. a hand-combiner, etc.

*tabi*, a time (une fois).

*tabi* or *tapi*, a journey.

*taburu*, to act funnily or absurdly.

*tada*, straight, direct; hence only.

*tade*, magwort.

*tado-tado* or *tadu-tadu*, gropingly, uncertainly. Hence *tadayopu*, to wonder.

*tadunu*, to seek, to repair or resort to.

*tag(apu)*, to differ.

*tagi* or *taki*, rapids in a river; hence a waterfall.

*tagiru*, *tagitu*, to resound.

*tagupu*, to accompany, to add.

*taka*, a hawk.

*taka* or *take*, a bamboo.

*taka*, high.

*takara*, a treasure.

*take*, manly vigor, courage. Hence *takeru*, a bandit.

*take*, a mountain peak.

*taku*, cloth made of paper mulberrybark (?).

*taku*, to row or urge a boat on with every possible effort.—This, though not absolutely certain, is the interpretation given by the best native authorities.

*taku*, to kindle, to light.

*taku* or *tagu*, to tie, to bind up,—as hair.

*tama*, a ball, a bead, a jewel.

*tama*, the soul, the spirit.—Perhaps from the preceding.

*tama*, chance, occasion.

*tamapu*, to give.—Perhaps from *tama*, a jewel. Some forms of the word have *b* for *m* in the stem, as *tabaru*, to have given to one.

*tame*, for the sake of; in order.

*tami*, a peasant.

*tamu*, to go round.

*tamu*, to be stagnant, to collect in one place. Probably connected with *tomu*, to stop?

*tana*, a board to place things on, a shelf.

*tane*, a seed. Also *sane*.

*tani*, a valley.

*tanomu*, to rely on, to trust.

*tapa*, a joke, nonsense. Hence *tapapuru* (colloq. *tawamuru*), to frolic.

*tape*, cloth.

*tapi*, a general name for several species of fish resembling the perch.

*tapu*, to endure, to suffer.

*tapuru*, to fall down, to die.

*tapusu*, to knock down, to kill.

*taputo*, venerable.

*tari*, a flagon, a jug.

*tari*, a suffix apparently meaning person. It occurs in such compounds as *mi-tari*, three persons; *yo-tari*, four persons; *iku-tari*? how many persons? etc. *Pito-ri*, one person, and *puta-ri*, two persons, show this suffix in an apocopated form.

*taru*, to droop, to hang down.

*taru*, to suffice.

*tasi*, joyful.

*tasi-dasi*, an onomatope for the rattling sound made by hail.

*tasimu*, to grow luxuriantly.

*tata* or *tate*, a shield. (From *tatu*, to set up?)

*tataku*, to hit; to knock.

*tatamu*, to fold, to pile up.—Hence *tatami*, a rug, later a mat.

*tatapu*, to fulfil.

*tataru*, to smite with a curse, to be revenged on.

*tati*, a sword.

*tati*, a pluralising particle, probably derived from the verb *tatu*, to stand.

*tati-mati*, suddenly. Apparently an onomatope.

*tatu* or *tadu*, a crane (bird).

*tatu*, a dragon.

*tatu*, to stand up, hence to start on a journey ; also transitively to set up, to erect.

*tatu*, to cut.

*tatu*, to shut.

*tawawa*, *tawaya*, or *tawowo*, bending, weak.

*tayu*, to slack, to relax. (Connected with the preceding ?)

*tayu*, to come to an end. (Same as the preceding ?)

*teru*, to shine.

*teru*, to deal in, to sell.

*ti*, the female breast, and the milk which flows from it.

*ti*, a kind of grass,—the *Eulalia japonica*.

*ti*, a thousand.

*ti* or *te*, a road. The modern *miti* is this *ti* with the honorific pref *mi*.

*tika*, near.

*tikara*, strength.

*tiru*, to be scattered, to fall,—as blossoms fluttering in the breeze.

*tisa*, lettuce.

*titi*, a father.

*to*, a door.—Hence probably *ka-do*, a gate.

*to*, ten.

*to*, sharp, quick.

*to*, outside.

*to*, that.—The adjective-pronoun that. Later the word *to*, like its English equivalent, became a conjunction.

*toga*, a fault.—Hence *toyamu*, to find fault with.

*togu*, to polish, to whet.

*togu*, to accomplish.

*toki*, time.—Perhaps *toki*, time ; *toko*, eternal ; and *tuki* or *tuku*, the moon, are connected with each other.

*toko*, or *toki*, lasting a long time, evergreen, eternal.

*toko*, a sleeping-place, a bed. Identical with the next ?

*tokoro*, a place.

*tokoro*, the name of a creeping plant, the *Dioscorea quinqueloba*.

*toku* or *tuku*, to light on, to arrive.

*toku*, to loosen, to undo.

*tomo*, the stern of a boat.

*tomo*, a party of people, a companion.

*tomosi*, scanty.—This seems to be the original sense, but it is generally used by the earliest poets to signify enviable.

*tomosu*, to light.—Hence *tomosi-bi*, a wick or candle.

*tomu*, or *todomu*, to stop.

*tone*, a government officer.—Mabuchi derives this word from *toneri*, for *to no mori*, a gate-keeper.

*toneri*. See preceding word.

*tono*, a palace.

*topo*, distant.

*topu*, to ask (after).

*topu* or *tobu*, to fly.—Hence probably *tubasa*, wings.

*tora*, a tiger.

*tori*, a bird.

*toru*, to take.

*tose* or *tosi*, a year.—The Japanese literati derive this word from *toru*, to take, with reference to the taking or ingathering of the harvest.

*toton(opu)*, to be or to set in proper order, to adjust.

*toyo*, plenty, luxuriance, prosperity.

*toyo*, an onomatope for noise.—Hence *toyomu*, to be noisy or tumultuous.

*tozi*, a housewife.

*tu*, of.

*tu* or *ti*, an “auxiliary numeral” or “classifier” (conf. one *piecey*, two *piecey* in Pidgin-English), which is suffixed to the numerals proper, e.g. *pito-tu*, one; *puta-tu*, two; *yu-tu*, five hundred; *momo-ti*, a hundred, *i-ho-ti*, one form of the word five hundred.

*tu*, a verbal particle which shows that the action is completely finished and done with. The Japanese commentators derive it by aphæresis from *patu*, to finish. The gerund termination *ts* is a form of this word *tu*.

*tu* or *to*, a port, an anchorage.

*tuba(ki)*, the camellia-tree.

*tubara*, care, attention.—Said of thought bestowed on a subject. Native scholars consider this word to be a contraction of *tumabiraka*, clear, evident in every detail. But this is doubtful, if only for the reason that *tubara* occurs in the earliest texts, whereas *tumabiraka* does not.

*tubasa*, wings. See *topu*, to fly.

*tubo*, a jar.

*tuburu*, to burst, to break.

*tubusa*, carefulness. Conf. *tubara*.

*tud(opu)*, to assemble, to crowd together.

*tuge*, the boxwood tree.

*tuduku*, to continue.

*tudumi*, a drum.

*tudura*, the name of a creeping plant. Supposed to be the *Cocculus thunbergi*.

*tuga*, the name of a tree, the *Abies tuga*.

*tugu*, to follow, to add, to supply.—Hence *mi-tugi*, the (honourable) taxes.—Same as *tuduku*, to continue?

*tugu*, to tell.

*tuka*, a handle or hilt. Hence *tukamu*, to take hold of, to clutch.

*tuka*, or *tuki*, a mound, hence a tomb.

*tukapu*, to serve, to employ. Hence *tukapi*, a messenger.

*tukasa*, a ruler.

*tuki*, the name of a tree, probably the *Zelkowa keaki*.

*tuku* or *tuki*, the moon. Conf. *toki*, time.

*tuku*, to stick, to cling.

*tuku*, to pile up,—as earth; to pound,—as rice.

*tuku*, to ram (with the horns), to thrust, to sting. (Identical with the preceding?)

*tuku*, to be finished, quenched. Hence *tukusu* to exhaust, and *tukaru*, to be tired.

*tukuru*, to form, to make.

*tuma*, the edge, or border of anything.

*tuma*, minute, small. It occurs in such compounds as *tumagi*, fire-wood; *tuma-bara* and *tumabiraka*, minutely, clear and detailed. Possibly it is identical with the preceding word.

*tume*, the nail, talon or hoof of any living creature.

*tumi*, a sin, a crime.

*tumi*, a species of mulberry-tree.

*tumu*, to heap, to pack together.

*tumu*, to pick, to pluck.

*tumuzi*, a whirlwind.

*tura*, a rope.

*tune*, a constant habit, an invariable precedent, always.

*tunu* or *tuno*, a horn.

*tupi*, a long time, at length.

*tura*, a row, a line.

*tura*, unfeeling, unsympathetic.

*turu*, to take as a companion. Hence *ture*, something occurring in connection with something else, the reason or cause of a thing.

*turu*, to catch (fish), to angle.—Same as *toru*, to take ?

*turu* or *tura*, a string.

*turugi*, a sabre.—Perhaps a compound signifying the wooden (*ki*) implement which is hung round the waist by means of a string (*turu*). But this seems hardly likely.

*tuta*, ivy. From the next ?

*tut(apu)*, to be continuous, to hand along, to transmit.—The form *tute* also occurs.

*tuti*, the earth.

*tuto*, a parcel.—From *tut(apu)*, to transmit ?

*tutomu*, to be diligent.

*tutu*, a suffix expressing simultaneity.

*tutumu*, to enclose, to wrap up.—Hence *tutumi*, an embankment, a dyke.

*tutuzi*, the azalea-tree.

*tuwe*, a stick.

*tuyo*, strong.

*tuyu*, dew.

## U.

*u*, a cormorant.

*u*, a hare.

*u*, a shrub bearing a white blossom,—the *Deutzia scabra*.

*u*, the upper part, above. Hence *upa*, *upe*, modern *uye* or *ue*.

*u*, yes. Hence *ube*, an adverb of asseveration meaning it is natural that.

*u*, sad, dreary.

*u*, to get.

*ubara* or *ibara*, a brambly bush.

*udaku*, to roar,—said of the wild boar.

*udi*, a family (name).

*udura*, a quail.

*ugoku*, to move.

*ugupitu*, the nightingale.

*uka*, food.

*uka*, an ambush, spying. Hence *ukami*, a spy, and *ukagapu*, to pry into.

*uku*, to receive. Hence probably *ukepu*, to worship, to swear by.

*uku*, to float.

*uma*, or *ma*, *muma*, a horse. The form *uma* is the most usual. *Ma* seems to stand by apocope for *uma* when the metre necessitates the retrenchment of a syllable. Nevertheless it can scarcely be doubted that the Japanese word is derived from the Chinese 馬 (*ma*), the animal itself having been introduced from China or Korea apparently subsequent to the third century of the Christian era. It is a significant fact that the Ainos, who of course became acquainted with horses at a still later period and through intercourse with the Japanese, have adopted the Japanese word *uma* (pronounced by them *umma*) to denote it. Similarly the Korean term is *mal*, also too like the Chinese to be considered independent of the latter. The case is throughout one of borrowing, not of coincidence.

' *umasi*, good, honourable; hence nice, pleasant.

*ume*, a plum-tree. Probably from the Chinese 梅 *mei*, the tree itself having almost certainly been introduced from China.

*umi* or *una*, the sea.

*umu*, to give birth to, to produce.

*umu*, to spin. Possibly identical with the preceding.

*umu*, to grow weary.

*umu*, to fill up with earth.

*una* or *une*, the neck, the head, a ridge between furrows.

*ura*, (1) the back or hind part of anything, inside, the reverse ; hence the heart, the mind, divination of things unseen, soothsaying. (2) Probably identical with the above is the sense of beach, sea-shore (sand of a bay,—not of any open place). From *ura* come such words as *uranapu*, to divine ; *utagapu* (for *ura tagapu*), to suspect, etc.

*ure*, the topmost twigs of a tree.

*ure*, grief. Possibly from *ura*.

*uresi*, joyful. Possibly from *ura*.

*uru*, or *uro*, silly.

*uru(pasi)*, delightful. Conf. *uru(popu)*, to moisten, to fertilise.

*usi*, a bull, a cow.

*usi*, a master. The modern *nushi*, properly *n'ushi*, is a contraction of *no ushi*, as *Ōkuni-nushi*, the master of the great land (the name of a Shintō deity).

*usiro*, behind, the back.

*usu*, to vanish. Hence *usi(napu)*, to lose.

*uso*, whistling.

*usu*, a mortar.

*utaki*, terrible, savage.

*utate*, sorrow.

*uti*, inside.

*uto*, unfamiliar, unfriendly.

*utu*, to strike, to beat.

*uturu*, } to remove. Also with initial *y*, thus *yuturu*.  
*utusu*, } to remove.

*utu(tu)*, also *utotutu*, actual, present, waking reality as opposed to dreams. Similarly *utu(siki)*, evident, *ututa(pe)*, plainly, with single intent.

*uwo*, a fish.

*uuu*, to be hungry.

*uwu*, to plant.

*uzi*, a maggot. Conf. *musi*, an insect.

*uzu*, a head-dress.

## W.

*wa*, something round, a circle, surroundings, a wheel. Hence *wada*, a coil; *wadakamaru*, to writhe.

*wa* or *ware*, I. Another form, used only by women, is *warapa*.

*wabu*, to complain, to lament.

*waduka*. See *patuka*.

*wadu(rapu)*, to be sick.

*waka*, young. Perhaps from *waku*, to spring forth.

*waki*, the arm-pit.

*waku*, to spring forth—as a fountain; to boil (water).

*waku*, to divide. Hence *wakaru*, to be in a state of division, to be understood.

*wakuraba*, rarely, with difficulty. Evidently a compound, but of what?

*wana*, a snare, a pitfall. May not this be a contraction of *wa ana*, a circular hole?

*wananaku*, or *wononoku*, to tremble, to shudder.

*wani*, the name of a sea-monster, perhaps the crocodile. Some identify it with the shark.

*wara*, straw.

*warabi*, a kind of fern.

*waru*, to split, to rive asunder.

*wasi*, an eagle.

*wasuru*, to forget.

*wata*, the sea.

*wata*, cotton.

*watari*. See *atari*.

*wataru*, to cross (the water).

*warasu*, to put across.

*wazaku*, to be in shreds.

*waza*, an action. Hence *waza-papi*, a calamity.

*we!* an exclamatory particle.

*wegu*, the name of a kind of grass.

*wemu*, to smile.

*wepu*, to become intoxicated.

*wera-wera*, an onomatope for joyous smiles or laughter.

*weru*, to make a hole, to cut into.

*wi*, a boar.

*wi*, a well.

*wiru*, to be in, to dwell. See *vu*.

*wiya*, thanks, courtesy.

*wo*, a man.

*wo*, hemp; hence a cord, string.

*wo*, a hillock. Hence *wo-ka* lit. a hillock-place, i. e., a hillock.

*wo*, a tail.

*wo*, small.

*wo!* an interjection corresponding to the English oh! and occurring at the end of clauses. Its classical and modern use as a sign of the accusative case was the gradual development of later times.

*wodi*, an old man.

*woko*, foolish.

*woku*, to beckon.

*womina*, a woman.

*womuna*, an old woman.

*wono*, an axe.

*wopu*, to finish.

*woroti*, a serpent.

*woru*, to break.

*woru*, to dwell, to be. Same as *vu*, q. v.

*wosi*, regrettable, precious. Hence *wosimu*, to grudge.

*wosipu*, to teach.

*woso*, a lie, a falsehood; also foolishness. The occurrence of this word is somewhat doubtful; but the fact of its existence is rendered more than probable by the existence of the modern word *uso* (for *wuso*), having the same signification.

*wosu*, to eat, also to govern. Hence *wosa*, a chieftain; whence again, also *wosamu*, to quell, to govern.

*woti*, *wote*, *woto*, there, the other or further side.

*wotoko*, a young man.

*wotome*, a maiden.

*woworu*, probably to hang down.

*iu*, to be in, to dwell. This original first conjugation form,—*iu*, *ie*, etc., was already obsolescent in archaic times, being almost always replaced by *iru*, fourth conjugation. *Woru*, a lengthened first conjugation form, is also to be referred to the simple *iu*.

## Y.

*ya*, a house. Probably for *wiya*, from *iu*, to dwell. Hence probably *yado*, for *ya-to*, house door, i. e., a dwelling, *yadoru*, to dwell; *ya-tu-ko*, a slave, lit. a child of the house.

*ya*, eight.

*ya*, a particle of interrogation or doubt.

*yaburu*, to break.

*yado*, a dwelling. See *ya*.

*yaku*, to burn.

*yama*, a mountain, a hill,

*yami*, total darkness.

*yamu*, to cease.

*yamu*, to be wounded, sick.

*yana*, a weir. Conf. *wana*.

*yanagi*, or *yagi*, a willow-tree. The termination *gi* probably means tree, as in so many other cases.

*yapa*, smooth.

*yaru*, to send.

*yaru*, to tear.

*yasa(siki)*, easy-going, pleasant.

*yasu*, easy, at ease.

*yasi(napu)*, to take care of, to feed.

*yasu*, to grow thin.

*ya-ya*, gradually. Probably an onomatope.

*ye*, a branch—of a tree or of a river.

*ye*, forced labour. Some plausibly derive it from the Chinese *yek* or *yaku* 袂.

*ye* or *yo*, good.

*yemisi*, the barbarian aborigines of Japan.

*yeru*, to choose.

*yo*, life, age, a generation, hence the world.

*yo*, night. Hence *yo-pi*, (also *yu-pu*) lit. night-day, i. e., evening.

*yo*, four.

*yo!* oh!

*yobu*, to call. (Derived from the preceding?)

*yodo*, a sluggish place in a stream, an almost stagnant current.

*yodu*, to climb.

*yoko*, athwart, crosswise.

*yoku*, to set aside, to avert, to escape.

*yomi*, *yomo*, Hades. Conf. *yami*, total darkness.

*yomu*, to count. Probably identical with *yobu*, to call. .

*yoro(du)*, a myriad.

*yorokobu*, to rejoice. Conf. *ye* (8).

*yorosi*, good. Conf. *ye* (8).

*yoru*, to approach, to lean on, to rely on. Hence the particle *yori*, meaning owing to, since, from.

*yosi*, manner, facts, circumstances.

*yoso(pu)*, to deck, to attire.

*yosori*, dependence, reliance. (Connected with *yoru*, to rely?)

*yosu*, to bring together, to collect. Conf. *yoru*.

*yota*, weak.

*yu*, from. Connected with *yoru*?

*yu*, a bow. It is probably this word which we have in the compound *ma-yu* or *ma-yo*, eyebrow, literally eye-bow. *Yumi*, a bow, is an alternative form.

*yu*, hot water.

*yuka*, a floor.

*yuki*, snow.

*yuku*, to go.

*yume*, a dream. It is also written *yome*, and may possibly be a compound of *yo*, night, and *me*, the eyes.

*yumu*, to shun, to avoid.

*yupu*, wool.

*yupu*, evening. Perhaps from *yo-pi*, lit. night-day.

*yupu*, to tie.

*yura*, or *yuru*, loose, pliable, unstable.

*yuri*, also *yu* and *yo*, after. It seems uncertain whether this is an independent word, or only a variant of *yori*, since, from, owing to, derived from *yoru*, to rely.

*yuri*, a lily.

*yurusu*, to slacken hold of, to allow.

*yuta*, plenty.

*yut(apu)*, to move or float slowly about, to wave or rock.

*yuure*, or *youe*, the reason owing to which anything happens.

*yuyusi*, unlucky,—e. g. the abode of a deity.

## Z.

*zi*, a verbal suffix signifying improbability, especially improbability in the future.

*zo*, an emphatic particle.

*zu*, a negative suffix.



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Members who do not receive the Transactions in due course are requested to notify the Corresponding Secretary, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Tōkyō.

TRANSACTIONS  
OF  
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY  
OF JAPAN.

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VOL. XVII.

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TOKYO:

THE HAKUBUNSHA.

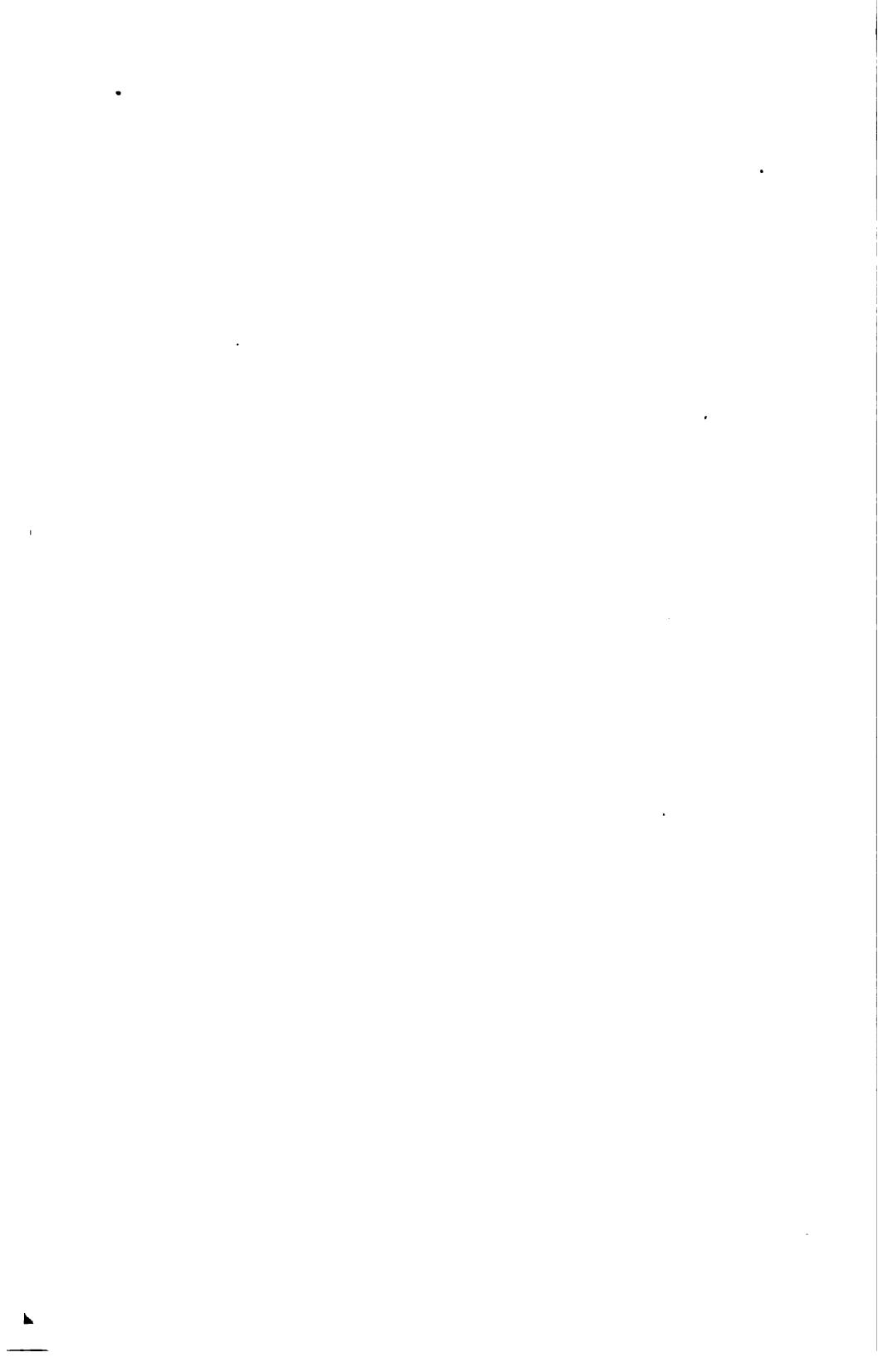
1889.

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## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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### MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

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Tōkyō, October 10th, 1888.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Nobles' School, Toranomon, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, 10th October, 1888, at 4 p.m. The Rev. James L. Amerman, D.D., occupied the chair.

The names of the following new members were announced: H.E. Don Pedro de Carrère, Spanish Chargé d' Affaires; Mr. G. Jamieson, H.B.M.'s Judge at Yokohama; Mr. E. W. Clement, Chiba; Rev. George Eaves; Rev. C. W. Green, Hakodate; Rev. E. S. Booth, Mr. F. Trevithick, and Rev. J. C. C. Newton, resident; and Rev. Thomas Marshall, St. Louis, U.S.A., non-resident.

It was announced that Mr. James Troup, H.B.M.'s Consul at Yokohama, had been unanimously requested by the Council to become Vice-President, and had accepted the office.

The lecturer for the afternoon, Professor W. K. Burton, of the Imperial University, then addressed the meeting, illustrating his Lecture on Sanitation with diagrams and models.

---

Tōkyō, November 14th, 1888.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, November 14th, 1888, in the rooms of the Geographical Society of Japan, Nishi-konya-chō, Tōkyō. The President, the Rev. Dr. Amerman, occupied the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that M. Burty, of Paris, one of the most valued foreign members of the Society, had written asking for information concerning tattooing, and also concerning the marks used by the printers and editors of engravings. He suggested that some resident member of the Society should take up this subject, which, in Europe, has long received its share of attention,—details to be gleaned chiefly from merchants and experts.

The President, in announcing the resignation of his predecessor, Mr. W. G. Aston, whose state of health necessitated his leaving the country, expressed what must have been the regrets of all members of the Society in losing the active services of one whose name is familiar to every student of Japanese. He had reason to believe, however, that Mr. Aston would continue to take a warm interest in matters pertaining to the Society, and to make, should health permit, other valuable contributions to the Society's Transactions. It was his further duty to read the following extract from the Minutes of the last meeting of Council :—"To fill the vacant office of President, the senior Vice-President, Dr. Amerman, was elected unanimously. Dr. Divers was also unanimously elected to fill the Vice-Presidency vacated by Dr. Amerman. A ballot for the vacancy in the Council caused by Dr. Divers' election resulted in the election of Major-General Palmer, R.E."

In the absence of the proposer, the discussion of Dr. Divers' proposed addition to the Society's rule relating to the election of members was postponed to the next general meeting.

Mr. A. E. Wileman, of the British Consular Service, then presented his paper on "Salt Manufacture in Japan."

The President, having expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Wileman for his very valuable contribution to the Transactions, declared the meeting adjourned.

---

Tōkyō, December 12th, 1888.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Geographical Society's Rooms, Nishi-Konya-chō, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, December 12th, 1888, at 4 p.m. Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, occupied the chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the election of Messers. J.E. de Becker and R. Kirby as members of the Society; also the removal of the Society's stock of Transactions to a godown belonging to the British Legation, which Mr. Trench had kindly put at their disposal; and the publication of the Catalogue of the Society's Library, copies of which would be obtained on application to any of the Council.

After a short discussion, the following addition to Rule V. in the Society's Rules was put to the vote and passed unanimously :—"It shall be open to any member joining the Society after the 30th June in any year, to postpone his active membership until the first of January in the following year, or to pay his subscription for the current year, receiving in the latter case the volume of the Society's Transactions containing papers read previously to the 30th June."

A paper on "Ne" by Mr. W. G. Aston, was then read by Mr. Chamberlain.

A paper by Mr. E. H. Parker on "Indo-Chinese Tones" was presented with a few explanatory remarks by the Rev. J. Summers, but, because of its very technical character, was not read.

The President, after expressing the thanks of the Society to the authors of the papers presented, declared the meeting adjourned.

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Tōkyō, January 16th, 1889.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Geographical Society of Tōkyō, Nishi-Konya-chō, Tōkyō, on January 16th, 1889. The Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, occupied the chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The election of F. T. Piggott, Esq., and T. G. Carson, Esq., as members of the Society was announced.

The President then called on Mr. Chamberlain to read his Review of Mr. E. M. Satow's "Monograph on the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan from 1591 to 1610."

Dr. Seymour then gave a lecture on "The Hygienic Aspects of Japanese Dwelling Houses."

After the discussion, the President, having conveyed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Chamberlain for his paper and to Dr. Seymour for his lecture, declared the meeting adjourned.

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Tōkyō, February 20th, 1889.

A general meeting was held in the rooms of the Geographical Society, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, 20th February, 1889, at 4 p.m.

The President, Rev. Dr. Amerman, occupied the chair.

The Minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The election of Mr. F. Dietz, Yokohama, as an ordinary member, and of Mr. M. Tomkinson, Mayor of Kidderminster, as a life-member, was announced.

Mr. Troup then read a paper on "The Gobunsho or Ofumi of Ren-nyo Shōnin."

The President, after thanking the author for his valuable communication, declared the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, March 13th, 1889.

Mr. Conder's paper on "The Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangements" was illustrated by numerous drawings, which were hung round the room for the inspection of the ladies and gentlemen who attended the meeting.

After the reading of the paper, Captain Brinkley said that he considered this paper of Mr. Conder's one of the most interesting as well as the most valuable ever contributed to the Society's Transactions. The Flower System of Japan was perhaps the only branch of her art in which few, if any, traces of foreign origin could be discovered. They knew that Japan owed much to China, and perhaps to Korea also, in respect of art industries, though the exact extent of her debt remained to be determined. She herself habitually acknowledged that she had borrowed from Korea; but foreign students of her art were at a loss to discover adequate cause for this acknowledgement. The specimens of Korean art preserved with greatest care by Japanese dilettanti certainly did not deserve to be classed with the exquisite objects usually regarded as typical of Japanese artistic genius. The former were rude, homely affairs, generally misshapen, always betraying technical incompetence, and never relieved by any really graceful or artistic feature. Yet the Japanese treasured these unattractive specimens, and pointed to them as prototypes of their own incomparably more gifted achievements. By the Koreans, on the other hand, a different standard was set up. Squalid, unenterprising, and in many respects degraded as the people of the peninsula were to-day, there could be no doubt that at one time they had stood on a very much higher plane of civilization. Since the opening of their country to foreign intercourse, we had learned that, five or six hundred years ago, they were second only to China in some important branches of art industry, and that the men of that era manufactured and used articles of great technical excellence. Several of these articles had been seen by, or had come into the possession of, foreign amateurs. They showed that, whatever Japan had really learned from the neighbouring kingdom in past centuries, she certainly had not learned to appreciate what the Koreans accounted their own master-pieces. Even if she had, however, she would have acquired nothing of her Flower System, for of that there was not the most rudimentary trace in the whole field of Korean art, so far as we know. From China, on the other hand, she had undoubtedly obtained both instruction and inspiration. The germs of many of her most charming conceptions might be traced to the Middle Kingdom, though it had remained for her to develop them into the beautiful forms familiar to modern collectors. Yet, even while making this admission, it was necessary to qualify it by observing that Japan's debt to China was chiefly of a technical character. China's principal title to fame lay

in technical excellence. The Chinese artist-artisan had always loved to set himself apparently impossible tasks of manual dexterity and skilled experience. He possessed none of the light, graceful elements of Japanese artistic genius. Mr. Conder had laid bare the very root of the matter when he said that linear beauty was the Japanese ideal. In the Occident, linear beauty was not unappreciated, though our perception of it ranked second to our love of colour. But in China colour was everything. Just as the Japanese called the cherry the king of flowers, not more for the sake of its blossom's delicate tinge than for its graceful sweep of branch and beauty of contour, while the Chinese gave the first place to the peony, a blaze of grand colour on a shapeless, mean-looking plant, so where the Chinese keramist revelled in wonderful monochromatic, or rich polychromatic glazes, the Japanese would be found decorating sober surfaces with sketches that appealed to the poetic rather than the decorative instinct. It was scarcely to be expected, therefore, that the origin of the Japanese Flower System should be found in China. And, indeed, looking thorough the numerous sketches placed by Mr. Conder in the hands of the meeting, only one distinctly Chinese element could be traced. That was the well known *hana-kago*, or flower-basket, which figured so largely in the decorative art of the two empires. It was an interesting object, the *hana-kago*. Two hundred and fifty years ago, when the Japanese were first beginning to manufacture enamelled porcelain in Hizen, the Dutch merchants, who then had a factory in the island of Hirado, found that the new ware was not sufficiently brilliant for purposes of exportation. They explained this defect to the Japanese, and these, apparently just as ready then as they are now to adopt a suggestion, submitted several designs for the approval of the Dutch. Among the designs thus submitted, the head of the factory, Wagenar, is said to have chosen the *hana-kago* and a certain grouping of peonies. Thenceforth the *hana-kago* figured largely on exported porcelains, and soon made its appearance upon the faience of Delft also. Mr. Conder had told them that, when the Flower System was first inaugurated in the days of the Regent Yoshimasa, this particular form of *kago* was recommended as a graceful and suitable vase for arranging blossoms, and that considerable numbers of the *kago* were imported for the purpose. Had the Chinese, then, designed it? There was difficulty in believing so, for the shape of the *kago* strongly suggested a Grecian origin. That it had been known and used in China for a long time was, however, certain. He had seen a painting by a Chinese artist of the *Yuan* Dynasty—circ. A.D. 1350—representing a girl carrying in her hand the conventional *hana-kago*. At all events, whether the *hana-kago* was a purely Chinese conception, or whether its *provenance* had been Grecian, it was the only distinct affinity between China and Japan in respect of the Flower System. Mr. Conder had implied that the origin of the Flower

System was religious,—that it belonged to a class of arts developed under Buddhistic influences. Yoshimasa, its founder, who lived at the close of the fifteenth century, had had recourse to priestly aid in all his artistic efforts. In establishing the *Cha-no-yu* cult, with which his name would always be associated, he had derived instruction and direction from the priest Shukō. But if Buddhism gave this beautiful Floral System to Japan, why did it not do as much for the countries where it had previously flourished as a national creed, China, Korea, Ceylon, and India? Why had the religious influence tended in such a direction in Japan alone? The point seemed of great interest, since we were dealing with what appeared to be an essentially Japanese branch of Japanese art, and he hoped that Mr. Conder would tell the meeting whether his researches had incidentally thrown any light on the real origin of the System.

Mr. Conder, in reply, stated that, as his knowledge of the subject was derived from books—comparatively modern books—alone, he could not venture on an authoritative answer to the question of origin raised by Captain Brinkley. Many indications, however, seemed to confirm the opinion that Buddhism was the originator of the floral art in Japan. The idea at the root of it seems to have been the preservation of plant life, an idea which the Buddhist reverence for animal life would naturally lead on to. It is also to be observed that the more ancient, that is the stiffer and more crowded, arrangement of Japanese bouquets, still obtains in many Buddhist temples. With regard to the *kago*, or flower-baskets, all he could say was that, not only was their origin ascribed by the Japanese themselves to China, but that a Chinaman is said actually to have come over to Japan for the express purpose of instructing the Japanese in the art of making such baskets.

The Chairman remarked that, in any case, so great a civilising agent as Buddhism might be the prime motor or starting-point for many such arts as that of the arrangement of flowers, even if it had not actually suggested the details. Religion was associated with almost every act of social life. So, as we had just learnt from the author of the paper, was the arrangement of flowers. It was not to be credited that the first should not have affected the second. The history of the influence exercised in Europe by Christianity on the arts teaches us that this is what to expect. In closing the meeting, the Chairman thanked the author in the name of the Society for his learned and interesting paper, which would, he felt sure, prove to be one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the Society's "Transactions." The meeting then adjourned.

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Tōkyō, June 19th, 1889.

The annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, June 19th, 1889, in the Theological Hall, Tsukiji, the Rev. Dr. Amerman, President, in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary intimated the election of Messrs T. Wassilief, Lazenby Liberty, Charles Holme, F.L.S., and Viscount Akimoto as members of the Society.

The Council's Report for the past session was then presented, as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION,  
OCTOBER, 1888—JUNE, 1889.

Once more the Council of your Society comes before you to render an account of its stewardship, and is happy to be able to report that the Society's affairs are in a satisfactory condition, as evidenced by the Treasurer's statement (Appendix C), showing a clear balance of \$750 on the credit side. Seven general meetings of the Society have been held during the Session which now closes, and at these meetings one lecture was given and eight papers read,—papers of which the list given in Appendix A will serve to show that they treat of a remarkable variety of subjects, some belonging to the field of the student and the specialist, others (as Mr. Wileman's paper on "Salt Manufacture in Japan") introducing us to a knowledge of more practical matters having relation to the commercial concerns of the country whose institutions and whose thoughts, as expressed in literature and art, it is the object of the Asiatic Society to elucidate. More especially to be noticed, as breaking new ground, is the translation of that mediæval Buddhist Scripture, the "Go-bunsho," by our late Vice-President, Mr. Troup, and—turning, from the austere to the graceful—Mr. Conder's elaborately illustrated paper on "Flower Arrangement," a Japanese art which has no parallel in the West. The first part of Vol. XVII. of the "Transactions" is already published. The second part, consisting of Mr. Conder's paper and of those read to-day, is in the printer's hands, and will be issued during the summer recess. We have also been occupied in reprinting some of the earlier volumes, for which there is a steady demand by non-members, complete sets of the Society's "Transactions" being frequently purchased by tourists. Vol. V., Part 2; Vol. VI., Part 1; and Vol. VII., Parts 1 and 2 have thus been reprinted during the current year. During the coming session a certain portion of the Society's income must be devoted to the same object.

Twenty new members have joined the Society since October last. On the other hand, there have been a few resignations, and one most lamentable loss to the Society by death. We allude to His Excellency, Mori Arinori, Minister of Education, formerly the representative of the Imperial Japanese Government at Washington, and later in London, who perished by the assassin's hand at the very moment when his country-

men were celebrating the granting of the new Constitution on the 11th February of this year.

During the past year the Library Catalogue has been completed and printed. The books and manuscripts are still deposited in a room lent by the authorities at the Gakushuin.

Among the new exchanges received during the year are the Transactions of the Oriental Society of Germany from the date at which our Society commenced, and the Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Paris for the same period. The Presentations were Revista do Observatorio of the Imperial Observatory of Rio de Janeiro; Catalogue of the Museum of Rio de Janeiro; Annual of the observatory of Takubaya, Mexico; Moths of India, 4 parts, by the Indian Government; the Zoology of Victoria, 16 parts, with plates by F. McCoy, presented by the Government of Melbourne; three brochures on New Guinea, &c., by H.H. Prince Roland Bonaparte; and an attempt towards an International Language, by Dr. Esperanto, presented by the translator, Henry Phillips, Esq., Jun.

The Report having been adopted, the PRESIDENT called on the Rev. A. F. KING to read his paper on "A Gravestone in Batavia to the Memory of a Japanese Christian of the seventeenth Century."

The PRESIDENT, having expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. King for his interesting note, called upon Mr. Masujima to read his paper "On the *fitsu-in* or Japanese Legal Seal."

After some questions had been asked by the members present, and answered by Mr. Masujima, the PRESIDENT conveyed to the author the thanks of the Society for his very valuable paper.

The meeting then proceeded to elect the Officers and members of Council for the coming Session with the following result:—

**PRESIDENT**—Rev. Dr. Amerman.

**VICE-PRESIDENTS**—Dr. E. Divers, F.R.S. and G. Jamieson, Esq.

**CORRESPONDING SECRETARY**—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

**RECORDING SECRETARIES**—Dr. C. G. Knott, F.R.S.E. and W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

**TREASURER**—J. M. Dixon, Esq., F.R.S.E.

**LIBRARIAN**—Rev. J. Summers.

**COUNCILLORS:**

Rev. Dr. Cochran. W. Dening, Esq.

Rev. Dr. Eby. J. H. Gubbins, Esq.

J. Kanō, Esq. R. J. Kirby, Esq.

Rev. Dr. Macdonald. R. Masujima, Esq.

Major-General Palmer. Rev. W. Spinner.

### APPENDIX A.

#### LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY

DURING THE SESSION 1888-1889.

A Lecture on "Sanitation" with special reference to Japan—by Prof. W. K. Burton.  
"Salt Manufacture in Japan," by A. E. Wileman, Esq.  
"Indo-Chinese Tones," by E. H. Parker, Esq.  
"The Particle *Ne*," by W. G. Aston, Esq.  
"A Review of Mr. Satow's Monograph on *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591-1610*," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.  
"The Gobunsho or Ofumi, of Rennyo Shōnin," by James Troup, Esq.  
"The Theory of Japanese Flower Arrangement," by Josiah Conder, Esq.  
"A Grave-stone in Batavia to the Memory of a Japanese Christian of the XVII. Century," by Rev. A. F. King.  
"The Japanese Legal Seal," by R. Masujima, Esq.

### APPENDIX B.

#### LIST OF EXCHANGES.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; Proceedings.  
Academy of Sciences of Finland (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*).  
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.  
American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.  
American Chemical Journal.  
American Journal of Philology.  
American Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.  
American Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.  
American Philological Association, Boston; Transactions.  
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Proceedings.  
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.  
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.  
Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.  
Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.  
Australian Museum, Sydney.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Notulen.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Tidsschrift.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Verhandelingen.  
Boston Society of Natural History; Proceedings.  
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports, Washington.  
Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, Washington.  
California Academy of Sciences.  
China Review; Hongkong.  
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.

Cochinchine Francaise, Excursions et Reconnaissances, Saigon.  
Cosmos ; di Guido Cora, Turin.  
Canadian Institute, Toronto ; Proceedings and Reports.  
Geographical Survey of India ; Records.  
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.  
Handels Museum, Wien.  
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology ; Bulletin.  
Imperial Russian Geographical Society ; Bulletin and Reports.  
Imperial Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) : Section of Anthropology and Ethnography, Transactions.  
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.  
Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.  
Journal Asiatique, Paris.  
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher ; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.  
Mittheilungen des Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tökyö.  
Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.  
Mittheilungen des Ornithologische Vereins in Wien.  
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Revue, etc.  
Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass.  
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia.  
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.  
Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Takubaya, Anuario Mexico.  
Ornithologischer Verein in Wien.  
Ofversigt af Finskap Societen.  
Observatoire de Zi ka-wei ; Bulletin des Observations.  
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.  
Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch ; Journal.  
Royal Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.  
Royal Geographical Society ; Proceedings.  
Royal Society, London ; Proceedings.  
Royal Society, New South Wales.  
Royal Society of Tasmania.  
Royal Society of Queensland.  
Scottish Geographical Magazine.  
Seismological Society of Japan ; Transactions.  
Smithsonian Institute, Washington D. C. ; Reports, etc.  
Sociedad Geografica de Madrid ; Boletin.  
Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.  
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.  
Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.

Société des Études Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.  
 Société d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.  
 Société d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.  
 Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.  
 Société des Études Indo-Chinoises de Saigon; Bulletin, Saigon.  
 Sydney, Council of Education, Report, Sydney.  
 United States Geological Survey.  
 Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.

### APPENDIX C.

#### THE ASIATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH J. M. DIXON.

##### DR.

To Printing Expenses at the Hakubunsha .....	\$383.35
To Printing Expenses with R. Meiklejohn & Co. ....	172.28
To Illustrations of Paper .....	60.18
To Library Expenses .....	60.00
To Rent of Rooms .....	8.00
To Current Postal Expenses .....	57.13
To Balance in Hand .....	<u>977.37</u>
Total .....	\$1,918.31

##### CR.

By Balance from last year .....	\$458.96
By Sale of Transactions.....	440.35
By Subscriptions of resident Members .....	690.00
By Subscriptions of non-resident Members.....	42.00
By Subscriptions of Life Members .....	192.00
By Entrance Fees .....	<u>95.00</u>
Total .....	\$1,918.31

C. D. WEST, }  
J. N. SEYMOUR, } Auditors.

17th June, 1889.

1889.

18th June.—Cash since received—

By Subscriptions .....	\$26.00
Liabilities since discharged—	
To Messrs. R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing Vol.	
XVI., Part III., etc. ....	\$183.12
To Illustrations of Mr. Conder's paper .....	54.40

Leaving an actual clear balance of \$765.85 on June 19th, 1889.

J. M. DIXON.

## ABSTRACT OF PROFESSOR BURTON'S LECTURE ON "SANITATION."

---

Tōkyō, October 10th, 1888.

The subject of "Sanitation," he said, was a very wide one, and one that could by no means be fully treated of in one lecture; moreover, he was only able to consider it from one point of view, namely that of an engineer. He would, therefore confine himself to certain branches of the subject.

He considered that the greatest mistake that was made in looking at the question of the sanitation of such a town as Tōkyō, lay in considering that the actual ordure was the whole of the sewage or even the greater part of it. As a matter of fact, the ordure, in European cities, and probably in Japanese also, formed only a small fraction of the sewage, or decomposing matter that had to be got rid of,—scarcely the most offensive part, and certainly the most easily dealt with. There were a dozen ways of getting rid of the ordure alone. The manner at present employed was wrong only in detail, not in principle; but to get rid of the 15 or 16 gallons per head of population, that there will be, even in all Japanese towns, when there is a new water-supply, along with all the filth that it carries with it, is a problem easy in no large city, particularly difficult in the case of Tōkyō. It can, however, be done, but not, the writer considered, by any other method than that of the construction of a complete set of sewers on the principle now always adopted in Europe. That is to say, on the principle of having sewers no larger than is just necessary, laid with great ease, in straight lines between manholes, and with ample ventilation.

The question of disposal was also a difficult one, and the lecturer hoped before long, to see experiments made to discover if it would not be possible to apply the liquid sewage to rice-fields in the form of irrigation. Even if the sewage were not actually beneficial, as long as it did no actual harm, the problem of disposal would be solved. At present the liquid sewage stagnated in ditches, or leaked from them into the ground, which it contaminated, and from which the wells were, in turn, contaminated.

The lecturer remarked that the refinement in sewerage would call for a refinement in house-drainage. As long as there was no efficient sewerage system, there was no need for a carefully worked out house-drainage system; but good sewers called for a good house-drainage system, because, if the house-drainage system was so defective

that the sewage remained in deposit long enough to reach the sewers already in a state of decomposition, the benefit of the well-constructed sewers was greatly lost.

A house-drainage system of the most modern description was described by the aid of models and diagrams. The lecturer said that the objects to be borne in mind in designing such a system could almost be summed up in three words,—“self-cleansing, disconnection, and accessibility.” He ended by saying that he hoped to see, before long, a system carried out in this city, whereby the liquid sewage, which is now not only wasted, but is disposed of in such a manner that it may almost be said that Tōkyō rests on a dung-heap, may be carried rapidly out of the town and be applied to the land, where, even if it does not do any great good to the growing crops, it will be harmlessly disposed of.

In answer to a question, the lecturer stated that he did not anticipate the possibility of draining Tōkyō, without resorting to pumping to enable the sewage to be carried by gravity to the land, and that, although properly constructed open channels might be looked on as sewers with the very greatest possible amount of ventilation, he considered that, on account of various reasons, covered channels, ventilated at intervals, were preferable.

Dr. Divers, whilst agreeing in the main with all that the lecturer had said, thought that the differences in the manner of life of the Japanese and of Europeans were so great that it was scarcely possible to argue that, because the larger portion of the solid material of sewage in European towns was other than ordure, the same was the case here. He thought that the lecturer had overestimated both the dangers likely to arise from the “liquid sewage,” and the use that it might be to the land. Still he admitted that a sewerage system was a necessity in such a town as Tōkyō.

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ABSTRACT OF DR. SEYMOUR'S LECTURE ON “THE  
HYGIENIC ASPECTS OF JAPANESE  
DWELLING-HOUSES.”

Tōkyō, January 16th, 1889.

A slight acquaintance with Japanese houses, such as many foreigners are content with, is apt to lead one to the conclusion that they are good to look on and not to live in, and that the advice of Lord Bacon, to “let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had,” merits special attention in this country. Before venturing to criticise Japanese dwellings, however, we should first form definite conclusions as to those essential qualities which make a house a healthy and desirable habitation. Thus, there is the question of site; of protection against excessive heat, cold, and moisture; of ventilation and sewage removal;

and, generally, the question of the purity of the air. To have absolutely pure air in an occupied room is impossible—respiration, fires, lights, etc., being necessary pollutions; but evidently the impurity should not be so great as to be perceptible, either as closeness or bad smell, to a person entering from the fresh outside air. It has been estimated that a person must be supplied with about 3,000 cubic feet of fresh air per hour. In a room of 600 cubic feet—the minimum allowance for the English soldier—the air must be renewed 5 times every hour. But to ventilate such small rooms without causing draughts is very difficult. In a Japanese room, say 8 feet in height, one mat represents about 150 cubic feet; so that no one should be contented with less than four mats. At night time, when the room is used for sleeping in, the doors and windows are all closed, and there is no chimney to act as a ventilating shaft. That such a room is habitable at all is due to its airiness if not draughtiness. The *shōji* and *karakami* never fit close; the very paper of the *shōji*, even if not torn, is quite pervious to air; between the plaster walls and posts considerable crevices exist; the flooring below the mats is badly constructed; and so on. It is only because of the extreme airiness of a Japanese room that the *hibachi* or charcoal brazier can be tolerated; for the sole merits of the Japanese heating apparatus are its simplicity and great convenience. In winter, when it is especially needed, a Japanese puts on very warm clothing in the house, and keeps his feet warm by sitting on them. Thus a small *hibachi* suffices. If foreign habits were adopted, and the temperature raised to what we consider comfortable, the *hibachi* from its size would certainly become injurious, giving off more noxious carbonic oxide than even the draughtiness of a Japanese house could sufficiently neutralise. Of the foreign methods of heating a room, which are now being introduced into Japan, the open fire-place is generally considered to be the most healthy. The heating is by radiation through the air, and the products of combustion are carried up the chimney, which also serves as a ventilator. The objections to the fireplace, namely, that it is insufficient for a large room, and that it produces little heat for a large consumption of fuel, are not of serious import when small rooms are considered. With stoves, again, in which the room is heated by convection, the air becoming hot as it flows past the surface, the air becomes dry and oppressive, and there is great difficulty in maintaining an equable temperature. There are slow combustion stoves free from this defect; but the merits of the inferior and usual sorts are not manifestly greater than those of the *hibachi*. Then there are small kerosene stoves exposed now for sale. These are small and handy, and would probably be superior to the *hibachi*. In the day-time the heat of the sun may be greatly utilised; and the substitution of glass for paper in the *shōji*, or the setting up of extra glass *shōji* just inside the *amado*, is very effective in heating a room in the colder months. The direct rays of the strong summer sun can be kept out altogether by means of a

narrow projecting ledge, or may be broken by the shade of deciduous trees. The lighting of a Japanese room is thoroughly suited to Japanese modes of life, but of course is not so well adopted to foreign uses, such as sitting on chairs, and writing or reading at high tables. The necessity for these and other heavy pieces of furniture in a foreign house springs originally from the need of having a clean place to sit on or sleep on. But in a Japanese house, the whole floor is elevated, clean, dry, and comparatively soft. Whether we derive more comfort from our sofas and chairs than the Japanese do from their mats, must be a matter of mere conjecture. The objections usually urged against sleeping on the floor are prevalence of cold draughts, accumulation there of carbonic acid gas because of its great density, and the up-flow of noxious vapours from the ground. The third objection can hold good only on the ground floor; the second is purely theoretical and has not been proved to be generally valid; while of the first it may be said that draughts do not enter below the *kara-kami* as they do below a European door. The inflammability of a Japanese house is a serious drawback. This can be obviated by building in brick or stone. For shops this might be done; but to substitute brick or stone walls for the pillars and *shōji* of a dwelling house would be to deprive it of its characteristic airiness, and, unless chimneys were at the same time added, would render it stuffy and ill ventilated. I conclude, then, that a Japanese house is on the whole admirably suited to Japanese life. It is small in cost, beautiful in appearance, and may be very healthy. Its chief defects can be easily remedied. The boarding of the floor should be made more close-fitting; ventilating panels should always be inserted in the *amado*; a really good stove might be introduced with advantage; the ceilings should be made higher, and more attention paid to space; and the drainage should be well looked to. The general character of the house does not need alteration. But if a foreigner, in using it, retains his foreign habits, he has no right to condemn it. If he clothes himself lightly, sits on a chair, and makes a large fire in a *hibachi*, he has no right to find fault with the house because he suffers from headache or cold feet. If he uses a high table, he must not condemn the lighting; and if he cumbers the room with furniture, he is not justified in decrying the want of space. The Japanese, too, have need of great caution in introducing foreign features into their houses. The advisability of any contemplated change should be well pondered. Before discarding the old, they should assure themselves of its inferiority; before adopting the new, they should satisfy themselves as to its superiority or adaptability. They should "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."

Dr. Baelz said:—I am very glad to hear Dr. Seymour express such a favourable opinion of Japanese houses, for I myself have long had the same opinion. Some ten years ago I lectured on the subject,

and came to the conclusion that a Japanese house is, in this country, to be preferred to a foreign house. There would indeed be great danger in adopting a foreign-built house built *into* the ground, instead of the Japanese house, the great advantage of which is that it is built *over* the ground. We have an example of the bad effects of such solidly built houses in the poor health of those Japanese who live in godowns. If there were a complete and thorough drainage system, I should of course prefer a more solid style of building; but in the present circumstances everything tells in favour of the Japanese house. Thus there is distinctly more illness amongst foreigners living in stone or brick than amongst persons, both foreign and Japanese, living in wood or frame houses. The prime cause of this is the excessive humidity of the atmosphere, which penetrates the pores of the brick or stone, and remains there. On very moist days the walls get wet, and are only half dried when they get wet through and through again. The presence of shrubs or trees close to a brick house makes bad worse. Every such house should be as much exposed to the sun as possible. I have known cases in which removal to a frame house at once brought recovery and health. If we could only invent some means of keeping the pores of the bricks free of moisture and of letting air pass freely through, it would be a great thing . . . . The great airiness of a Japanese house is its safeguard. The *hibachi* could not be used in a foreign-built house as it is in a Japanese one; and the great overcrowding in Japanese houses does not seem to lead to the ills we should expect. It is quite common to find 4 students living on 6 mats; and I have come across cases in which there was not even a mat apiece to the inhabitants of a house. A very striking fact, which speaks well for the general healthiness of a Japanese house, is the remarkably small infant mortality. This is a fact which is not generally known—indeed the very opposite has often been stated as the truth: but there is no doubt that Japan can show the smallest infant mortality on record. As regards the introduction of stoves into Japanese houses, there is one kind which I should like to see in more general use. It is made of pumice, and is quite free from the bad features of most iron stoves. Its heat is soft and genial. The room may be made quite comfortable, and yet the stove itself is never too hot; you may sit upon it without discomfort . . . . The Japanese no doubt is very clean in everything in which he has been brought up to be clean; but not in everything according to the foreigner's standard. It is notorious how difficult it is to train a new servant to keep a foreign house clean. Then the *tatami* of a Japanese house look very nice and clean; but lift up the edge of one and look beneath. It is just terrible! But here again we have the safeguard in the pure air that is always entering the house. To a busy, industrious life, the Japanese house is not well-suited. Industries cannot thrive, and wealth cannot accumulate, if there is a constant dread

of being burnt out. There are other distinct drawbacks,—for example, the necessity of taking off the boots on entering a house; but these drawbacks are not so bad as many foreigners would make them out to be, or as some Japanese seem to think.

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## SALT MANUFACTURE IN JAPAN.

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By A. E. WILEMAN.

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*(Read 14th November, 1888).*

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The first question which naturally arises when considering the subject which heads this paper is, from what source do the Japanese derive their supplies of salt?

In England and other European salt producing countries, there are, as is generally known, three sources of supply available, namely:—

1. Brine springs.
2. Rock Salt Mines.
3. Sea Water.

In Japan, however, the two former are conspicuous only by their absence, and cannot be regarded as instrumental to any extent in contributing to the wants of the thirty eight millions of population inhabiting it. Their requirements in this respect are met by the evaporation of sea water in

Source of the numerous salt gardens, or salterns, scattered supply. along the coast, which provide a means of livelihood for many thousands of labourers.

The Salt Industry in Japan, therefore, is confined exclusively to the littoral, offering, in this feature, a striking contrast with the same industry in England where large inland districts, notably in Cheshire and Worcestershire, are monopolised by Salt Works established for the extraction of Salt from the extensive salt mines and brine springs existing there. From these two latter sources the purest salt known in commerce is obtained, and it is all the more a matter for regret that they do not occur in Japan to a

sufficiently large extent to render the working of them remunerative. The only allusion that I have been able to find referring to Rock Salt Mines in this country is contained in a volume of Government statistics for last year, where mention is made of a small mine situated in the province of Iwashiro. From this an average annual yield of some twenty *koku* (=59.260 cwts) is obtained so that it is, evidently, only on a very small scale.

In view of the fact that inland resources for the manufacture of salt in Japan are of so scanty a nature, it is certainly a matter for congratulation that it has, at any rate, an inexhaustible supply of material available in the sea surrounding its coast line on all sides. Nature has here made ample amends for her shortcomings in other respects.

A glance at the following figures contained in the Government statistics previously referred to, which, I may mention, are compiled under the supervision of the Statistical Bureau, will give some idea of the enormous development of the Japanese coasts, thus offering a large scope for the prosecution of salt manufacturing operations.

		Lineal Area in Ri =	English Miles.
Coast Line of Japan.	Honshu ...	1,952	4,880
	Shikoku ...	451	1,127
Kyūshū	...	861	2,152
Hokkaido or Yezo	...	583	1,457
Sado	...	53	132
Oki	...	74	185
Awaji	...	38	95
Iki	...	35	87
Tsushima	...	186	465
Ryukyu	...	315	787
Ogasawara or Bonins	...	60	150
Chijima or Kuriles	...	613	1,532
Various Islands	...	7,029	17,586
Total ...	...	12,250 ri =	30,635 miles.

From the preceding figures the interesting fact is gathered that the total lineal area of the Japanese coasts is 12,250 ri, equivalent to 30,635 miles.

It should not be assumed that the whole of this extensive coast line is suitable for salt making, as many circumstances concur to render a large proportion of it useless for this purpose; such as, for example, the mountainous conformation of the shore which would obviously offer a natural obstacle to the laying out of salt fields, or, again, unfavourable climatic conditions which would defeat all attempts at a profitable manufacture. For the latter reason the whole coast line of the most northern parts of Japan, namely the Hokkaidō (or Yezo) and the Kurile Islands, amounting to 1,196 ri, or 2,989 miles, may be eliminated from the preceding list as being totally unfit for the site of salt gardens, owing to the rigorous climate which distinguishes this part of the country during many months in the year.

Salt making, therefore, does not extend beyond the limits of the island of Honshu, and Aomori situated in its northern extremity may be taken as the terminal point of the industry in the North. Travelling southwards from here, salt producing districts are met with in greater numbers, until they reach their culminating point in the South-western provinces of the Island of Honshū, in what may be termed

the Worcestershire and Cheshire of Japan—the

Manufacturing Centre of Jisshū Enden,—or Salt Fields of the Ten Provinces. Here is situated the true focus of the

industry and in this region it was that, many centuries ago, the manufacture of salt, by very much the same method now employed, had its origin, according to tradition in the district of Akō, in the province of Harima.

The names of these Ten Provinces, which are justly celebrated throughout the country for the large area of their salt fields and for their capacity of production, are as follows:—

The most easterly province, Harima, is

Position of the Ten Provinces and their names. situated just outside the limits of the Seto Uchi, or Inland Sea, on the shores of which all

the other nine provinces lie.

Next in order, running down the coast come Bizen, Bichū, Bingo, Aki, Suwo and Nagato. These six provinces, together with Harima and one more inland province Mimasaka, compose one of the eight large circuits into which Japan is divided, namely, the Sanyōdō or Mountain Front Circuit.

Another name applied to this circuit, together with the contiguous one of the Sanindō, is Chūgoku or the Central Provinces.

There now remain three more provinces to complete the half score. These are Iyo, Sanuki and Awa, situated in the Island of Shikoku. They form part of the Nankaidō or Southern Sea Circuit.

The representatives of the salt industry in <sup>Salt Guild of the Ten Provinces.</sup> these Ten Provinces were one of the first, amongst all the other industries in Japan, to organise a guild for the furtherance of their common interests. This guild, which was established on a firm basis for the first time some thirteen years ago, although existing previous to that in a more or less disorganised condition, is called the Jisshū Enden Kumiai Kwai, or the Salt Guild of the Ten Provinces. The regulations which have been framed for its guidance will be found given in extenso further on in this report, and there will be some remarks to offer upon them in connection with complications which have lately arisen amongst the members from the various provinces composing it.

By Article 33 of these regulations the Ten Districts of Provinces are divided into nine districts, each <sup>the Guild.</sup> under the control of a district office, and these, in their turn, are supervised by a Central Office chosen out of their number.

The names of these nine districts are as follows :—

1. Kami Nadame District. Office situated at Innami, Province of Harima.

2. Akō District. Office situated at Kariya Machi, Province of Harima.

3. Ryō-Bi District. Office situated in the town of Aji no Mura, province of Bizen. Ryō-Bi is the name given to the two provinces of Bizen and Bichū of which the district is composed.

4. Ge-Bi District. Office situated in Onomichi, province of Bingo. This district comprises the two provinces of Bingo and Aki.

5. Bō-Chō District. Office situated in Mitajiri, province of Suwo. This district is composed of the two provinces of Suwo and Nagato.

6. Awa District. Office situated in Kurosaki, Province of Awa.

7. Tō-San District. Office situated at Marugame near Takamatsu, province of Sanuki. Tō-San signifies Eastern Sanuki.

8. Sei-San District or Western Sanuki District. Office situated in Sakaide.

9. Iyo District. Office situated in Imabaru, province of Iyo.

All the District Offices alluded to above are prominent salt manufacturing towns or villages, with the exception of Marugame.

The Central Office of the Guild having jurisdiction over the remaining eight District Offices is in Marugame, the district town for Eastern Sanuki. There are no salt fields in Marugame, it having been selected as the head-quarters of the Guild on account of its central position.

It is now desirable to offer some remarks upon the area and yield of the thirty eight maritime provinces not included in the jurisdiction of the Salt Guild, after which the same course will be adopted as regards the area and output of the Ten Provinces. By this means a comparison may be drawn as to their respective superiority.

According to the latest Government Statistics

Area and bearing upon this subject the area and production of salt producing provinces, outside of those provinces without the jurisdiction of the Guild, pale of the Guild was, for the year 1885, as follows :

Table No. 1.

PREFECTURE.	PROVINCE.	AREA.	YIELD.
Kyōtō .....	Tango .....	chō.*	koku.†
Kanagawa .....	Sagami and Musashi .....	19	1,489
Nagasaki .....	Hizen .....	54	15,020
Niigata .....	Echigo & Sado	100	17,045
Chiba .....	Kadzusa and Shimosa .....	145	7,166
Ibaraki .....	Hitachi .....	197	44,035
Miye .....	Ise .....	—	2,741
Aichi .....	Owari and Mikiawa .....	111	51,726
Shidzuoka .....	Tōtōmi and Suruga .....	188	145,454
Miyagi .....	Iwaki and Rikuzen .....	115	17,646
Fukushima .....	Iwaki (Part of)	208	80,794
Iwate .....	Rikuzen and Rikuchiu .....	146	14,332
Aomori .....	Mutsu .....	9	45,206
Yamagata .....	Uzen .....	—	1,492
Akita .....	Ugo .....	67	731
Fukui .....	Wakasa, Echizen .....	29	1,486
Ishikawa .....	Kaga, Noto .....	17	5,055
Shimane .....	Idzumo .....	214	213,198
Wakayama .....	Kii .....	—	3,500
Kōchi .....	Tosa .....	67	18,045
Fukuoka .....	Chikuzen, Buzen .....	100	9,669
Oita .....	Buzen, Bungo .....	164	81,366
Saga .....	Hizen .....	221	114,435
Kumamoto .....	Higo .....	41	7,462
Miyazaki .....	Hyuga .....	231	86,432
Kagoshima .....	Ōsumi, Satsuma .....	88	13,517
	Total .....	279	72,539
		2,743	1,071,581

\* Note. One *koku* =  $\frac{4}{27}$  of 1 ton.† 1 *chō* or 10 *tan* = 2.4507204 acres.

From the preceding figures it appears that the thirty eight maritime provinces, not included in the Jisshū Enden Kumiai, possess an area of

2,743 *chō*, or 6,722 acres of ground devoted to the purposes of salt manufacture, which yielded 1,071,581 *koku* or 158,753 tons of salt.

As regards the Ten Provinces the following table, based upon returns issued by the nine district offices of the Guild, will enable a fairly accurate idea of their productive capacity to be formed. The same year, namely, 1885, has been selected in order that a comparison may be drawn between the two tables.

A Table of the amount of salt manufactured  
Table No. 2. and of the area of salt fields in the Ten Provinces  
of the Sanindō and Nankaidō Circuits for the year 1885:—

DISTRICT.	PROVINCE.	AREA.	YIELD.
		<i>chō</i> .*	<i>koku</i> .†
Kami Nadame...	Harima	417	526,335
Akō .....	Harima	434	602,166
Ryō-Bi .....	Bizen, Bichū...	470	720,391
Ge-Bi .....	Bingo, Aki .....	555	800,832
Bō-Chō .....	Suwo, Nagato.	835	985,784
Awa .....	Awa .....	513	477,484
Eastern Sanuki.	Sanuki	283	286,302
Western Sanuki.	Sanuki	282	363,537
Iyo .....	Iyo .....	351	474,633
	Total .....	4,140 <i>chō</i>	5,237,463 <i>koku</i>

The above table gives a total for the Ten Provinces of 4,140 *chō*, or 10,146 acres, which produced 5,237,463 *koku*, or 775,920 tons. On comparing Tables No: 1 and 2, and deducting the lesser total of the former from that of the latter table, thus:—

	Area		Yield	
	<i>chō</i>	acres	<i>koku</i>	tons
Ten Provinces.	4,140	= 10,146.	5,237,463	= 775,920.
Thirty eight provinces outside Guild.	2,743	= 6,722.	1,071,581	= 158,753.
	1,397	= 3,424.	4,165,882	= 617,167.

\* 1 *chō* = 2.4507204 acres.

† 1 *koku* =  $\frac{4}{27}$  of one ton.

We are thus enabled to arrive at the balance in favour of the Ten Provinces, which is, in area, an excess of 1,397 *chō*, or 3,424 acres and in yield, of 4,165,882 *koku*, or 617,167 tons. Adding together the same figures, there are obtained the aggregate totals of 6,883 *chō*, or 16,868 acres, and 6,309,044 *koku*, or 934,673 tons, which represent the area and yield to be credited to the forty-eight salt manufacturing provinces of the country.

The superiority of the Ten Provinces is, according to the foregoing returns, very marked, and their right to the foremost rank is conclusively established by their preponderance both in area and production.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the figures for the Ten Provinces are taken from statistics for the year 1885, it being necessary, in order to ensure accuracy, to compare the same year as was selected for the 38 provinces. Since 1885 a large increase has occurred in the production of the Guild provinces, the total amount for last year reaching the considerable figure of 6,051,703 *koku*, or 896,549 tons, as against 5,237,463 *koku*, or 775,920 tons for the former year. This would make the grand total for the whole country 7,123,284 *koku*, or 1,055,302 tons, (instead of 6,309,044 *koku* or 934,673 tons). As, however, it has not been assumed that any increase has taken place in the production of the provinces outside the Guild during the last two years, this amount of 7,123,284 *koku*, or 1,055,302 tons might be safely augmented by a further addition of 500,000 *koku*, or 74,074 tons, thus more correctly representing the

Total production of the country by 7,623,284 *koku*, or 1,129,376 tons. I should mention that

the Government Statistics for the year 1885 also contained figures relating to the Ten Provinces, but it seemed preferable to exclude them as they were evidently not so accurate as the returns issued from the District offices of the Guild. Great difficulty is experienced in getting the salt makers to give exact returns of the area of their fields, and, for this reason, a liberal margin for under-estimation of the area in

the Government Statistics should probably be allowed. There is a land tax of  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  on the assessed value of all salt gardens levied by the Government, and the owners, being in a constant state of apprehension lest some fresh tax should be imposed, are consequently often tempted to give fictitious returns. At all events, although allowing ample margin for error, the pre-eminence of the Guild provinces is admitted by all to be indisputable.

The reason for their superiority is easily traceable. It lies, chiefly, if not altogether, in the exceptionally favourable climate which characterizes the region of the Inland Sea, which is better adapted for the prosecution of salt manufacturing operations than any other part of the country.

It will be noted that in Table 1 the maximum of production in those provinces outside the jurisdiction of the Jisshu Enden Kumiai, is reached in Ishikawa Prefecture, provinces of Kaga and Noto, which produced 213,198 *koku* or 31,585 tons. After this rank Aichi Prefecture, provinces of Owari and Mikawa, with 145,454 *koku*, or 21,549 tons; Oita Prefecture, provinces of Bungo and Buzen, with 114,435 *koku*, or 16,953 tons; all being over 100,000 *koku* or 14,815 tons. But, in no case, is the maximum production of Table 2 attained, (viz: District of Bō-Chō, Suwo and Nagato), 985,784 *koku*, or 146,042 tons; nor does the maximum of Table 1, (Ishikawa, 213,198 *koku* or 31,585 tons), anything like correspond with the minimum of Table 2, (Eastern Sanuki District, 286,302 *koku*, or 42,415 tons). The minimum of production in the whole country occurs in the three most Northern Prefectures of Honshū, viz: Yamagata, province of Uzen, 731 *koku* or 108 tons, Aomori, province of Mutsu, 1492 *koku*, or 221 tons, and Akita, province of Ugo, 1486 *koku* or 220 tons; a striking proof of the unsuitability of the northern parts for the manufacture of salt, due doubtless to the want of a good climate. If we arrange the nine Districts in their order of merit as regards area, they rank as follows:—

1. Bō-Chō. (Suwo and Nagato.)	has 20.19 per cent of the total area.
2. Ge-Bi. (Bingo and Aki.)	" 13.41 " " " "
3. Awa. (Awa.)	" 12.40 " " " "
4. Ryō-Bi. (Bizen, Bichū.)	" 11.36 " " " "
5. Akō. (Harima.)	" 10.50 " " " "
6. Kami Nadame. (Harima.)	" 10.00 " " " "
7. Iyo.	" 8.48 " " " "
8. Eastern Sanuki. (Sanuki.)	" 6.84 " " " "
9. Wersten Sanuki.	" 6.82 " " " "

As regards production also they retain relatively the same places, the only difference being that Awa ranks sixth instead of third, and that the positions of Eastern and Western Sanuki are reversed.

1. Bō-Chō.	District has 18.80 per cent of the total yield.
2. Ge-Bi.	" " 15.49 " " " "
3. Ryō-Bi.	" " 13.70 " " " "
4. Akō.	" " 11.39 " " " "
5. Kami Nadame.	" " 10.05 " " " "
6. Awa.	" " 9.11 " " " "
7. Iyo.	" " 9.06 " " " "
8. Western Sanuki.	" " 6.94 " " " "
9. Eastern Sanuki.	" " 5.46 " " " "

The nine Districts of the yield are merely arbitrary divisions made to suit convenience, three of them being composed of two provinces each, two of one province each, and four of half a province each. If, however, we ignore these divisions and select the provinces only for comparison, the first and second places must be assigned to Harima and Sanuki, as being by far the most prolific in production and extensive in area; by this they regain the superiority apparently lost if divided into the districts of Kaminadame and Akō, and Eastern and Western Sanuki; Suwo and Nagato which head the list of districts under the name of Bō-Chō being relegated to the third place.

The average yield of salt from an ordinary sized field of 1 *chō*, 5 *tan*, or about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  acres, den. ranges from 2000 *koku* (=291 tons) to 2500 *koku* (=370 tons) for gardens of good quality, and sometimes reaches as high as 3000 to 3500 *koku*, (444 to 518

tons), in gardens situated in a particularly favourable locality, or enjoying an exceptionally good climate. From bad gardens not more than 1500 *koku*, (222 tons) can be obtained, if indeed as much as that even. It is very difficult to count upon an unvarying yield two seasons following, as the weather exerts a very powerful influence upon the productive capacity of the fields, sometimes causing it to fluctuate to a considerable extent. This point will be all the more readily understood when the system, on which the evaporation of the salt water in the gardens is conducted, has been explained.

Taking the standard of 1 *cho* 5 *tan* ( $3\frac{1}{4}$  acres),  
 Average yield per garden for in order to arrive at an approximate estimate of the Ten Provinces. the yield per garden in the Ten Provinces, the following average is struck for 1885 and 1887.

Akō	per field of 1 <i>cho</i> 5 <i>tan</i> .	1887		1885	
		3000 <i>koku</i>	2081 <i>koku</i> .	2300	“
Ryō-Bi	“ “ “	2634	“	2300	“
Ge-Bi	“ “ “	2479	“	2164	“
Iyo	“ “ “	2323	“	2028	“
Kaminadame	“ “ “	2107	“	1893	“
Sanuki, East and West.	“ “ “	1893	“	1725	“
Bōchō	“ “ “	1875	“	1770	“
Awa	“ “ “	1396	“	1396	“

Last year, 1887, the average increased in every district, except Awa, where it remained exactly stationary.

Operations on the salt fields of the Ten Provinces are supposed to commence on the 1st

April, and the season lasts for six months until the end of September. The manufacture of salt after this date is prohibited by the Guild regulations and any breach of them involves the penalty of a fine. In special cases, however, permission is granted to work beyond the limit

above specified on the following system. All the gardens in each district are divided into ten classes according to their productive capacity. Those which produce most abundantly form a group by

Classification of salt gardens.

themselves and are termed unclassified fields. Against these the rule restricting operations to a term of six months is rigidly enforced. There are therefore two well defined groups of salt gardens, viz. unclassified and classified ; the former contain the best and the latter the worst gardens in regular gradation of ten classes. To those which belong to these ten classes the privilege of extending their operations beyond the 30th September is accorded, fifteen days extra grace being allowed to each class on a descending scale ; so that a garden ranged under class 10 would, by virtue of its inferior productive capacity, be entitled to 150 days grace over and above the proper limit of six months. In the same category are included gardens which have been newly made, or which, owing to damage incurred from storms, have been interrupted in their manufacturing operations. Isolated gardens, situated at a distance from the bulk of the rest in any particular locality, and those which do not attain the standard dimension of  $1 chō 5 tan$  ( $= 3\frac{1}{4}$  acres) are also very frequently incorporated in these ten classes as a compensation for the various disadvantages they labour under. It is usual at one of the annual meetings of the Guild to decide what gardens shall be exempted from the obligation of abandoning work on the expiration of the six months' period, the right to such a favour being generally advanced by the representative of the district to which such gardens may belong.

Last year, 1887, the number of Classified and Unclassified fields in each province was as follows :—

	Unclassified.	Classified.
Harima	487	38
Bizen and Bichū	160	186
Bingo and Aki	206	78
Suwo and Nagato	434	99
Iyo	123	87
Awa	195	84
Sanuki	90	328
Total	1,695 fields.	900 fields.

The system of a six months' manufacture was Sampachi Hō or six months' introduced by Tanaka Tōroku over one hundred manufacture. years ago. It is termed in the vernacular "Sampachi Hō," or third to eighth month system, as by the calendar in use at that period the third month of the year fell in April and the eighth month in September. With the adoption of the foreign calendar, however, this phrase naturally lost its strict significance, but is now employed to denote the six months' manufacture from April to September. It has, as representing a system, been provocative of great strife amongst the members of the salt Guild, which has been for some time past divided into two great parties, namely, the adherents of Sampachi Hō and its antagonists; but I shall not detail the merits of this quarrel just now, reserving it for fuller explanation under the heading of the history of the "Jisshū Enden Kumiai Kwai."

The process employed in this country for the Process of manufacture. extraction of salt by the evaporation of sea water is of a most interesting and novel character. Before describing it at length, however, it will be of advantage to enumerate the chief methods which obtain in other countries. They are:—

1. Evaporation of sea water in an ordinary Methods used in foreign countries and to be found in Japan. pan by means of fuel.
2. Evaporation of sea water in open reservoirs exposed to the air and to the action of the sun and wind.
3. Evaporation of concentrated brine in pans by means of fuel.

For obtaining this concentrated brine the following expedients may be resorted to:—

- A. Evaporation of sea water in open reservoirs.
- B. Evaporation by the Graduation Process.
- C. Evaporation by subterranean warmth, viz: by steam or hot water issuing out of the earth.
- D. Evaporation of sea water in sand and subsequent leaching of the same.
- E. Exposure of sea water to the action of any freezing agency whereby a strong concentrated solution is obtained.

The method mentioned in No. 1 is not practised in Japan, as it entails the use of a large quantity of cheap fuel, which must be purchaseable at a very low figure indeed to render manufacture profitable.

No. 2 is the usual method in vogue in Europe, viz: in the salt gardens of France, Italy and Spain, bordering on the Mediterranean Coast, where the climate is hot and dry in the summer, a most essential condition for successfully working it. It is extremely doubtful whether this system of evaporation is adaptable to Japan, even in such a region as that surrounding the Inland Sea which presents the most favourable conditions for an experiment in this direction. The climate is a great deal too humid in the summer months in this locality or indeed in any other district of Japan. An exception, however, should be made as regards the Bonin Islands which have lately been selected as the site of a salt garden conducted on these principles. It has been started under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and in view of the tropical nature of the climate which prevails in these islands, lying as they do in a more southern latitude, the undertaking ought to have encouraging results.

No. 3 A. This method is used in certain places in Japan. It differs from the method mentioned in No. 2 in the following way; namely, the brine obtained by it is subjected to artificial heat in order to reduce it to salt, whilst the sea water contained in the open reservoirs of No. 2 method undergoes no secondary treatment, but is at once evaporated into salt by the solar rays.

III. B. is the system adopted in Germany at the brine springs of Schönebeck and Salzhausen. The only place where evaporation is carried on in Japan on the graduation principle is, as far as is ascertainable, on the coast of Kadzusa. The works there are on a very small scale and the yield is comparatively trifling, amounting to some 500 *koku*, or 74 tons annually.

III. C. is a most original and unique method employed in Aomori prefecture in the extreme north of Honshū. This

is probably about the only place where such a mode of manufacture exists. Concentrated brine obtained from a salt field in the customary manner is put into two iron pans, each half a *tsubo* large, (about 2 square yards) both of which float on the surface of a boiling spring. The brine is then gradually reduced to salt by the natural heat of the water in which the pans float.

III. D. is the ordinary method which obtains in Japan.

III. E. is employed in Russia, Sweden, Siberia and other northern countries, where the climate is too cold to admit of natural evaporation by the solar rays. The sea water is frozen in reservoirs from which a strong saline lye is obtained which is boiled down to salt. It does not seem, however, that this process ever occurs in Japan.

To recapitulate, the only usual way by which evaporation of salt is effected in Japan is to boil down in pans highly concentrated brine gained by the treatment of sand charged with salt crystals. The process, it appears, is not altogether unknown in Europe and in former days operations were carried on in a somewhat similar manner in France. It has, however, been long since abandoned in that country in favour of more suitable expedients, as it was of too clumsy a nature to exist for long. In Japan it has existed almost from time immemorial, but the rapid progress, which has already done so much to change the aspect of affairs here, will doubtless introduce some welcome modifications into a system that, to say the least of it, is distinctly inefficient.

I will now proceed to describe the situation and construction of a salt garden, and the various stages of manufacture through which the salt passes before it reaches the hands of the consumer.

The site selected for laying out a garden is Situation of a Salt Garden. naturally in as close proximity to the sea as

possible. It is generally surrounded on three sides by strong sea walls or dykes to resist the encroachment of the sea. These are built very solidly with a view to offering a stout resistance to the wind and waves, as most of the

gardens, more particularly in the south, are annually exposed to great danger from the violent typhoons which so often devastate the coasts of Japan, especially in the region of the Inland Sea. For this reason, also out of motives of economy, the gardens are very often conterminous, being placed in one long row and protected by one long dyke, instead of having separate ones for each garden. This effects a great saving in expense as these walls are one of the most costly items to be considered when a new garden has to be constructed. The surface of the garden should neither be too high above nor too low beneath the main level of the sea but, if possible, about 3 feet under high watermark. At high tide it is therefore flooded and at ebb remains dry.

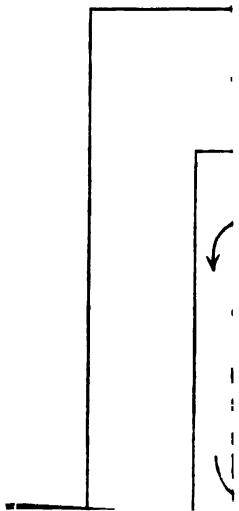
Diagram of Salt Garden.

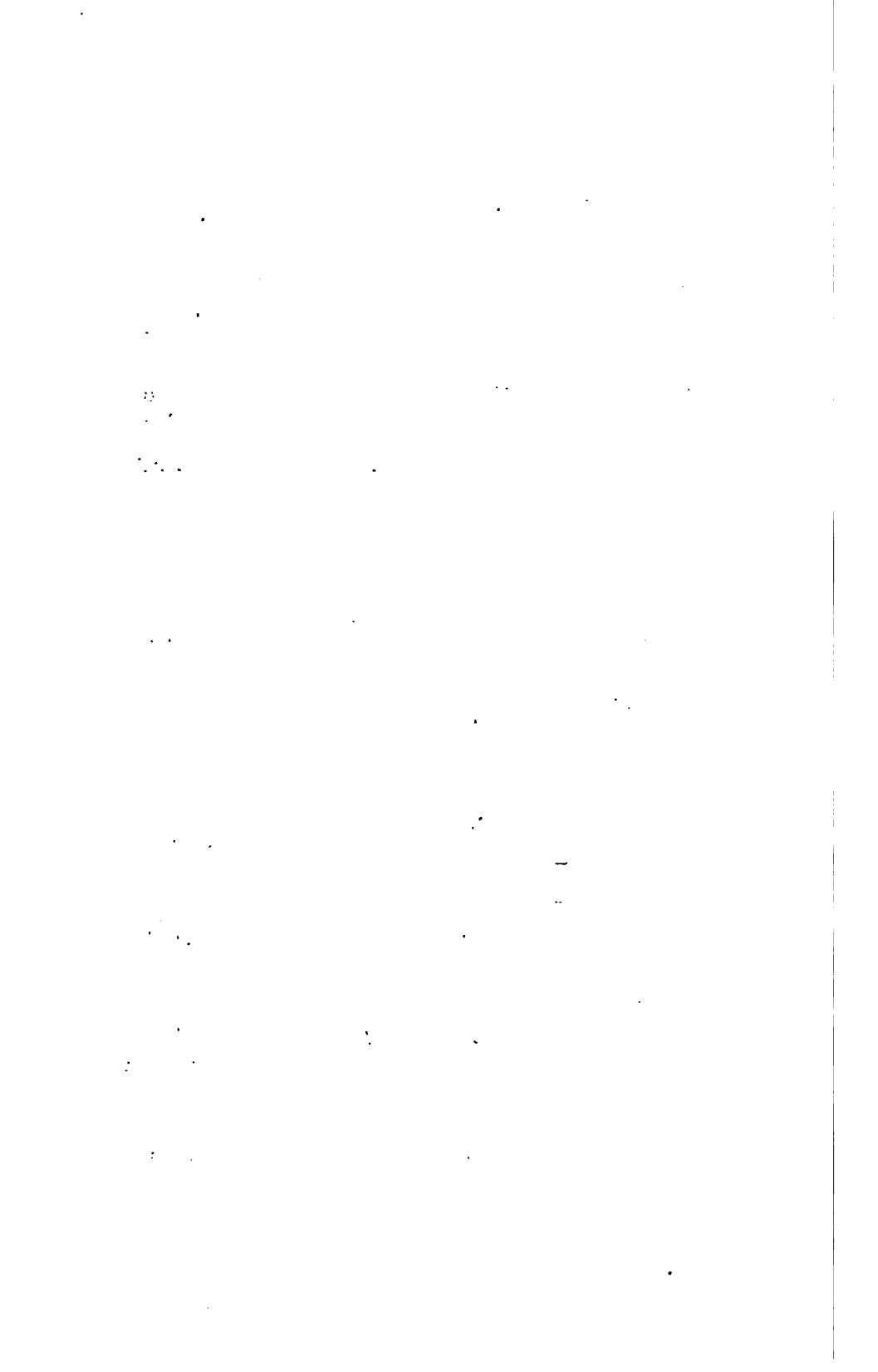
The annexed diagram will serve to illustrate the shape and position generally assumed although, of course, other modifications of them both are very often to be found. In the side facing the sea a sluice gate is contrived, (vide Diagram 1, A), which permits of the easy ingress and egress of the tide, and which is connected with a collecting pond, B, by a pipe leading from the gate. The principal object of this pond is to prevent the sea entering with too great a force into the ditches, DD. From the pond the water enters into these ditches by another pipe and circulates round the garden and between the sand beds marked CC; thus in the diagram there are five sand beds divided by their intervening six ditches DD, and two long ditches from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet wide running down the field on each side. The sand beds are usually five in number, varying, however, with the dimensions of field. They generally measure 120 *ken* (= 720 feet) by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  *ken* (= 39 feet) wide. They are about one foot above the level of the field, and it is on their surfaces that the process of the evaporation of sea water takes place. The length of the six parallel ditches naturally corresponds with that of the sand beds; their width is about 2 feet and their depth from 12 to 14 inches.

The salt fields in the south show but little variation in their dimensions, being for the most part constructed on

**DIAG**

**SAL**





one uniform scale, namely,  $1\text{ chō }5\text{ tan}$  (or  $3\frac{1}{4}$  acres). Those in the vicinity of Yokohama, Kawasaki and Tōkyō, show a tendency to exceed this, being often as large as  $5\text{ chō}$  ( $= 12\frac{1}{4}$  acres). The standard size of  $1\text{ chō }5\text{ tan}$  is selected out of regard for the facility with which it can be worked.

The sand beds are usually puddled with a bottom layer of coarse large grained sand, mixed with clay, (the coarser the sand the better), in order to prevent the sea water, which soaks into them from the ditches, filtering away into the lower stratum of soil. On the top of the bottom layer is placed another layer of fine sand. In some localities as many as three layers of sand are superposed, but the uppermost one must always consist of a fine grained sand, as this is the best adapted for the process of evaporation which takes place in the upper layer. The thickness of the layers varies, being for the upper one from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches and for the others from four to six inches. Every year, before the commencement of operations in the spring, some 200,000 *kin* ( $= 2381$  cwts) of fine sand is spread over the surface, in order to compensate for the wear and tear caused by continually working the upper layer, as not only does it gradually dwindle away owing to its sand falling into and filling up the ditches, but it also becomes viscous and loses its permeability. It is, therefore, highly important that it should be replenished to enable the water penetrating from the ditches to mount to the surface of the field easily, diminution of its efficacy meaning a corresponding loss in the amount of concentrated brine obtained by the process to be presently described. Notwithstanding the amount of sand annually placed on the field, no very perceptible elevation of the upper layer is to be remarked, as a good deal of sand, is in the course of time, is either trodden down by the feet of the workmen into the lower layers, or is carried away by the water in the ditches when they are emptied into the sea. The lower layers, therefore, in time, attain to a thickness of seven or eight inches, when the field is entirely dug up and the thickness of the various layers properly re-adjusted. After the lapse

of a good many years it is found necessary to renovate all the sand in the field.

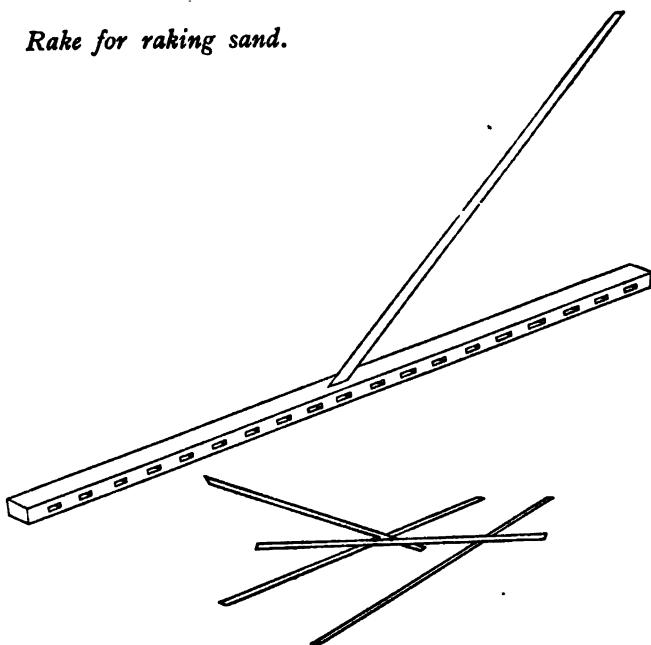
The way in which the evaporation of the sea water conducted into the ditches takes place on the field.

the surface of the field is thus; at high tide the sea is admitted by the sluice and comes pouring into the ditches with a considerable pressure, and slowly, but surely, percolates into the bottom layers of coarse sand; from here it is gradually drawn by capillary attraction to the surface of the sand beds, where, exposed to the action of sun and wind, the sodium chloride contained in solution is rapidly deposited in the shape of glittering salt crystals, which make the field to be quite white with efflorescence and shine like so many diamonds in the sunlight.

The ditches are never filled at random, as various circumstances concur to render it necessary to regulate the height of the water admitted into them. In hot and dry weather good gardens generally have their ditches filled up to the margins of the sand beds, as evaporation proceeds rapidly and a good supply of water is needed. In bad gardens which have a clayey and non-porous soil the same practise is observed. In the latter case the water is absorbed and conveyed to the surface with much less facility. In cold or cloudy weather when the process of evaporation is much retarded, the ditches are only left half or three quarters full. Great care has to be taken that the surface of the field does not become too dry, as this indicates that the water is not rising with sufficient rapidity to meet the demands made upon it by evaporation. Undue dryness is very apt to occur when the upper layer of fine sand does not possess the requisite porosity, or during exceedingly hot and dry weather. In such cases it is necessary to resort to some expedient for keeping a continuous upward pressure of water to the surface. This is effected by sprinkling water at intervals, which aids the evaporation considerably. When the field first begins to show signs of salt crystals and assumes a light colour, this is the time to commence the sprinkling operation. It helps the field to maintain a dark surface

FIGURE I.

*Rake for raking sand.*



*Moveable teeth of rake.*



FIGURE 2.

*Board used for levelling sand  
after it has been raked.*

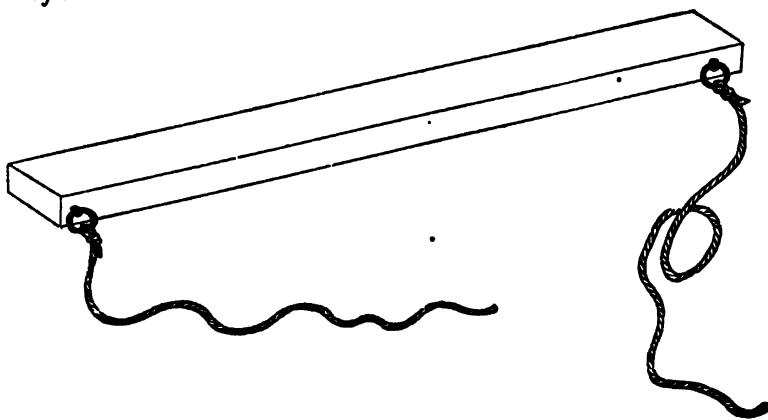
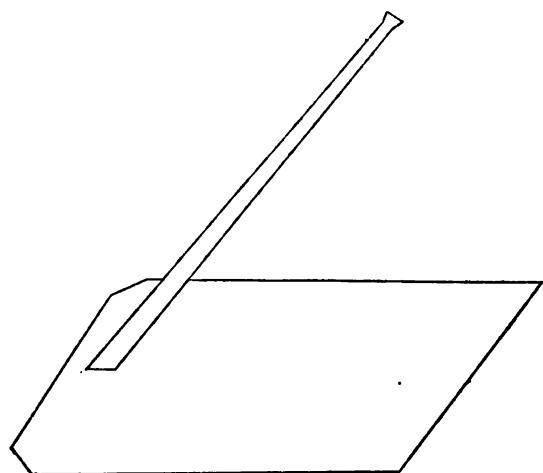
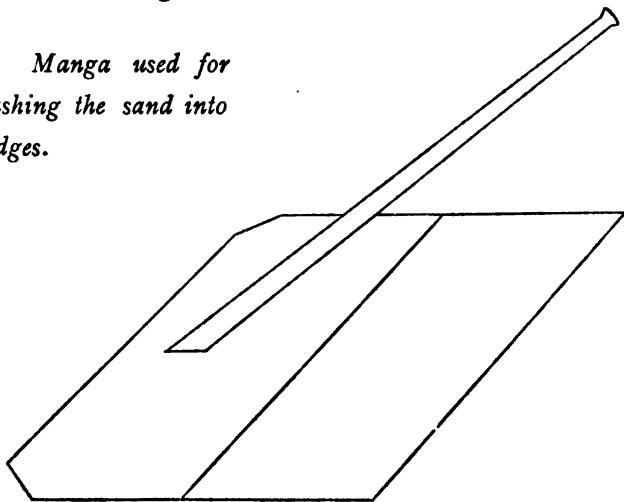




FIGURE 3.

*Manga used for  
pushing the sand into  
ridges.*





which is best suited for absorbing the rays of the sun, thus accelerating evaporation. The process of watering the surface requires great care and skill, as it is most essential that the water should be evenly and uniformly distributed over it and that it should not be dashed in streams on any one particular spot, so as to tear up the delicate upper layer into cavities. For this reason, the workmen, instead of throwing the water out of buckets, use a long-handled ladle from which the water is thrown obliquely with a dexterous jerk, scattering itself evenly over the surface in fine spray; by this means each part of the ground is properly moistened and does not receive an undue share of water. It requires a good deal of practice and also some muscular strength to arrive at a correct manipulation of this ladle. Another method employed for watering the sand is to fill finely meshed straw baskets with water. These are slung on to the shoulders of a workman and the water trickles out as he runs along the field.

As a further aid to maintaining a uniform evaporation the surfaces of the sand flats are frequently raked by the workmen with bamboo rakes, (See Figure 1), and, after that, again smoothed down by means of a heavy beam of wood drawn over them (see Figure 2.).

After the sand of the upper layer has been raked and re-raked, sprinkled and re-sprinkled several times in the course of the morning, and when it is considered that evaporation has sufficiently well advanced, the sand is pushed together into transverse ridges along the whole length of each sand bed. This is done with the tool shown in Figure 3, which is termed a "Manga." The sand now lies ready for further treatment, highly impregnated with sodium chloride, and also, as may be expected, with other impurities. The first stage of operations must be considered as ending at this point.

The next task is to collect the impregnated sand   
*Leaching* in baskets, which are carried by workmen to the Process.

"leaching tubs," or, as they are termed in the vernacular, *Nui*; they are of square shape, constructed either

of plastic clay or of wooden boards, and supported at some little distance from the ground on wooden props. The bottom consists of a bamboo grating covered with a strip of coarse straw matting, which acts as a filter for the sea water poured on to the sand contained in the Nui. The leaching tubs are generally divided into two equal divisions by wooden partitions, sand being cast in both alike. They are situated at intervals of 13 to 20 paces from each other in the centre of the sand flats where they are easily got at—see Diagram 1, E.. The numbers assigned to each sandflat vary with the locality. In Mitajiri, (province of Suwo), there are 18, and in Sakaide, (Sanuki), only 15 on each sandflat, giving, for the former place, a total of 90, and, for the latter, a total of 75 to a field of 1 *cho* 5 *tan* ( $=3\frac{1}{4}$  acres). When the Nui have been filled with the necessary amount of sand, which generally takes place about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, water ladled out of the adjacent ditches is poured on to the sand in bucketsfull. This gradually filtering through the sand into a receptacle below carries away with it most of the saline particles adhering to the sand, finally assuming the properties of a highly concentrated brine. As many as three separate lots of water are poured into each leaching tub at intervals of an hour or so. The bulk of the salt crystals are absorbed by the first lot poured in and the brine resulting from it is the most concentrated, the second and third treatment of the sand giving a more diluted liquid. The brine obtained from the third pouring is generally reserved until next day when it is added to the water poured in first and gains additional concentration.

When the filtering operation is concluded, the sand is, on the following morning, taken out of the leaching tubs and cast down in a heap by the side to dry; after which it is re-spread over the surface of the field to continue the evaporating process. This is done with the rake and board previously alluded to.

Various plans are adopted for allowing the sand fields and dry-  
ing of sand. It, such as, for example, only working one half,

or one third of the field every day, or the whole of the field every alternate day. By this means the sand gets a rest and does not so rapidly deteriorate in quality as would, otherwise, be the case if the whole surface of the field were worked every day.

From the leaching tubs the brine flows through a subterranean pipe to the Numai, a well plastered with clay which

— serves to collect the brine for final transfer  
(See Diagram 1.) to the Tame-ike or Reservoir House in close

Reservoir proximity. The Reservoir consists of a large

House. oblong cavity thoroughly plastered inside with clay to prevent percolation of the brine into the subsoil, the whole being covered over with a thatched roof for protection against the weather. It is generally situated, together with the rest of the buildings, such as the Boiling House, Store Houses for salt and coal, etcetera, on ground slightly elevated above the surface of the field. Being on a higher level, therefore, than the Numai or Draw Well alluded to

above, it is necessary, when transferring the brine  
Diagram from the latter, to use the contrivance figured at  
No. 1.

F of Diagram No. 1. This consists of a bucket affixed to the end of a long bamboo pole which is hoisted up and down by a lever working on a pivot fixed in another pole. By this the bucket is lifted to the edge of the reservoir and its contents emptied.

In the saltfields situated in the vicinity of Yokohama a somewhat different method of Leaching process in Northern fields. leaching the sand is practised, termed "Zarutori or Basket-taking." Instead of leaching tubs a number of portable baskets of a conical shape are used for holding the sand. Beneath the baskets are placed small tubs, for catching the concentrated brine as it falls. The contents of these are then emptied into large buckets by the workmen, who carry them to the "Tori-dzuka," or cisterns, of which there are six or seven scattered over the field. The "Tori-dzuka" is a wooden scaffolding of about ten feet high built over one of the ditches to save space. On the top of it a couple of buckets are fixed which do duty as a small

cistern for the reception of the brine poured in. From the "Tori-dzuka" the brine is conducted by underground pipes to the reservoir. The top of the cistern is reached by means of two narrow planks one on each side of the scaffolding, and it is a task not devoid of some little danger for the workmen to climb up them in windy weather, encumbered as they are with heavy buckets. Sometimes the "Tori-dzuka" are constructed of a mound of earth five or six feet high, on the top of which a large bucket is embedded. This plan, however, is objectionable as valuable space is lost which the use of scaffolding obviates. The leaching of sand with baskets is a much more tedious operation than it is with leaching tubs in the south. It is also a method requiring much more practice and dexterity to arrive at a proper manipulation of the sand, and it is by no means easy work for a novice to acquire the necessary degree of skill. The sand must not be thrown into the baskets at random, but has to be first kneaded into the conical shape of the basket, with a hollow in the centre, into which the water is carefully poured over a small straw pad called a "Sumashi." This is in order to break the force of the stream and to ensure regularity of filtration.

With the concentration of the brine the second Conclusion of stage of salt manufacture may be said to have second stage of process. been brought to a conclusion, and now artificial

heat must be utilised in order to reduce the brine to salt. The first step towards this end is attained by pouring the brine into a large iron cauldron situated in the Boiling House, it being conducted thither by a pipe leading from the Reservoir. The brine is then gently warmed in this cauldron, not, however, to the point of saturation, namely the point at which the salt precipitates, but only to such an extent as will prepare it for yielding its salt easily when boiled in the Boiling Pan.

The Boiling Pan is of very peculiar construction Boiling Pan. and is one of the most noteworthy objects amongst the salt makers' paraphernalia. The bottom of the pan consists of blocks of stone, usually

granite, of from 3 to 4 inches square and one inch thick, or else of small flat pebbles of a similar size, which are firmly cemented together. The mode of construction is thus. The stones are laid upon a ground composed of a number of long boards. The interstices between the stones, as well as their surfaces, are plentifully daubed over with a cement made out of clay and brine, mixed with sand or the ash of burnt pine leaves; after this the edges of the pan are made in the same way. When the shape of the pan is completed the bottom is covered with a number of brushwood faggots which are set fire to on the top of the stones and cement; this hardens and roasts the pan making it impervious to leakage; indeed so hardened does it become that it will bear the weight of a man with ease. After the roasting operation is over the wooden boards are withdrawn from underneath and the pan is placed upon four clay walls at about two or three feet from the ground, in order to provide a space for the fuel which is to heat it. Further support is also given to the pan by a series of hooks ranged along the bottom in parallel lines, to which ropes, coiled round a number of joists overhead, are fastened; this contrivance prevents the pan warping in the centre and makes it a tolerably solid structure. On first boiling down brine the salt obtained is invariably of a dirty brown colour and is not sold for domestic purposes, but is employed as a fertiliser for rice or arable land. Great care has to be taken when the pan is first used that the bottom is moderately warmed before the brine is poured in as it will, otherwise, be softened. The dimensions of the stone pan range from 8 feet by 10 feet to 10 feet by 13 feet.

Another subject worthy of consideration is the mode by which the pan is heated. In the ground beneath the pan a deep trench is dug which lies parallel with both long sides of the pan, being situated at equal distances from each of them and coinciding with the centre of the pan above. Over this trench a curved bridge, or arch, made of red clay, rises connecting each long side of the pan. On the top this arch is somewhat flat and about two feet broad, the

trench lying directly under this part of it. In each side of the arch just where they slope down to the sides of the pan there are cut several long narrow slits, which give it when seen sideways the appearance of a bridge. On each long side of the pan the bridge is about two feet under the bottom of the pan, in the centre it is about 1 foot 6 inches under. In the middle of one short wall supporting the pan is constructed the door by which the fuel is thrown in, 8 inches wide by 13 inches high. The coals are thrown in by this aperture, which is always open, on to the top of the bridge, and roll to both sides of the hollow over which the pan is built. The air then enters through this aperture, passing through the trench beneath the bridge and through the slits of the same to the burning coals which lie in the hollows on both sides of the pan. The ashes from the coals fall through the slits into the trench below which is the ashpit. The slits, therefore, take the place of a gridiron and admit the necessary quantity of air for the combustion of the coals, whilst the opening in the side of the pan has the same effect as a fire door constantly remaining open in a pan heated on European principles would have.

It is clear that with such an arrangement as this where the coals only give out their heat by radiation, that the heat can only be utilised to a comparatively small extent. Then again, the sides of the pan must, evidently, receive more heat than the centre, owing to the coals rolling off the bridge to each side.

The accompanying diagrams will enable the Diagram No. 2 structure of the pan to be more fully understood Boiling Pan. and will elucidate any points not sufficiently explained.

Figure 1 is a perpendicular section and Figure 2 represents the pan viewed from above. A.A. is the pan resting on the four clay walls B.B. and supported by ropes C.C. attached to six joists D.D. connecting with the hooks, E.E. in the bottom of the pan. These joists are in their turn supported by four wooden pillars F.F. at each corner; G.G. are the stoke holes and H is the fire door; I, in the

**DIAGRAM No. 2. BOILING PAN.**

Figure 2.

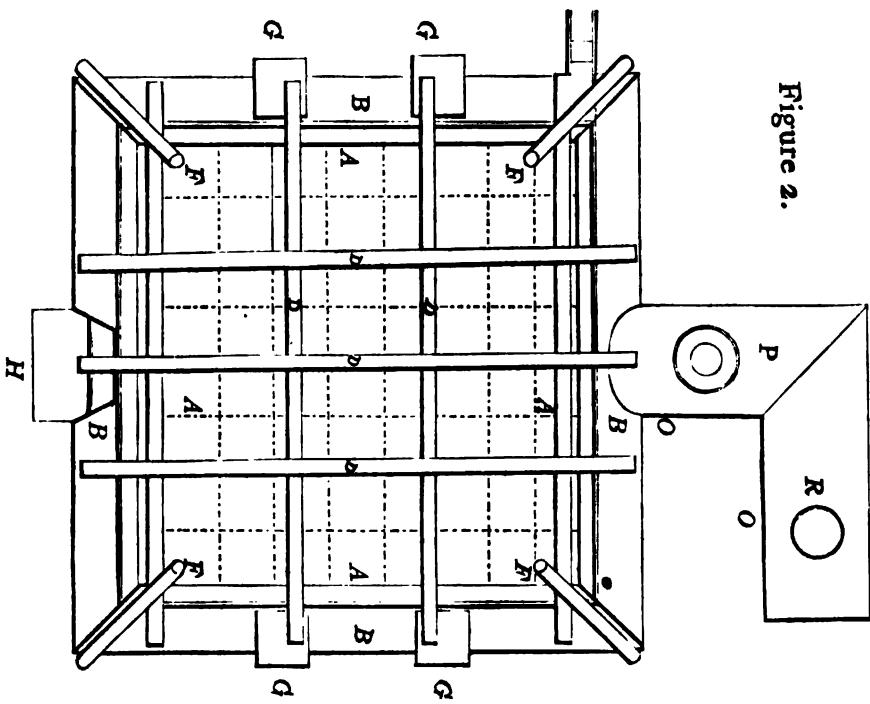
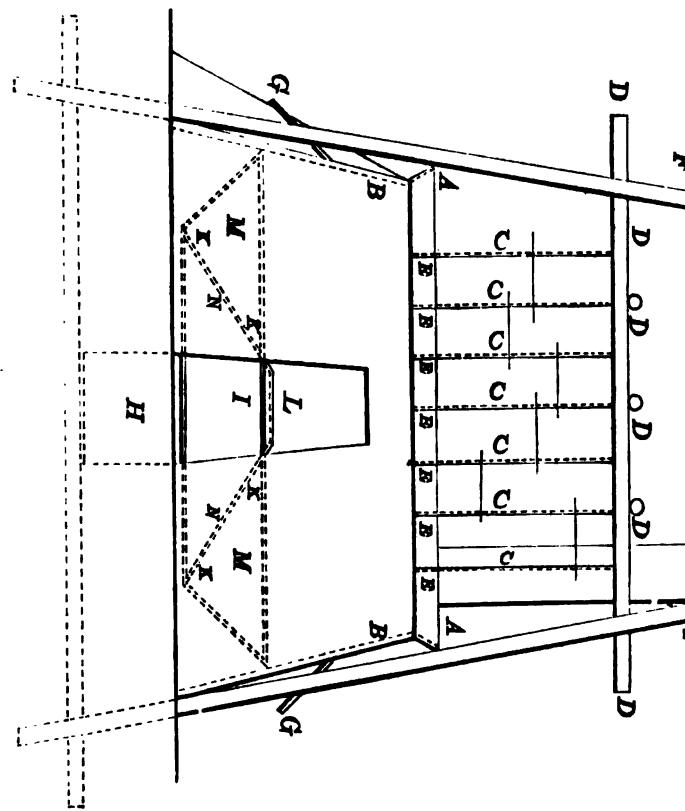


Figure 1.





perpendicular section is the ash pit, and the dotted lines K.K. are the bridge, from the top of which, L, the coals roll into the hollows M.M. at both sides of the pan. NN. are the slits in the side of the bridge through which the ashes drop into the ash pit I; P is the caldron for the preparatory heating of the brine and it forms part of the flue O.O. which leads the smoke into the chimney at R. The caldron is heated by the flames which pass into the flue O.O.

The fuel used for heating the pan usually <sup>Fuel</sup> consists of coal obtained from various mines in the southern provinces, such as Chikuzen, Suwo and Shodzushima. Miike coal is also employed, but only mixed with other coals. In many districts dried fir branches or bamboo leaves are used, more especially in the northern salt fields where coal is not procurable at a sufficiently low rate to render the use of it remunerative.

In some localities the stone pans are gradually being ousted by iron pans, heated on the same principles alluded above, and they give much more satisfactory results. It is greatly to be hoped that this reform will be adopted everywhere, as not only is a purer salt obtainable from the iron pans, but they also economise coal to a greater extent, and a larger volume of brine can be evaporated in them owing to their superior capability for conducting heat. With the stone pans it is very different; they conduct heat with less facility, and this naturally involves the consumption of a larger amount of coal, which, in most cases, constitutes the heaviest item in the daily working expenses of a salt field. The waste of coal which occurs with stone pans is due to the necessity of maintaining a very high temperature when boiling, in order to prevent them leaking, a temperature, indeed much above that really required to boil the brine.

The operations which take place after the brine has been warmed in the caldron, previously referred to, and has been transferred to the pan are simple enough, the only thing that is now left to do being to skim off the scum

forming on the surface of the brine, in order that evaporation may not be impeded ; an occasional stir is also given with a stick to prevent the rapidly precipitating salt from burning. After a couple of hours' boiling the brine is reduced to a pulpy mass of salt crystals, no liquor, or very little remaining in the pan. The salt is then raked to the sides of the pan by the workmen in attendance and discharged into conical wicker baskets. These are placed for a time over small buckets in order to allow the mothers or bitters contained in the salt to drain away. After this the salt is emptied out of the baskets on to the floor, where it remains for three days or so drying in the high temperature of the boiling house. The bitters exuding from it whilst it lies here after a time form quite a thick incrustation of impure matter, consisting chiefly of sulphates, such as for example magnesium sulphate &c. I may here remark that it would perhaps be better to explain for the benefit of those who may be ignorant of the term "Bitters" or "Mothers," what it really implies, as reference will be made to it in the course of further observations: It is technically defined as the name given to the liquor obtained when sea water is evaporated into salt (sodium chloride). It possesses a very bitter and acrid taste, whence the derivation of the term, due to the Magnesium salts present in solution, which are Magnesium Sulphate. Potassium Sulphate and Sodium Sulphate Bromides are also contained in it.

The practise obtains amongst a good majority of the salt manufacturers in this country of mixing these bitters, which have dripped from the salt, with the next supply of fresh brine to be evaporated. It is however very unwise to do this, as it only increases the volume of impure salts already contained in the brine and exercises a perceptibly prejudicial effect on the purity of the salt produced.

One of the great disadvantages attending the Pan Scale use of the stone pan is that a thick deposit of sulphate of lime, or gypsum, gradually forms on its sides and bottom, interfering materially with its power of conducting heat. At first, when the pan is new, it is not considered

altogether undesirable for the pan scale, as it is technically termed in Europe, to form, as it gives the pan additional strength; but, later on, when it attains to a thickness of half an inch, it considerably retards the evaporation of the brine and by diminishing the heat, owing to its lack of conductive power, necessitates the use of extra fuel. For this reason, therefore, it is found more economical to break up the pan and to build a new one after the lapse of 30 to 35 days, general experience having proved that the expense and loss of time involved in rebuilding it is more than compensated by the saving effected in fuel. In a season of six months it is the custom to construct as many as two new pans and in some cases, as many as three, the maximum period they last being 40 days at the very utmost.

Several expedients are resorted to for diminishing the pan scale as much as possible and frequently with success.

One consists in adding to the brine contained in the boiling pan the lees obtained from the manufacture of Tōfu or Bean Curd. This bean curd is made by treating a large white bean called the "Daizu," or scientifically, *Soja Hispida*, with water and then boiling it. The liquor exuding from these beans when squeezed in a cloth, is what is used for putting into the brine. For a boiling of two *koku* (=40 gallons) of brine, two *shō* (=3 quarts) is the regulation quantity. What action this Tōfu has on the brine, or what chemical decomposition takes place, it is difficult to ascertain, but its efficacy may, probably, be due to the presence of some alkali. At any rate it is stated that by this method the formation of pan scale is visibly diminished. Another property the Tōfu liquor is reputed to possess is that of imparting a more agreeable taste to the salt and of lessening its acridity, also of rendering the salt whiter and purer. The latter effect ascribed to it is however open to much doubt. The liquor obtained by boiling two species of edible sea weed, viz, *Wakame* (*Alaria Pinnatifida*) and *Arame* (*Capea Elongata*) is also applied to the same purposes as Tōfu liquor.

The salt garden which has been described in the preceding pages is known to the salt makers by the term of Iri-Hama or "Entering Field," due to the fact that the sea water enters into them by ditches.

There, is however, another kind of salt garden to be found occasionally on the coast, which, in contradistinction to the foregoing, is called Age-Hama, or "Raised Garden," owing to its surface being some considerable height above the level of the sea. It is neither provided with a sluice gate or with ditches of any description whatever, the sea water to be evaporated being drawn from the sea in buckets and sprinkled broadcast by the labourers over the surface of the field. The manual labour involved by this must be great, and on this account the Iri-Hama are decidedly more advantageous with their series of ditches which bring in the water without any trouble. An Age-Hama is of very simple construction, consisting merely of a large regular space of ground which is covered with a layer of fine sand superposed to the depth of two inches over a clayey bottom. Its level above the sea is naturally a matter of not much importance. A curious fact is that although the Age-Hama is regarded with disfavour and is of comparatively rare occurrence, presumably owing to the extra amount of labour it entails, yet it is known to produce a yield of salt 30 per cent in excess of that obtained from the average quality Iri-hama. For this superiority two reasons may be assigned.

Firstly, the larger surface of ground available, owing to the absence of the many ditches contained in the Iri-Hama, and also of the space gained by the practise of placing the leaching tubs on the outskirts of the field, instead of in the centre as in each Iri-Hama sand flat.

Secondly. The evaporation of the water sprinkled over its surface proceeds more rapidly than in the case of the Iri-Hama, where the water is not immediately exposed to the influence of the sun, but has to wait until it is drawn to the surface by capillary attraction before it can be evaporated.

Further proof of the superior productive power possessed

by an Age-Hama may be found in the different scale on which salt gardens belonging to these two classes were formerly taxed. Prior to the Revolution in 1868, a tax of thirteen *momme* or nine *sen*, five *rin* (=3½d) was leviable on one *tan* of Age-Hama ground (=39 poles), whilst the tax on the same area of Iri-Hama ground was assessed at eight *momme* or five *sen*, four *rin* (2d). The Age-Hama fields are generally worked by small farmers, who cannot afford to launch into the expense of constructing an Iri-Hama, and who take advantage of the lulls in their agricultural pursuits to do a little salt making by which an honest penny may be turned. Amongst other localities where they are to be found, the Niigata coast, (province of Echigo), is one. They were, it appears, the first to be adopted in this country, the present system of Iri-Hama being evolved from them, owing to the inconvenience occasioned by having to carry up the water to the field in buckets. With the use of a pump they should, however, be easily worked, and, if they are so much more productive than Iri-Hama, the scheme is certainly worthy of consideration.

From the nature of the evaporation process Climate. continually going on in the various layers of sand composing the sand flats it is evident that a good yield of salt is dependent upon atmospheric phenomena seconded in a minor degree by quality of soil, &c. A salt field situated in a locality enjoying a good climate but of indifferent soil may produce a good crop and generally does, whilst, on the other hand, one surrounded by unfavourable climatic conditions but made of good soil, may not yield so plentifully as the former. An example in point may be quoted in the case of Sakaide, (province of Sanuki), and Ako, (province of Harima). In the former district the climate is by far the best but the quality of the fields themselves is inferior to that of the Akō fields, yet, in Sakaide, the highest range of production attained by any salt field in the country is to be met with, viz: 3600 *koku*=533 tons.

To sum up the chief natural forces exerting their

influence on the productive power of a field we find that this depends upon :—

1. Influence of the season.
2. Strength of the solar rays and temperature of the air.
3. Absence of cloudy weather and rain.
4. Strength and direction of wind.
5. Temperature of the sand beds and sea water.
6. Smoothness of the sand surface, viz: whether it is raked perfectly smooth or is uneven.
7. Colour of the upper surface, whether bright or opaque.  
In the latter case the sun's rays are attracted more easily.

The most determined enemies which the salt maker has to contend with are cloudy weather and rain; the former reduces crystallisation to a minimum and the latter, the most disastrous of the two in its effects, stops all operations very often for days together. It is customary, when rain falls steadily for the whole day, to flood the field several inches deep with sea water, in order to prevent the rain water penetrating into the already salt-impregnated soil, as if it did, evaporation would be much impeded when operations were resumed at the approach of fine weather. Unfortunately for the salt makers, the summer rainy season in Japan happens to coincide in most places with what ought to be the most favourable months for them, viz: June and July, and, in this respect, the climatic conditions under which the fields are worked differ very much from those prevalent in the Mediterranean salt fields of Europe.

The following divisions, into which the coasts Climatic divisions of the Coast. of Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū may be divided, will go far to show, as far as volume of rainfall and its distribution in the various seasons of the year are concerned, what parts of Japan may be expected to possess the best climate.

1. The coasts of Kūyshū, (with the exception of the part lying on the Inland Sea), and the south coasts of the Island of Shikoku to Shiromisaki in the province of Kii. The summer here is very rainy, in fact, probably,

the rainfall is greater than in any other part of the country. Rainy season from April to August.

2. The coast from Shiromisaki in Kii to the mouth of the Tonegawa.

In this region two rainy periods occur, one at the beginning and the other at the end of summer, viz: in May and June, and in September and October. It has a midsummer free from rain, and winter the same.

3. From the mouth of the Tonegawa to the north point of the main island, Honshū. A rainy period in September and probably one in June. Both periods, however, are far less distinctly defined than those of No. 2.
4. From the north point of Honshū to the province of Noto. The rainy season comes in the beginning of winter.
5. From Noto to the Province of Nagato. Unknown, probably like No. 4.
6. The coast of Chōshū to the province of Harima and probably the north coast of Kyūshū. Two rainy seasons from April to July and during September.
7. The north coast of Shikoku and the coast of Wakayama Prefecture. Two rainy seasons, April to June and September to October. This region is the most free from rain on the Japanese coasts.

The source from which the interesting facts, detailed above have been drawn, is a report issued by the Nōshōmu Shō or Department of Agriculture and Commerce, in 1884.

Of all these seven divisions the climate of the north coast of Shikoku and the coast of Wakayama present, it is here said, the most favourable conditions for the manufacture of salt. This was proved by a series of meteorological observations made at various stations on the coast, viz: Nagasaki, Hiroshima, Wakayama, Tōkyō, Nobiru and Niigata, when the results that were arrived at were, that, in comparison with the other stations, the region in the neighbourhood of Wakayama and the north coast of Shikoku was superior in every respect, both as regards highest temperature, dryest air, number of rainy and cloudy days, and volume of rain-

fall. These observations were made during the five months from May to September. The next best was Hiroshima, which may be taken as representative of the climate between Nagato and Harima. The worst was Nagasaki. The reason assigned for the good climate prevailing in the north coast of Shikoku is that the moist sea winds, which come from the south, give up their moisture in the form of rain when they strike the mountain chain piercing Shikoku from East to West, and, by the time they reach the north coast of Shikoku, blow warm and dry.

A consequence of the more favourable climatic <sup>Winter Manu-</sup> position of the salt fields on this part of the

coast, namely, in Sanuki and Iyo, is that salt making can be continued here the whole year through, which is the case in very few other places, with the exception of Saita (or Muya) in Awa. Whilst, however, owing to the more unfavourable climate of Saita, situated as it is in the rainiest division of the seven before mentioned, any attempt to manufacture in the winter months is invariably accompanied by pecuniary loss to the owners of the fields, in Sanuki and Iyo, (especially as regards Sakaide in Sanuki), a small profit sufficient to justify winter operations is always made. The following comparison of the out-turn per working month in some of the chief manufacturing centres of the Ten Provinces will throw further light on the subject of climate and productiveness.

Nosaki, in Bizen. ....	269	<i>koku</i>	= 40	tons
Katamoto, in Sanuki. ....	248	„	= 36	„
Sakaide, in Sanuki. ....	242	„	= 35	„
Onomichi, in Bingo. ....	225	„	= 33	„
Mitajiri, in Suwo. ....	220	„	= 32½	„
Akō, in Harima. ....	216	„	= 32	„
Muya, or Saita, in Awa. ....	150	„	= 22	„

From the above it will be observed that the three foremost places are occupied by Nosaki, Katamoto and Sakaide, the two latter situated in the most favourable climatic region, No: 7. Nosaki, in the province of Bizen,

and situated in region No. 6, seems also to share the favourable climate of Sanuki, as it heads the list; this is probably owing to its close proximity to the north coast of Shikoku. The preceding figures also show that the oldest established salt centres of Akō and Mitajiri yield some 20 *koku* (=3 tons) less salt than the average monthly production in Sakaide, notwithstanding that the average of the latter is lowered by its diminished yield in the winter months. Muya, or Saita, has the lowest figure, and this is not surprising when we come to consider that it lies just outside the favourable climatic zone of No. 7, and within the most rainy one, No. 1. The salt industry, it seems, is rather on the wane in Saita, and winter work, which is only continued out of regard for the many labourers employed, brings no profit. Sanuki, especially Sakaide, has of late years made great progress and it is highly probable that this province, together with the adjacent coast of Wakayama Prefecture, is destined to become the leading salt producing district of the whole country. So far the industry does not seem to have attained very large proportions in Wakayama, according to the statistics quoted on pages 89, where the area of its fields are given at 67 *chō* (=164 acres) and produce 18,045 *koku* (=1673 tons), but attention is being gradually directed to this locality now, as it seems to offer every chance of success.

It may well be imagined that Sanuki, being in a position to disregard the prohibition which unprofitable manufacture imposes upon winter work in most of the other provinces, is a bitter opponent of any scheme such as that of Sampachi-Hō, by which operations are restricted to the six most favourable months in the year.

On the other hand the majority of the remaining nine provinces are as resolutely bent, through motives of jealousy and fear of the growing prosperity of their neighbour in Shikoku, on forcing upon it the adoption of the principles they advocate. They hold that the chief remedy available, by which the depression prevailing in the salt trade can be ameliorated, is to curtail the output

in all the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Guild and thus enhance prices.

Sanuki, however, refuses to acknowledge the applicability of this absurd theory, which, if enforced against it, would nullify all the natural advantages it enjoys by virtue of its superior climate.

One argument advanced by the partisans of the six months' system is, that, inasmuch as no profit is gained by winter work in the nine provinces, none can be made in Sanuki worth the trouble of working for, but this is refuted in a pamphlet entitled the "Sanuki Complication in the Guild of the Ten Provinces," which has been published by Mr. Inouye Jintarō, a well known salt manufacturer of Takamatsu, in Eastern Sanuki. Some interesting details concerning the working expenses of a salt field are contained in this pamphlet and are valuable for forming a rough estimate of the profits made, which are but small.

The size of the garden is the usual one of  $1 chō 5 tan$  ( $= 3\frac{3}{4}$  acres). It is situated in Kohama, near Takamatsu. The value at which it is assessed for taxation is  $45$  *yen* per *tan*,\* equivalent at the Government rate of  $3s. 2d.$  (which has been taken as the standard for exchange in all calculation throughout this report), to  $\$7. 2.6$ . The assessed value of the whole field of  $15$  *tan* is  $675$  *yen*, or  $\$107. 7.6$ . The actual working surface of the field is arrived at by subtracting the area of ground occupied by the various buildings, leaching tubs and ditches. It amounts to very nearly two *tan*, leaving thirteen *tan*, or about 3 acres, available for evaporating purposes. Sand is collected for leaching in 75 tubs, 15 of which are assigned to each of the five sand flats composing the field.

From these  $13$  *tan*, 500 bags of salt weighing  $5 tō 2 shō$  each ( $= .52$  of one *ku*, or  $1\frac{7}{20}$  bushels, one *ku* =  $2.96$  cwts.) were produced in the course of the year.

He divides the year into the four seasons and shows the approximate results obtained during each, in the following manner:—

---

\* 1 *tan* = 39 square poles.

Spring season. February 1 to April 30. As the profits to be made during this season are but small, the staff of workmen is reduced as much as possible and the work done by the inmates of the salt maker's house. In estimating the working expenses, however, the inmates are treated as hired labourers and their wages added in accordingly. Every five days there are obtained from each leaching tub 1.08 *koku* of brine (one *koku* = 39.37 imperial gallons), 75 tubs giving 81 *koku* of brine (=3220  $\frac{1}{2}$  gallons), which produce at the end of five days 35  $\frac{1}{2}$  *koku* (=5  $\frac{7}{27}$  tons), total output from the whole field. The market price of this was 45 *sen* (=1s. 5d.) per *koku*, or 23 *sen.* 4 *rin* per bag, giving a total of *yen* 15.91 *sen*, value of salt, (f 2, 10. 5).

From this amount the working expenses for five days must be deducted, as follows:—

	<i>yen</i> <i>sen</i> <i>rin</i>
Wages of seven labourers. ....	3. 05.
Wages of two stokers for boiling pan. ....	91. 09.
Coals. ....	4. 41. 09.
<i>Arame</i> or Seaweed. ....	02. 05.
Straw bags. ....	47. 06.
Straw ropes for same. ....	36. 07.
Packing the salt in bags. ....	24. 00.
Boat hire. ....	13. 06.
Salt agent's commission. ....	31. 08.
Coal agent's commission. ....	22. 01.
<hr/>	
Total. <i>Yen</i> 10. 17. 01	
	(=f 1. 12. 2).

On deducting *yen* 10. 17. 01 *rin* from the value of the salt, *yen* 15.91 *sen*, a profit of *yen* 5. 73 *sen.* 09 *rin* (=18s. 3d.) remains for the five days.

Summer season. May 1 to July 31. Up till now the field has been worked by the inmates of the house, but, as the season becomes more favourable, the staff of labourers must be increased from seven to ten persons. Every four days there are obtained from each leaching tub 1.404 *koku* of brine, from 75 tubs 108 *koku* of brine, (=4294 gallons), producing at the end of four days 55  $\frac{3}{4}$  *koku* of salt (=8  $\frac{2}{27}$  tons).

The market price of this was *yen* 25. 08 *sen.* or *rin.* (=£4. 19. 5). The expenses to be deducted are:—

	<i>yen.</i> <i>sen.</i> <i>rin.</i>
Wages of ten labourers. ... ... ...	4. 50. 00.
Wages of two stokers. ... ... ...	91. 09.
Coal. ... ... ... ...	4. 50. 00.
<i>Arame.</i> ... ... ... ...	02. 05.
Straw bags. ... ... ... ...	75. 03.
Straw cords. ... ... ... ...	57. 09.
Packing. ... ... ... ...	32. 03.
Boat hire. ... ... ... ...	24. 00.
Salt agent's commission. ... ... ...	90. 02.
Coal agent's commission. ... ... ...	22. 01.
<hr/>	
Total, <i>yen</i> 12. 96. 02 (=£3. 1.0).	

On deducting *yen* 12. 96 *sen.* 02 *rin.* from *yen* 25. 08 *sen.* or *rin.*, value of the salt, a balance of *yen* 12. 11. 09. remains, (=£1. 18. 5).

Autumn season. August to October 30. The staff of workmen is unchanged as the weather still continues favourable.

Every four days there are obtained from each leaching tub ... ... ... 1.26 *koku* of brine  
75 tubs ... ... 94½ " " " (=3757 gallons) from which are produced 46½ *koku* (=6½ tons) of salt. The market price of this is *yen* 21. 07. *sen* 07 *rin* (=£3.6.9). The daily expenses are:—

	<i>yen.</i> <i>sen.</i> <i>rin.</i>
Wages of ten labourers ... ... ...	4. 20. 00
Coal ... ... ...	4. 41. 09
Wages of two stokers ... ... ...	91. 09
<i>Arame</i> ... ... ...	02. 05
Straw bags ... ... ...	63. 01
Ropes for same ... ... ...	48. 04
Packing ... ... ...	27. 00
Boat hire ... ... ...	18. 00
Salt agent's commission ... ... ...	42. 02
Coal agent's commission ... ... ...	22. 01
<hr/>	
Total, <i>yen</i> 11. 77. 01 (=£1.17.3)	

On deducting *yen* 11. 77 *sen.* or *rin* from *yen* 21.07.07, a profit of *yen* 9 *yen.* 30 *sen.* 06 *rin* remains, (=£1.9.6).

Winter season. November 1 to January 31. Every five days the items are the same in every respect as during the spring season.

To recapitulate:—

		Cost of Produce. production.	Profit.
		Tons.	
Every 4 days in Summer.	...	8 $\frac{7}{27}$	£3. 1.0 £1.18.5
„ 4 „ „ Autumn.	...	6 $\frac{2}{9}$	£1.17.3 £1. 9.6
„ 5 „ „ Spring and Win- ter, respectively.		5 $\frac{7}{27}$	£1.12.2 £0.18.3

By these figures proof is furnished that winter work in Sanuki does not bring loss.

Let us now see what the profits on the whole year's manufacture amounted to.

On an average there were 220 days out of the 365 on which salt was made, as allowance has to be made for idle days due to rainy weather and other causes.

During this period 2,600 *koku* of salt (=385 tons) were turned out, the value of which, at the market  $1 \text{ koku} = 2.96 \text{ cwt.}$  rate ruling on the spot, namely, 45 *sen* per *koku*  $\frac{1,170}{1,185.50} \text{ yen} = (=1s. 5d.)$ , was 1,170 *yen*. From this must be subtracted the sum of *yen* 673.40 *sen* (=£106.12.5), which represents the average total for daily expenses during 220 days, and also a further sum of *yen* 326.00 (=51.12.4) must be deducted for expenditure on account of annual repairs to the field, etcetera, as below.

		<i>yen. sen.</i>
Dredging sand out of ditches	...	4. 00
Re-arranging sand beds, and new sand	...	11. 00
Repairs to Boiling-house and other buildings	...	24. 00
Rebuilding stone pan, 5 times @ 4 <i>yen</i>	...	20. 00
Repairing and replacing metal and wooden tools		8. 00
Rent of Salt Garden for one year	...	234. 00

Interest on guarantee deposit of \$100 with landlord,	@ 18% ...	18.00
Interest on other sums	,, ...	7.00 = 25. 00
		_____
		326. 00
Add daily expenses	... ...	673. 40
		_____
Total to be deducted	yen 999. 40	
	(= £158.4.9)	

The following figures now result :—

2,600 *koku* of salt (=385 tons), at the market rate of 45 *sen* (=1s. 5d.) per *koku*, fetch yen 1,170 yen (=£185.5.9), on which a profit of yen 170.60 *sen* (=£27.0.3) is made. The cost of production being yen 999.40 *sen* (=£158.4.9), that of recovering one *koku* of salt was a little over 38 *sen* (=1s. 2½d.).

This, however, is working on the assumption that the garden is leased by the owner to a tenant, yen 170.60 (=£27.0.3) being the profit gained by the latter. Presuming that it is worked by the owner, himself, which is more often the case, we get, after deducting rent (yen 234 = £37.1.0) and interest on deposit etc., (yen 25 = £3.19.2), both of which items must naturally be eliminated from the owner's expenses, the following figures :—

The cost of making 2,600 *koku* was yen 763.44 *sen* (=£120.7.7), profit, yen 406.56 *sen* (=£64.7.5) and the cost of recovering one *koku* of salt was 29 *sen* (=11 pence). Thus the owner made a profit of 16 *sen* (=6d.) per *koku* and the tenant of 7 *sen* (=2½d.) per *koku*. The taxes payable by the owner on the field, namely, yen 23.04 *sen* (=£3.13.0), have also been included in his expenses, but do not form an item of those of the tenant. If the interest on the original outlay of capital required by the owner for the purchase, or construction, of his field were reckoned in, which has not been done, his profit would probably be something like that of the lessee and the cost of recovering one *koku* of salt about 38 *sen* (=1s. 2½d.), which is rather below the average.

The average cost of production, according to <sup>Average Cost</sup> statistics issued from the Central Office of the <sup>of Production.</sup> Guild, is 44 sen (=nearly 1s. 5d.) per *koku* for last year, the minimum being reached in the District of Akō, with 37 sen (=1s. 4d.) per *koku*.

The usual rate of rent throughout the country for a salt field of the standard dimensions ranges from 200 *yen* (=£31.13.4) to 300 *yen* (=£47.10.0) per annum, varying according to position and productive capacity. Construction is a very costly undertaking, involving an outlay of from 3,000 to <sup>Cost of constructing salt field.</sup> 4,000 *yen* (=£475 to £633.6.8); for this reason, and owing to the depression at present prevailing in the trade, not many new fields are made nowadays, people being content to rent or purchase them. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that several years of laborious toil are required to render a newly made field remunerative, as the soil does not, for at least two years, become thoroughly seasoned for the purposes to which it is applied, and sometimes five or six years elapse before its real capabilities are discovered.

A few notes are necessary in order to explain some of the items appearing amongst the working expenses previously alluded to.

**Labourers.** In Winter and Spring seven persons are employed, five men and two women or children. Two men receive 11 *sen* (=4.18 pence) per day of twelve hours and have the heaviest part of the work to do.

The other five labourers are employed for <sup>(3d.42).</sup> half a day, or six hours, at 9 *sen* each for the <sup>(2d.28).</sup> three men and six *sen* each for the two women, or children, as the case may be.

In Summer and Autumn the staff is increased <sup>(5d.70).</sup> to ten. Five men at 15 *sen* per diem of 12 hours and five others for half a day, three of whom receive 9 *sen* and two 6 *sen* each.

**Coals.** Various kinds of coals are used which are mixed together in order to keep the heat at an even temperature;

the prices for the same ranging from 6 *sen* (1kin=1 $\frac{1}{3}$  lbs.) per *kin* for coal from Motoyama, in Nagato, to (3d.04). 8 *sen* per *kin* for Chikuzen coal. Some dexterity and practice is required in stoking, the chief test of competence lying in the maintenance of a normal heat at the cost of a small amount of coal.

Stokers for boiling pan. Two of these are employed (6d.65.) permanently on a fixed scale of wages, 17 *sen* per day each, and they are on duty alternately, day and night, as salt is drawn from the pan every two hours, giving 12 boilings in 24 hours.

*Arame* or seaweed. This is for the purpose of preventing pan scale as specified before, the seaweed being boiled down and the decoction resulting smeared over the pan previous to pouring in the brine.

Packing of the salt in straw bags. This requires extra labour, for which outside assistance is specially obtained at intervals.

Boat hire. This is for transferring the bags of salt to the large salt junks lying in the offing and which cannot approach close to shore.

Salt agent's commission. The custom prevailing in the salt trade is for all transactions relating to purchase or sale to be negotiated by an agent or middleman. By Government regulation a tax termed the "Eigyo-Zei," or Occupation Tax, is imposed on all trades and occupations, from which, however, the salt former is exempted out of regard for the fact that he is already handicapped by a Land Tax of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the assessed value of his land. To counterbalance this he is only allowed to negotiate for the sale of his salt through the medium of the salt middlemen who are liable to the Occupation Tax. If he is desirous of making his own arrangements for the disposal of his produce he must first be duly licensed to do so through payment of this tax. This accounts for the two items charged to commissions paid to the salt and coal agents, the system being the same in the case of the latter. In addition to the Land Tax, or Chi-zei,

Taxes on salt field.

which belongs to the class of taxes called *Koku-zei*, or National Taxes, by which the National Treasury is replenished, the salt manufacturer is affected by two others, namely, *Chihō-zei* or Local taxes and *Kyogi-Hi* or Municipal Rates. The former are levied by the Local Prefectural Office, or *Kenchō*, in each Prefecture, acting under the authority of the Prefectural Assembly, which regulates annually the amount leviable for defraying the expenditure of the Prefecture. The latter are regulated by the District Assembly and are devoted to purely local objects, such as the maintenance of roads, etc. The burden of taxation is therefore by no means light, although it probably compares favourably with that of British India, where the salt industry is one of the great government monopolies and where the imposts on salt constitute one of the main sources of the public revenue. The land tax of the field

(£2.13.5.) previously under discussion is *yen* 16. 86 *sen*, 5 *rin*, which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the assessed value of 15 *tan*, viz, *yen* 675 at 45 *yen* per *tan*. The (19s. 6d.) Local Taxes and Municipal Rates are *yen* 6.16 (£3.13.0.) *sen* 5 *rin*, giving a total taxation of *yen* 23.04.

The taxes levied in Japan on the salt industry are also less severe than those of China where salt likewise forms a monopoly of the Government. In the latter country the

amount leviable per one *koku* is about *yen* 1.41, (4s. 5d.) whilst the tax payable by 2,600 *koku* here would (one *yen* = 3s. 2d.) not be much more than .0009 of a *yen* per *koku* under the Japanese system of taxation. Were (£384.5d.) the Chinese system enforced in Japan a tax of *yen* (10m. 38s.) 3,690.96 would be due on the total of 2,600 *koku*.

It may be easily imagined from this that the price of Chinese salt must necessarily be exceedingly high, and this is indeed the case, the average rate there being 11 to 12 *yen* per *koku* as against 70 *sen* per *koku* in Tokyo. The justice of taxing a commodity of such vital importance to the very poorest member of society, even on the most reduced scale, is open to grave question, and, low as the price of salt is

(£1.14.10 to

£1.18.0.)

(2s. 2d.)

in Japan compared with that in China, this should afford food for reflection to those salt makers in this country who are bent on fostering high prices by curtailing output.

Another item to be noticed is the guarantee (£15.16.8.) deposit of *yen* 100, left with the owner of the field. This is handed over by the lessee on entering into possession of the field and is held by the owner until tenancy expires. This sum is supposed to guarantee the landlord against omissions on the part of the tenant to pay his rent. The rate of interest, viz., 18 per cent, appears rather high in estimating the loss contingent on locked up capital. The interest on other sums referred to is that on money expended on the food supplies which are purchased at the commencement of the year for the household, and also for the labourers, who very often receive rations of rice in part payment of their wages.

**Building of the Pan.** It will be observed that the boiling pan was built five times at a cost of (12s. 8d.) four *yen*, a consequence of the length of the season. Some delay is caused in boiling operations as four days are required for each construction.

The following notes obtained from Mr. Hira-Northern numa, the owner of two large salt fields in the salt fields.

vicinity of Kanagawa, where I have spent some time in watching the various stages of salt manufacture, will give additional information as regards productiveness and working expenses, and a comparison may also be made roughly with the Kohama field. The largest of the two above mentioned has been selected for this purpose.

The dimensions are 5 *chō* or 50 *tan* (= 12½ acres); of this four *tan* (nearly one acre) are monopolised by the ditches and Toridzuka, for definition of which see Page 41, and the usable surface amounts to (11½ acres) 46 *tan*. The field is divided into 14 divisions, 3,360 feet long by 270 feet broad. The width of the 15 ditches is 2 feet 5 inches each and thickness of sand layers one foot, the upper layer being one inch thick. Half the field is worked every day on the same principles of evaporation etc. as described

on Pages 18-21. The system of leaching is that termed *Zaru-tori*, or "basket taking," described on Page 18. By this is effected a great saving in space which would otherwise be occupied by the leaching tubs used in the south. The sand is spread out to the field at five in the morning and leached in the baskets at one o'clock. In each basket is placed 6 *tō* of sand (=24 bushels), on to which 6 *tō* of sea water (=240 gallons) is poured, yielding 2 *tō* of concentrated brine (=80 gallons). On one sand flat there are 60 baskets from which are obtained  $2 \times 60 = 120$  *tō* (=4,800 gallons), or 12 *koku* of brine, and, as there are 7 flats in use every day the daily production is 840 *tō* or 84 *koku* (=19,200 gallons), which are conveyed in buckets to the "Toridzuka" and from thence by pipes to the reservoir.

**Labourers.** The labourers employed on this field are chiefly convicts from the Government prison, but a few other men, skilled labourers, are permanently employed. In all, there are 23 men who work from five in the morning to five in the evening, the wages being distributed as follows:—

Class 1. Consisting of permanent workmen, not convicts, 25 *sen* per day (=9½d.).

Class 2. Two stokers, 25 *sen* per 12 hours each and board and lodging.

Class 3. The convicts, who receive a daily wage of 8 *sen* (=3d.04), which is increased to 12 *sen* as they gradually grow proficient in their duties.

Each sand flat is worked by three men, giving a total of 21 men for field work.

**Boiling pan.** This is not constructed of stone and clay but is a good substantial iron pan heated on the principles previously described. It measures 18 feet long by 12 broad and three inches deep, having a holding capacity of 11 *koku* (=4400 gallons) The brine is boiled five times in 24 hours in quantities of 9 *koku*, in all, 45 *koku* (=10,000 gallons) of brine, from which 15 *koku* (=2½ tons, or ½ of the brine) of salt are produced daily. Boiling operations continue on

an average for 350 days in the year although the stokers are engaged for the whole year. Brine is obtained from the field during 220 days, as evaporation is also carried on occasionally in the winter as in the Kohama field. The great difference between the two is, however, that the owner of the Kanagawa field is not subject to the regulations of the Guild and is therefore not restricted to the six months' limit imposed on the southern fields. Last year the Kohama field must have worked beyond the specified period in open defiance of the Guild regulations unless special permission was granted to do otherwise.

The brine produced in 220 days amounts, at the rate of 84 *koku* per day, to 18,480 *koku* (=739,200 gallons,) out of which  $\frac{1}{3}$  should have been taken as salt, as 15 *koku* of salt were obtained daily. One third equals 6,160 *koku* (=913 tons) of salt, but, making allowances for waste of brine through various causes, such as leakage from pipes and buckets, constant evaporation whilst in the reservoir, etcetera, the actual average quantity of salt produced annually is about 5,500 *koku* (=815 tons), reaching in the most favourable season to as much as 6000 *koku* (=889 tons).

The expenses incurred for last year are as follows:—

	<i>yen. sen.</i>
Wages of labourers for 220 days, 21 men..	693. 00
"    " stokers, 2 men, 365 days..	182. 50
Dried bamboo branches for fuel, @ 80 <i>sen</i> per boiling, @ 5 boilings = 4 <i>yen.</i> 365 days ..	1460. 00
Repairs to tools, field, building etc. ..	180. 00
Land tax and local taxes etc. ..	<u>75. 00</u>
Total, .. .. ..	<i>yen</i> 2590. 50 (=£410. 3. 3.)

The market price in Yokohama for salt was 70 *sen* (=2½) per *koku*, which for 5500 *koku* gives *yen* 3,850 (=£609. 11. 8). The amount of profit cleared was, therefore, *yen* 3850 minus *yen* 2590.50, or *yen* 1,259½ (=£199. 8. 5), from a field of 50 *tan* or 5 *chō*.

In order to make a rough comparison of the Kanagawa field with the Kohama field, 1 *cho* 5 *tan* must be taken as the basis of calculation and  $\frac{3}{10}$  of the above figures taken

as representing the results which would be obtained from 1 *chō* 5 *tan* area of the Kanagawa field.

The total produce would be therefore  $\frac{3}{10}$  of 5,500 *koku* = 1650 *koku* (= 245 tons), value at 70 *sen* per *koku* = yen 1,155 (= £182.17.6), cost of production = yen 775.15 (= £122.14.8) for the whole, or nearly 47 *sen* per <sup>Comparison of</sup> *koku*. The clear profit remaining is yen 377.85 <sup>northern and southern salt</sup> (= £59.16.6). Comparing the two fields in a table we have :—

	Yield from 1 <i>chō</i> 5 <i>tan</i> in 220 days <i>koku</i> .	Value of salt yen.	Market Price <i>sen</i> per <i>koku</i> .	Cost of Production yen <i>sen</i> .	Cost of 1 <i>koku</i> to produce <i>sen.</i>	Profit yen <i>sen</i> .
Kohama.....	2600	1170	45	763.44	38	406.56
Kanagawa.....	1650	1155	70	777.15	47	377.85

All the items therefore are in favour of the Kohama field, both as regards yield from the same area of ground, cost of production and profit, and this notwithstanding that the owner of the Kanagawa field enjoys greater facilities for transport of his produce, which accounts for the absence in his expenses of such items as packing, straw bags or commissions. Probably, if the interest on capital laid out on the field were reckoned in, his profits would be further reduced. The superiority both in yield and everything else which distinguishes the Kohama field is owing to climatic advantages and the character of its soil, the climate in this neighbourhood being distinctly more unfavourable for salt manufacturing operations. The discrepancy observable in the market value of the two places is easily accounted for by the fact that Kanagawa salt is valued at the wholesale market rate ruling in Yokohama last year, the standard for regulating prices in the northern provinces being naturally based upon the prices which southern salts fetch in the northern markets, after charges for freight etc. have been added.

One good quality that the Kanagawa salt possesses is that it is, for Japanese salt, remarkably pure and free from bitters, mainly owing to three reasons.

Firstly; that the pan is heated for five hours instead of for two, it being a well recognised fact that rapid boiling

gives small crystals imperfectly formed, but that with gradual heating the crystals are larger and less liable to impurity owing to their more perfect shape.

Secondly; the proprietor not only rigidly adheres to the rule of not returning the bitters to the pan after each boiling, but also carefully filters the brine through a bed of ashes preparatory to boiling. He also places the baskets of newly made salt on the surface of a layer of ashes, which possessing great powers of suction draw out the bitters thoroughly.

Thirdly he employs an iron pan, which is by far the best.

Salt made on the Japanese system must necessarily.

sarily be expected to contain a large proportion of impurities, especially when the sources of its supply are considered, but such impurities are needlessly aggravated by this custom prevailing in so many places of returning the bitters to the pan, thus further augmenting the already large amount of foreign salts contained in the brine. In Europe it is very rare that such a course is adopted, as the bitters are utilised in other ways, such as for instance in manufacturing sodium sulphate, which is invaluable for making glass.

Many cases also occur in which the bitters are even mixed with the freshly made salt in order to increase its weight, the excuse which is offered for resorting to this device being that the lower classes of Japanese, especially in the interior, prefer an article well charged with them as the flavour is more acrid. The taste for such salt prevails, too, amongst fishermen who cure their fish by dipping them into brine, and they assert that a salt full of bitters is much more efficacious than a purer quality would be.

Of all the salts contained in Sodium Chloride of Magnesium, Chloride is that which has the greatest influence upon the quality of the produce, both on account of its deliquesce in the air and its highly saline taste. For while pure Chloride of Sodium never attracts moisture from the air, it is well known how rapidly ordinary salt becomes damp in wet weather, and the more Magnesium Chloride it contains the

more speedy such action of liquefaction becomes. This fact is very observable in most of the Japanese salt that one sees exposed in the stalls of the retail dealer, where owing to its impurity, small buckets are often placed beneath the salt to catch the bitterns which exude from it. By reason of this, Japanese salt, it is calculated, does not contain more than 77 to 80% of Sodium Chloride, the remaining percentage consisting of such impurities as Magnesium Sulphate, Magnesium Chloride and water, etc.

Until recently the erroneous view has found favour amongst the salt makers of this country that they have no interest in producing a pure article, as such is not in request amongst the lower classes. It stands to reason, however, that it is to their advantage to do all in their power to improve quality, both from a moral and financial standpoint, and by so doing the loss in weight which occurs, and which often serves as a pretext to the retail dealer for raising his prices, would, no doubt, be obviated in some measure. By fostering a taste for a purer quality amongst the country people, this pretext would be no longer available and greater regularity of prices and increased consumption would be stimulated. This result can only be attained by the introduction of several important improvements in the process of manufacture as it now stands; amongst which the adoption of iron pans and a better mode of heating are the chief desiderata. The iron pans, however, are expensive and it will be some time before they replace the old fashioned stone pan, as the majority of the salt makers are only just able to support themselves on the slender profits made in their trade.

The wholesale market rate for southern salts Wholesale rates. in Tōkyō is, of course, subject to fluctuation like all other commodities, the present price ruling being on an average *70 sen* (=2s. 2½d.) per *koku*, or perhaps *80 sen* (=2s./6d.) for best qualities. In 1879 and 1880 prices went as high as *yen 1.20* (=4s. 1d.) per *koku*, and the dealers are anxious to see business as brisk as this once more. The Ten Provinces being the centre of production,

prices advance in proportion as the extreme limit of local transport is reached. In the most remote provinces, such as the Hokkaidō and other northern parts, prices rule at something like 90 *sen* (=2s. 10d.) to 1 *yen* (=3s. 2d.) per *ku*, sometimes even *yen* 1.30, when supplies are short owing to the salt boats being detained south through stress of weather.

The varieties most sought after are Hon-Saita,  
 Varieties of Shin-Saita, Katamoto, Akō and Gyōtoku salts.

Hon-Saita is the name applied to all salt manufactured in Awa. It is the name by which the twelve small villages forming the township of Saita, or Muya, in that province are known.

Shin-Saita, (or New Saita), salt includes most of the varieties manufactured in Bizen, Bichū, Bingo, Suwo and Nagato and has obtained this name to distinguish it from Hon-Saita or "Real Saita salt."

Katamoto salt is a production of Sanuki. It chiefly finds a market, together with most other salts of that province, in Ōsaka.

Akō salt from Harima has the reputation of being the most suitable for pickling and curing purposes, such as fish, *daikon* and other vegetables. It is also largely used in making *Shoyu* and *Miso* and considerable quantities are sent annually to the Hokkaidō fish-curers. The demand for Akō salt, as well as for all other varieties to be employed in the manufacture of *Shoyu* and *Miso*, two of the most important articles of Japanese diet, can be by no means light, as at least one fifth of the ingredients entering into the composition of these two sauces consists of salt.

Gyōtoku salt. This comes from a tract of salt fields in the vicinity of Tōkyō where an area of some 25 acres is under cultivation.

The chief local markets are Tōkyō, Ōsaka,  
 Local mar- Shimonoseki, Yokkaichi, Niigata, Aomori and  
 kets.

Hakodate; Kyūshū is supplied from its own fields. The salt is transported to these places in junks of 300 to 500 *ku* burthen, and from thence is distributed by

pack-horses or hand-carts through the interior. The salt junks are the property of the master, or *Sendō*, as he is called. He purchases his cargo from the middleman acting on behalf of the manufacturer in the south and conveys it to its destination at his own risk. There it changes hands once more, as he sells the cargo to another salt agent who passes it on to the wholesale dealers.

A curious custom prevailing in the trade, and  
<sup>Light weight</sup> of bales. which is recognised by the master of the ship,

middleman and wholesale dealer alike, is that the bales in which the salt is packed are never expected to tally with the weight they are supposed to represent when first despatched from the manufacturer. This is mainly owing to the fact that the crews of the salt junks are allowed to help themselves to a certain proportion of the contents whilst the bales are in transitu, with the full knowledge of the master, who, as a set off against this, takes good care to fix their wages on a low scale when first engaging them. The salt abstracted from the bales is, therefore, to be regarded in the light of a legitimate perquisite sanctioned by trade usage rather than as stolen goods.

The bales are made out of coarse straw matting woven from barley or rice halms and are secured by four or five stout straw ropes. They range in weight from  $5 tō 2 shō$  ( $= 1\frac{7}{20}$  bushels) for the largest, to  $3 tō 5 shō$  ( $= \frac{7}{4}$  of a bushel) for the smallest.

A bale of  $5 tō 2 shō$  shows some discrepancy  
<sup>Natural waste.</sup> in weight by the time it reaches the hands of the Tokyo dealer, being reduced by the pilferings of the crew and by the draining away of impurities to very nearly  $5 tō$ , ( $= 1\frac{1}{4}$  bushels), which is the margin of loss allowed for by the dealer in this case, and so on in proportion to the size of the bale. If the margin fixed upon is exceeded the bale is rejected.

In a Japanese household salt is not set upon the table at meal time, a custom which seems rather peculiar to an Englishman who is wont to regard it as a necessary accessory to a properly laid table. Instead of appearing, as we

are accustomed to see it, in the never absent salt-cellar, it is always put into all food before it is cooked, or consumed in a diluted form in *Shoyu* and *Miso*, the two most indispensable accompaniments of a Japanese repast. On rare occasions, such as fête days, a specially prepared salt called *Yakishio*, or Baked Salt, is sometimes served up in a

*Note.* *Seki-*  
*han* is a kind of  
food made with  
*Azuki* (red  
beans) and rice.

*In Yakishio* is to be found the nearest approach to the quality of ordinary English table salt. It

consists merely of salt roasted in a pan over the fire by which the bitterns are evaporated, thus making it of a whiter colour. It is sold in small boxes of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 *sen* each in price (= 1d. to 2d.) and usually has the figure of some animal or flower inprinted on it with a stamp.

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## THE SALT GUILD OF THE TEN PROVINCES AND ITS REGULATIONS.

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The salt guild controlling the movements of the industry in the Ten Provinces was established in accordance with a Government notification, issued in the month of August, 1885, by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to the Prefects of the various Prefectures into which these provinces are divided, namely, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Okayama, Hyōgō, Tokushima and Ehime Prefectures.

The four clauses of which it is composed run as follows:—

1. All persons owning salt fields within the limits of the Ten Provinces shall become members of a Guild and shall be subject to the regulations of such guild.
2. The period for carrying on the manufacture of salt shall be confined to six months in the year, and this limit shall not be exceeded without authority.
3. A central office of the Guild shall be established at some place within the Ten Provinces, and District offices shall likewise be established in various suitable places.
4. If it be deemed necessary to frame regulations others than these the sanction of the Department for Agriculture and Commerce shall first be obtained.

The set of Regulations which, upon the issue <sup>Regulations</sup> of the above Notification, emanated from the <sup>of Guild.</sup> members of the Guild and which met with the general approval of all the salt makers in these provinces, with the exception of those in Sanuki, are as follows:—

Article 1. This Guild shall be designated the Jisshū Enden Kumiai.

Article 2. The limits of this Guild are con-  
<sup>Limits</sup> of <sup>Guild.</sup> fined to the provinces of Harima, Bizen, Bitchū, Bingo, Aki, Suwo, Nagato, Awa, Sanuki and Iyo.

Article 3. This Guild is organised by and composed of the owners of salt fields within the aforementioned ten provinces.

Central office. Article 4. Situation of central office.

The town of Marugame in the Prefecture of Ehime, Sannuki province, is fixed upon as the head-quarters of the Guild.

Article 5. Objects of the Guild.

This Guild is established in order to further the following aims.

The consolidation and extension of the Salt Industry.

The augmentation of trade profits.

The prevention of the manufacture of inferior salt.

For making researches into the best methods for improving the condition of the industry.

The prevention of the importation of foreign salt into Japan.

The improvisation of schemes for the maintenance of the industry on a sound basis.

Article 6. The Guild will frame accurate statistics of the annual yield of salt and will endeavour to keep the balance of supply and demand equally poised, to obviate disappointment.

Article 7. The season for making salt shall be confined to the six months intervening between spring and autumn. But as the manufacture of salt depends upon the climatic conditions of the locality where it is carried on, it is left to the discretion of the respective District offices to arrange the date for commencing operations. Such arrangements, however, must be communicated to the Central office.

Article 8. The staff of the Central office shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Inspectors, Clerks and Accountants.

Article 9. The President, Vice-President and Inspectors shall be elected only from amongst those persons who are owners of salt fields, at the General Meeting of the Guild to be held annually at the Central office.

**Article 10.** The Clerks and Accountants shall be nominated by the President of the Guild.

**Article 11.** The President, Vice President and Inspectors shall hold office for three years, but shall be eligible for re-election at the end of that period.

**Article 12.** The President of the Guild is invested with the responsibility of controlling the general business. He may not enforce the adoption of any regulation not contained in the Regulations of the Guild without first submitting it to the vote at an open meeting.

**Article 13.** The Vice-President shall assist the President in his duties and shall act in the place of the President when the latter is incapacitated from performing them.

**Article 14.** The Inspectors are responsible for the business of the respective sections assigned to them by the President and they may participate in the general business of the Guild.

**Article 15.** The Clerks shall receive their instructions from the President: the Vice-President and Inspectors and are responsible for the safe keeping of the Guild archives.

**Article 15.** The Accountants are under the orders of the Inspectors and are responsible for the accounts.

**Article 16.** The meetings of the Guild are divided into Ordinary and Extraordinary meetings.

The Ordinary meeting shall be held annually in the month of August.

An Extraordinary meeting may be held if any especial enquiries are addressed to the Guild by the Authorities, or if any emergency should arise which necessitates it. It may be called on the motion of the President of the Guild, or on that of a majority of the Presidents of the District offices.

**Article 17.** The time and place of holding Ordinary and Extraordinary meetings shall be determined by the President.

Article 18. Motions for discussion in any meeting shall be brought forward by the President.

Article 19. Each district office may, for every <sup>Conditions of</sup> 100 *chō* (=245 acres) of salt fields within its district, elect one member to represent it at either the Ordinary or Extraordinary meetings.

In districts where the area of the salt fields is less than 100 *chō* but more than 50 *chō* (=123 acres), one member may also be elected.

Article 20. Only persons who are owners of salt fields and who have been duly elected by district meeting are eligible as members of the Central office meeting.

Article 21. Officials attached to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce and the Local Prefectural officials may be present at all meetings of the Central office.

Article 22. All resolutions passed at the Central office meetings shall be reported to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce through the Prefectural office in the jurisdiction of which the Central office may be.

Article 23. The expenses of the Central office shall be levied by an equal assessment, namely, half upon the value of all land utilised for the purpose of salt gardens, and half upon the area of the same.

Article 24. Estimates for the annual expenditure of the Central office shall be presented at the annual General Meeting and a statement made of the balance in hand from last year.

Article 25. Any person effecting improvements in the salt industry either by inventions or otherwise shall receive a suitable reward.

Article 26. If any member infringe any of the <sup>Infraction of</sup> *Regulations*, regulations, bye-laws, agreements or resolutions of this Guild he shall, according to the gravity of his offence, be liable to a fine of not more than 50 *yen* (= £7. 18.4) and not less than 5 *yen* (15s. 10d.)

Article 27. Any person, being a member of <sup>Penalty for</sup> *exceeding six months' limit.* this Guild, who carries on the manufacture of salt beyond the period prescribed by these Regu-

lations, shall be liable to a fine of fifty *sen* (=1s. 7d.) per leaching tub for every day that this regulation is infringed.

**Article 28.** Whenever the lessor of any salt garden infringes any of the Guild regulations, the responsibility of such conduct rests with the owner of the salt garden so leased. But when the owner withdraws the lot from the tenant and levies a distress upon him for the amount of fine payable, such responsibility may be considered to lapse, even though the fine may not be fully satisfied, if it is manifest that the owner of the field is not in collusion with the tenant.

**Article 29.** If any of the staff of the Central office be guilty of malpractice they shall be dealt with by the General Meeting.

**Article 30.** All correspondence passing between the Central Office and any Branch District office shall be sealed with the official seal of the Guild. Correspondence with Government Authorities, however, shall be sealed with the private seals of President or Vice-President.

**Article 31.** Duplicates of the official seals of the Central and distinct offices shall be made and deposited therein.

**Article 32.** All yearly and monthly statistics, reports etc., and all resolutions passed at both ordinary and extraordinary meetings shall be reported to the local prefectoral office and to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, as soon as they are ready.

**Article 33.** When salt gardens are leased to persons beyond the jurisdiction of this Guild, a formal agreement must be made with such persons by which the observance of these Regulations may be ensured.

**Article 34.** The names of the localities selected as District offices are as follows:—

(Note. It is needless to repeat these as they are given on page 54 to 5).

(Article 35 to 40 contain regulations for the appointment etc. of district office staffs, the duties of which, and mode of election of which, are similar to those of the central office).

Article 41. Each district office may, at discretion, adopt such bye-laws as are deemed advisable after presenting such for the sanction of the Prefectural Office in the jurisdiction of which it lies. Such bye-laws, however, must not be at variance with the spirit of the general regulations controlling the Guild.

Article 42. The expenses of each district office shall be assessed and levied by each district office respectively.

On June 25, 1886, the following additions were made to the Regulations.

Article 43. In future all salt shall be sold by <sup>Salt to be sold</sup> measure and not by weight.

(In selling by weight a great loss is eventually caused to the purchaser, as has already been shown, by the draining away of impurities, but the sale by measure makes the transaction a fairer one, and, more especially, has the effect of ensuring purity, as the inducement to mix bitters to increase the weight is abolished.).

Article 44. The bitters contained in the <sup>Returning the</sup> bitters to the pan and draining wells shall not be thrown back pan.

into the pan as they have a prejudicial effect on the quality of the salt produced.

They should not be thrown away, but may be collected and utilised for making salt for manure or for other agricultural purposes.

Article 45. The term of office for members of the Guild is four years. Half of their number shall be re-elected every two years, those who are to retire at the expiration of this period being decided on by drawing lots.

Each member is eligible for re-election.

Article 46. If the president of the Guild disapprove of any resolution arrived at by the Central office meeting he may order the question to be re-debated.

Article 47. The financial year of the Guild commences on the 31st October.

Article 48. The president of a district office may not address any request for the holding of an extraordinary

meeting without the consent of a majority of half of the members of such district.

Article 49. The Regulations of the Guild may not be altered without the concurrence of a majority of more than half of the members, but such alteration shall not come into practical operation without the sanction of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, given through the local Prefectural Office.

#### A Brief History of the Guild and the Sanuki Complications.

The circumstances which led to the issue of the regulations quoted above and gave rise to the controversy which has lately been raging between the Guild on the one hand and Sanuki, more especially Eastern Sanuki, on the other, will be found briefly detailed in the following history of the Guild from its earliest origin.

The first idea of combining the representatives of the salt industry in the ten provinces emanated from a man named Tanaka Tōroku, a salt maker of Mitajiri, who lived in the period of Meiwa (1764). In his days extreme depression prevailed throughout the trade, which was at a very low ebb owing to over-production and consequent depreciation in prices, and even nowadays it is to this that the present sluggishness of trade is attributed.

To remedy the serious state of affairs Tanaka Tōroku came to the conclusion that the only alternative left was to reduce the output of salt by cutting short the season for its manufacture, so he proposed to the manufacturers of Suwo, Nagato, Aki and Bingo that they should discontinue operations during the most unfavourable half of the year from October to March. They consented to this and were all the more ready to do so as they made but little profit during the winter and early spring months. About this time also Tanaka Tōroku introduced the plan, alluded to on Page 29, of only using the fields either on alternate days or a certain section of it every third day, in order that they might gain an interval of rest. He was most sanguine that great things would result from a strict adherence to

his system, which he termed Sampachi Hō, (see Page 17) and, finally co-operating with another salt maker named Takehara Naojuro, a native of Mitajiri, presented a memorial to the Bakufu\* Government in which he petitioned for the organisation of a Guild for the four provinces of Suwo Nagato, Aki and Bingo. The memorial was favourably entertained by the Government and the Guild accordingly established in these four provinces.

After this Sampachi-Hō began gradually to work its way into popular favour, and, in fifty years from the time of its first establishment, the Guild was reinforced by the entry of the provinces Iyo, Awa, Harima, Bizen and Bitchū, nine provinces in all.

The only one that resisted all inducements to enter now was Sanuki. It was, however, deemed a matter of great importance that, in order to ensure unity of action, Sanuki should no longer remain unrepresented and, on these grounds, application was made about the period of Kwansei (1800) to the Daimyō of Sanuki Han, at Takamatsu, to bring pressure to bear on the salt makers under his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this all attempts of the Guild to establish a united Guild were ineffectual, as the salt makers of Sanuki resolutely declined to participate in any scheme of amalgamation, pleading as their reason that the more favourable climate of their province precluded any identity of interests with the other nine.

About thirty years subsequent to this in the periods of Bunsei and Tempō (1830), many new fields were laid out in West Sanuki at Sakaide, Aiai-i Hama and Wabihama. This gave an impetus to Sanuki business, and their manufacturers began to seek fresh outlets for their increased yield of salt, encroaching on markets hitherto monopolised by some of the other provinces. This led to further overtures on the part of the Guild and this time with partial success, as in 1873, the three new salt districts which had sprung up in West Sanuki

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\* Bakufu or the Shōgun's Government.

signified their willingness to enter the Guild, but the rest of Sanuki still held aloof.

Meanwhile, during the growing prosperity of Sanuki, the trade in the other provinces was passing through a period of great depression, which was aggravated by the keen competition of Sanuki. The nine provinces viewed this with increasing apprehension and resented the activity displayed by their Sanuki neighbours in supplanting them in what they regarded as their own particular markets. It was therefore determined by the Guild to make one more bid for the co-operation of the whole of Sanuki, and, eventually, a modus vivendi was established for a time, by which special concessions were accorded to Sanuki on condition that it joined the Guild. Ultimately, in 1877, Sanuki seceded with the exception of the three districts in the West previously alluded to.

In 1878 the Guild began to show signs of disorganisation to such an extent that it was very nearly on the point of breaking up altogether. At this juncture a meeting was held at Onomichi, in Bingo, where it was resolved that since members seceded at pleasure, the only remedy for the existing state of affairs was to petition for Government intervention, by which the Guild might be placed on an organised footing and due submission to its regulations ensured. For this object a committee was chosen from the meeting who drew up a memorial in this sense and presented it to the Home office.

To this the Home office replied as follows :—

“ The object of the salt makers of the Chūgoku provinces “ is to combine all the salt makers of the Ten Provinces, “ West of Ōsaka, into a Guild for the purpose of limiting “ production and thereby causing an appreciation in the price “ of salt. In this, however, you have made grave error, for “ granting that the price of salt be enhanced you will still “ be exposed to competition from provinces outside, and “ inasmuch as the country has now emerged from the “ seclusion of the Shōgunate, you would, moreover, be ex- “ posed to foreign competition. Your endeavours therefore

"will only tend to your disadvantage and had better be discontinued."

The partisans of Government intervention were therefore foiled in their intentions, but only temporarily.

In February, 1884, officials were despatched to Kōbe by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce for the purpose of investigating the condition of the salt industry in the ten provinces. The officials summoned together a committee of influential salt makers with whom they deliberated, during five days, on ways and means for forming a Guild under Government protection, and for improving the state of things in general.

At this meeting were predominant the partisans of the six months' system and they lost no opportunity of impressing upon the Government officials, as strongly as they could, that this system was the only plan by which a revival of the industry could be stimulated. This of course was a hit at Sanuki, as, if it was forced to join the Guild, it would have to submit to any regulations that might be framed.

The result of this meeting, and of others held subsequently, was that the set of regulations, which have been given at length on Pages 51—57, were drawn up and presented to the Department of Agriculture and Commerce for official sanction, on the 26th February, 1884. This sanction was accorded in January 1885, followed by a Notification in August of the same year addressed to the six prefectures which has been referred to on Page 51. At the same time the Government, to mark the interest which it took in the improvement of the Salt Industry, granted a small subsidy of \$1000 (= £158.6.8.) to the Guild.

The Sanuki manufacturers—or rather those belonging to the Eastern Division, the Western Division never having really seceded,—had now to contend on more unequal terms with their rivals who had now gained their ends. They also had to face a legally constituted decree which could not be treated with impunity. For a while, therefore, they submitted and, although naturally irritated by the arbitrary regulation in the above Notification which compelled them to desist

from an annual manufacture, merely contented themselves with protesting against such injustice, at the same time taking legal measures for the annulment of the Notification. These, however, ended in failure. This state of affairs lasted until 1886, during which time fierce disputes were the order of the day at every meeting of the Guild, and the Eastern Sanukiites, finding that great pecuniary loss was inflicted on them, began to become impatient of control.

It was during this year that Inouye Jintaro, an influential manufacturer of Takamatsu, in Eastern Sanuki, published an account of the "Sanuki Complication" for private circulation, in which he inveighed against the injustice of forcing Eastern Sanuki to adopt a system of manufacture to which it had never been accustomed. He also advocated the formation of a large National Guild to include, not alone the Ten Provinces, but every salt district in the country, in the regulations of which no such obnoxious clause relating to restrictions on working time should find place.

In his pamphlet Mr. Inouye, it seems, indulged in some uncomplimentary reflections on the conduct of the Ehime Prefect in issuing the Notification alluded to previously, and he was prosecuted for holding up a Government official to public contempt, with the result that the Takamatsu Judicial Court sentenced him to some days' imprisonment and a fine. On appealing to the Ōsaka Court of Appeal, however, the judgment of the lower court was reversed.

During 1887 strenuous efforts were made by the Eastern Sanukiites to obtain a repeal of the Ehime Notification, but without avail, and they at last declared that, come what might, they would not desist from making salt in the winter. Then came the tug of war. On the 19th October, when the first class fields in Sanuki were called upon to suspend operations the owners declined to do so. The President of the Guild immediately sued Inouye Jintaro and forty seven persons holding fields in Katamoto, Ikushima, Takamatsu and other places, in the Takamatsu Judicial Court, for the recovery of the fine to which they were liable by the regulations, and, meanwhile, obtained an injunction from the

## EXPORT OF JAPANESE SALT.

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Export business to foreign countries is still in its infancy. The little that is done is mostly confined to the south western provinces, from whence salt is exported to Corea and Vladivostock, via Shimonoseki. From the Customs Returns for the last few years it appears that no exportations of any consequence were made prior to 1883, when 886,544 catties (=527 tons), valued at *yen* 4,090 (=£647. 11. 8), left the country for Corea and Vladivostock. After 1883, a steady yearly increase is perceptible. At present great expectations are entertained of a greater development in the salt trade, especially as regards Corea, where, it is said, the yield from the salt fields does not meet the requirements of its inhabitants. The first samples of Japanese salt imported into that country were, it is strange to say, regarded with disfavour by the Coreans, who, being accustomed to the impurer salt of their own manufacture, were somewhat prejudiced against the whiter hue of that newly imported. The destruction of many salt fields in 1886, in Corea, gave a decided impetus to exportation from Japan, as the figures for that year will prove on comparison with those for 1885. Thus in 1885 the export to Corea alone was 911,073 catties (=542 tons), value 2,555 *yen* (=£ 404. 10. 10), whilst that for 1886 was 6,306,171 catties (=3,754 tons), value 18,276 *yen* (=£2,893. 14. 0). The total export figures for the latter year, for all countries, were 16,031,208 catties, valued at 48,690 *yen* (=£7709. 7. 0), a noteworthy increase on the figures for 1883. It was doubtless with a view to stimulating this rising trade that the Japanese Government removed, in 1887, the export duty on salt which had existed up to that year.

Much business might be done with China were it not for the fact that salt is a contraband article, owing to the Government monopoly which exists there. A good deal of salt, however, is contained in the large quantities of *Shoyu*, *Miso* and salted fish which are annually exported for Chinese consumption from this country. It is stated on credible authority that, owing to the difficulty of procuring salt at low prices, the saline incrustations adhering to the cured fish coming into China are eagerly scraped off by the natives for domestic purposes.

The Import of Foreign Salt into Japan is not Import of salt, of an extensive nature, the small shipments that reach these shores being destined for the consumption of the foreign residents, or for use in Japanese restaurants conducted on foreign principles. Until 1869 imports of this commodity were of very trifling value. In that year and the two succeeding ones of 1870 and 1871 they amounted to 74,592 *yen* (=£11,810. 8. 0), 40,201 *yen* (=£6,365. 3. 2) and 37,513 *yen* (=5,939. 11. 2) respectively, the highest figures ever reached. In 1872 there was a drop in value to 442 *yen* (=£ 69. 19. 8) and, since 1871, the sum of 2000 *yen* (=£ 316. 13. 4) has never been exceeded in any year.

It appears that no cargo of salt has ever been imported into this country in bulk from England, that is to say, stowed away in the hold of the ship, which is the usual method employed for transport to India and elsewhere.

For the probable charges on a cargo of this description, shipped in England and laid down in Yokohama, I am indebted to the courtesy of a British Merchant of high standing who has gone into the matter with a view to transacting business if possible. The quality is that which is technically known in the trade as "Shovel Salt."

He informs me that, calculating on a basis of 8s. 9d. per ton, first cost, with the addition of 30s. od. per ton for freight and allowing for 7½% loss in the weight of the salt, insurance and other charges, the cost per ton would be something like 43s. 1½d, equivalent at 3s. 1d. to \$14.  $\frac{49}{100}$ .

It has already been pointed out that the ruling rate for native salt is, in the Tōkyō and Yokohama markets, from 70 *sen* to 80 *sen* per *koku* (nearly 3 cwts); the approximate price per ton for the same would, therefore, be from \$ 4. 90 to \$ 5. 60.

At this rate it does not seem as if there were any need for the Japanese manufacturer to apprehend external competition in foreign quarters at present, except from America, from which salt might possibly be imported more cheaply; but if means should ever be found to overcome the obstacles at present offered to the importation of foreign salt a serious blow might be inflicted on the native industry.

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## INDO-CHINESE TONES.

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By E. H. PARKER.

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*(Read 12th December 1888.)*

A remark of Mr. Dyer Ball's in the introduction to his new Canton Vocabulary illustrates the importance of chronicling every stray fact, however apparently inexplicable, which is observable in Chinese philology. I have not the book by me now; but the statement, in effect, is that those Cantonese words which are in the 中入, or secondary division of the upper entering tone, have usually a long vowel; whereas those words which are in the 上入, or primary division of the upper entering tone, have usually a short vowel. The meaning of this is that, whereas it may always be ascertained from the first of two ~~其~~ spelling-words used by K'ang-hi whether a given word is in the upper or lower series,—whether it is 上平, 上上, 上去, 上入; or 下平, 下上, 下去, or 下入;—in Cantonese, the group of words which K'ang-hi marks as 上入 are in practice further sub-divided, at least in Canton itself, into what is vulgarly there called 中入 and 上入; and this, quite independently of the fact that both sub-divisions, like all the other seven Cantonese tones, can take a 異音, or vulgar “modified tone,” in certain senses of

certain words ; thus bringing the total Cantonese colloquial tones up to 18.—Prominent Cantonese scholars like Drs. Eitel and Chalmers, whilst with some shew of reason rejecting the last mentioned nine tones as uncertain, local, and unnecessary, at one time even declined to admit the 中入, which is quite on a different and more permanent footing. In remodelling Dr. Williams' Dictionary, however, Dr. Eitel judiciously decided to introduce it ; and thus, for the benefit of the youngest generation of Cantonese students, the 中入 is fairly engrafted upon the 上入. Mr. Ball's recent casual remark by mere accident throws new light upon the situation.

In Cantonese the cadence of the 下入 and 下去 tones is the same, whilst the cadence of the 上去 and 中入 tones is the same. (The cadence of the 上入 is the same as that of the 上平). Now, the eight Annamese tones, though somewhat different in sound from the Cantonese tones, are yet systematically different ; and their cadences differ much less from the Cantonese cadences than the Canton cadences do from those of, for instance, the Hakka or Foochow dialects. Moreover, though the sounds of Chinese words adopted into Annamese have varied (independently of tone), the variation is consistent, and sympathises throughout with the Cantonese, which dialect has been shewn, by the light of Corean and Japanese, as well as by internal Chinese evidence, to be either the direct representative of ancient Chinese, as once spoken in the north, or indirectly the lineal descendant which, relatively if not positively, best corresponds in detail with the defunct ancestor of all existing dialects ; whose skeleton the absence of letters, and the peculiar nature of the *𡩁* spelling system render it difficult to reconstruct in Roman letters,—except relatively.

In other words, Annamese and Cantonese agreeing as to the cadences of the 下入 and 下去, and also as to those of the 上去 and 上入 (the 中入 sub-division of it in Canton), it is fair to assume that the Cantonese 中入 is the original 上入, and that the 上入 is the real excrescence, and not the real original. This view is supported by the statement of Mr.

Ball that the Cantonese 中入 vowels are usually long. It is now for rising Cantonese scholars to find out the proportion of 中入 words to 上入 words; how far this long syllable rule holds good; what is the relative importance of the two groups, &c. It is to be noticed that some Canton words, such as 懷, take both tones, according to the length of the vowel. Thus 'ho sik,' "what a pity!" and "ngo sek," "nei," "I love you." In other words, vowels and tones are inextricably bound together in Cantonese in a small measure, just as they are so uniformly in Foochow; and it has already been shewn how this eminently Foochow peculiarity is indirectly illustrated by relation in Corean vowels (which have no tones) after a lapse of, at least, even 1000 years.

For the complete elucidation of the obscure subject thus shortly touched upon above, it will perhaps be of assistance to consult the detailed papers upon the various dialects of China, which have been published from time to time in the *China Review*.

Of competent European Siamese scholars the writer has consulted amongst others the Rev. S. J. Smith, the Very Rev. Bishop Vey, and MM. Lorgeon and Hardouin, of Bangkok, and has besides had the opportunity of discussing with that prominent Siamese Phya Bhaskarawongsi and his staff of secretaries the effect of the Siamese tones upon the Siamese language and alphabet, both of which are now largely indebted to Sanskrit or Pali words and letters. According to all the above authorities, the Siamese language possesses five tones; but, unfortunately, the Protestant printers, of whom Mr. Smith is perhaps the most eminent, do not mark them in romanized Siamese in the same way as did and do the Missions Etrangères; and neither school marks them in the same way as do the Siamese themselves. The so-called "natural tone,"\* which sufficiently cor-

\* It is open to serious question whether this term is not a misnomer. The 上平 of Hakka, Foochow, Wenchow, Ningpo, Yangchow, and Tientsin is in each case different in cadence. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful if any cadence whatever can be pointed to as the "natural" tone of the voice, which, like music, is affected by pitch.

Bishop Pallegoix calls it the *tonus rectus*.

responds in actual cadence with the 上平 of Peking, Canton, and Annam, isnot marked at all by any of the three and presents no difficulty. The "high tone," or *tonus altus* of Pallegoix, sufficiently corresponds with the cadence of the Pekingese 下平, or perhaps more nearly with that of the Cantonese 上平<sup>等韻</sup>; but both these latter tones have degenerated or been corrupted by local influences into forms which could never possibly have been mentally contemplated by the minds of the ancient Chinese lexicographers. Both Smith and Pallegoix mark this tone with an acute accent;—thns, *yāh*. This is also the way in which the Annamese mark, in their romanized or *quoc ngu* writing, the 上仄 tone, which tone marks, in Annamite-Chinese, Chinese words of the 上入 and 上去 tones; and the actual cadence is not far from the above-mentioned Siamese cadence. The "prolonged tone," *tonus circumflexus*, (Caswell's "depressed tone"), corresponds in cadence with the Cantonese and Annamese 下去 and 下入; with the Hakka 上入, and with the Tientsin and Yangchow 上平. This tone Smith marks with a diæresis, and Pallegoix with a tilda;—thus *hā*, *hā*. The "abrupt tone thrown into the chest," *tonus demissus*, or "falling inflection" corresponds in cadence almost exactly with Pekingese 去聲, and is marked by both Smith and Pallegoix with a grave accent;—thus, *mā*. The "abrupt heavy tone," *tonus gravis*, or "circumflex tone," corresponds pretty well with the Hakka 去聲, and the Wenchow 上上. Smith marks it with a circumflex above, and Pallegoix with a dot beneath;—thus, *fāk*, *fāk*. In comparing the cadences of the above tones, it must be distinctly recollected that the fact of a cadence being the same as another cadence has been absolutely proved, as regards Chinese, to be totally unconnected with the fact of a theoretical tone being the same as another theoretical tone. *A fortiori* as regards Chinese compared with Siamese. In China the theoretical tones have remained, in a more or less complete condition, in every dialect, just as the alphabet remains much the same throughout Europe: but, just as in Europe the letters (and *e* and *u* especially) differ in actual

sound in different states, so in China the tones, (and especially the *八*) differ in actual cadence in different dialects or states.

Notwithstanding, it seems possible, and, indeed almost probable, that, just as the Cantonese sounds have been proved to be the best or oldest, so the cadences of the Canton tones may, with the fairest show of reason, be shewn to be those which, of all languages or dialects spoken in China, best represent the cadences which were given to the same tones in north or Trans-Yangtsze China (i.e. in true ancient China) 2,000 years ago. They are positively the only tones which do not at this day more or less belie their names. It may yet be possible to shew that the Burmese, Siamese (including the Shans and Laos), Annamese, and perhaps all tone-using languages, such as Karen, Kachin, &c., have started with the same simple stock of tones; have conceived the same ideas of what tones were and are; and have mentally allied them with consonants and vowels in the same way. Finally, it may be possible to work back, and find out what (if anything) the Sanskrit and Greek tones were, or how far they were mere accent.

According to Phya Bhaskarawongsi, aspirated consonants, with sibilants and aspirates, are affected to the high tones; and in this category fall *k'*, *ch'*, *t'*, *p'*, *f*, *s*, *sh*, *h*, &c. Unaspirated surds, or medials, such as *k*, *ch*, *t*, *p*, and the *spiritus asper*, are affected to the middle tones. Sonants, such as *g*, *gh*, *ng*, *j*, *jh*, *d*, *dh*, *n*, *b*, *bh*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, are affected to the low tones. It is not perfectly clear what is meant by this; but it appears to mean that high initial letters cannot naturally take either the natural tone or the *tonus gravis*; the low letters cannot take either the high tone or the *tonus demissus*; whilst the medial letters can take all five.

Let us compare this hypothetical statement with the Rev. S. J. Smith's Tone Table of the Siamese language, as marked by the Siamese.

It must be remembered, however, that the tone mark, in Siamese, is over the initial consonant, and not at the end.

MEDIAL LETTERS.	LOW LETTERS WITH MEDIAL LETTER POWERS.	HIGH LETTERS.	LOW LETTERS WITH HIGH LETTER POWERS.	LOW LETTERS.	NAMES OF TONES.
k <sup>4</sup>	'yā <sup>4</sup>	kā		hnā	<i>Tonus altus</i> or high tone made in the roof of the mouth.
chang <sup>4</sup> dāng <sup>4</sup> chān <sup>4</sup> chām <sup>4</sup>	'yang <sup>4</sup> 'yāng <sup>4</sup> 'yan <sup>4</sup> 'yām <sup>4</sup>	kāng kāng k'ān kān k'ām kām	hnāng hnāng hnān hnām		
dā <sup>3</sup>	'yā <sup>3</sup>				Emphatic tone or Abrupt Heavy tone, or <i>Tonus gravis</i> .
dang <sup>3</sup> dāng <sup>3</sup> dān <sup>3</sup> dām <sup>3</sup>	'yang <sup>3</sup> 'yāng <sup>3</sup> 'yān <sup>3</sup> 'yām <sup>3</sup>		ghāng <sup>2</sup> ghāng <sup>2</sup> ghān <sup>2</sup> ghān <sup>2</sup> ghām <sup>2</sup> ghām <sup>2</sup>		
bi <sup>1</sup>	'yā <sup>1</sup>	k'ā <sup>1</sup>	hnā <sup>1</sup>		
bang <sup>1</sup> bāng <sup>1</sup> bān <sup>1</sup> bām <sup>1</sup>	'yang <sup>1</sup> 'yāng <sup>1</sup> 'yān <sup>1</sup> 'yām <sup>1</sup>	k'āng <sup>1</sup> k'āng <sup>1</sup> k'ān <sup>1</sup> kān <sup>1</sup> k'ām <sup>1</sup> kām <sup>1</sup>	hnāng <sup>1</sup> hnāng <sup>1</sup> hnān <sup>1</sup> hnān <sup>1</sup> hnām <sup>1</sup> hnām <sup>1</sup>		Prolonged tone or <i>Tonus circumflexus</i> .
ki		p <sup>1</sup>	hbi		
chak <sup>1</sup> chāk <sup>1</sup> chāt <sup>1</sup> chāp <sup>1</sup>	'yak <sup>1</sup> 'yāk <sup>1</sup> 'yat <sup>1</sup> 'yāt <sup>1</sup> 'yap <sup>1</sup> 'yāp <sup>1</sup>	k'āk k'āk k'āt k'āt k'āp k'āp	hmak <sup>1</sup> hmak <sup>1</sup> hmat <sup>1</sup> hmat <sup>1</sup> hmap <sup>1</sup> hmap <sup>1</sup>		
kā	'mā		ngā		Natural tone or <i>Tonus rectus</i> .
ang <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> am <sup>1</sup>	'māng <sup>1</sup> 'mān <sup>1</sup> 'mām <sup>1</sup>		jāng <sup>1</sup> jāng <sup>1</sup> jān <sup>1</sup> jān <sup>1</sup> jām <sup>1</sup> jām <sup>1</sup>		
da <sup>1</sup>	'mā <sup>1</sup>	k'ā <sup>1</sup>	hnā <sup>1</sup>		
bang <sup>2</sup> bāng <sup>2</sup> bān <sup>2</sup> bām <sup>2</sup>	'māng <sup>2</sup> 'māng <sup>2</sup> 'mān <sup>2</sup> 'mān <sup>2</sup> 'mām <sup>2</sup> 'mām <sup>2</sup>	k'āng <sup>2</sup> k'āng <sup>2</sup> k'ān <sup>2</sup> kān <sup>2</sup> k'ām <sup>2</sup> kām <sup>2</sup>	hmāng <sup>2</sup> hmāng <sup>2</sup> hmān <sup>2</sup> hmān <sup>2</sup> hmām <sup>2</sup> hmām <sup>2</sup>	ba <sup>1</sup>	Chest tone or <i>Tonus demissus</i> .

The conclusions to be drawn from the above somewhat puzzling table seem to be: 1. That the "natural tone," which can never be used with high letters, when used at all, is never marked by the Siamese; but that certain low letters are modified by a *spiritus asper* to shew that their position as medial initials in the natural tone is not strictly regular.† 2. The "prolonged tone" is always marked by the Siamese as No. 1, except when the word ends in *k*, *p*, or *t*, and can never be used with a true low letter. If we assume that this tone is analogous to the Canton and Annam 下去 and 下入, (the actual cadence of all three being by accident or otherwise, the same), then we may say that the Siamese consider it unnecessary to mark this tone when the word is in what the Chinese would call the 入聲: and it has been pointed out by Dr. Chalmers that the Cantonese lower series aspirates (i.e. ancient sonant initials) abhor the 下去. 3. The "chest tone" may be arbitrarily compared with the 下去, including the 上入, for the sole reason that this Siamese tone takes words ending in *k*, *t*, and *p*: building upon this assumption, we may go on to say that, here again, the cadences of the Siamese 上去 and 上入 coincide as in Cantonese and Annamese. It might be objected that tone cannot be "upper series," because the Siamese language permits of its being used with all letters. To this it may be answered that, whereas the Siamese always mark this tone as No. 2 with surds and medials, when the initial is a true sonant they mark it as No. 1; and when the word is "in the 入聲" they do not mark it at all. A close study of Siamese might undo these several suppositions; but, as far as Mr. Smith's Table shews, it appears that the 入聲 is never specially marked in Siamese. 4. The "emphatic tone" can never be used with an aspirated surd. If we assume this tone to be the 下上, then the fact that it cannot exist with "high letters"

† M. Hardouin is disposed to admit that there are two natural tones differing very slightly, and not one only. This if true, may be of importance in tracing back the separation of the 上平 from the 下平 (or *vice versa*) in Chinese.

goes without saying: the Siamese always mark it as No. 3 in medial initials, but as No. 2 in true sonants. 5. If we go on to assume that the "high tone" is the 上上, then the fact that it cannot be used with a sonant goes without saying too: the Siamese mark this tone as No. 4 in medials, but do not mark it at all in aspirated surds, as they consider the tone to be inherent therein, as the "natural tone" is inherent in medials at least, if not in low letters too.

The Siamese tone marks are well known to be forms of the Sanskrit numerals 1, 2, 3, and 4. Thus, whilst the Siamese consider that they have only five tones, we have shewn that there is reason to believe there are six, i. e. six cadences: and if it were not that, like the Annamese, they did not think it necessary to mark the 八聲 at all, there would be eight, which is the complete Chinese set. It must not be forgotten that the whole argument is tentative and hypothetical from beginning to end.

Mr. Smith tells us that tone mark No. 3 shortens the vowel; and, having assumed this, the "emphatic tone," to be the 下上, we may call attention to the fact both the Foochow dialect and Corean go to shew that the 上 class of Chinese words must be short, or, at all events, not long like the 去. We are further informed, however, that, in Siamese, "long vowels ending a syllable can take any of the tone-marks; short ones ending a syllable never." Further that "k, p, t, ng, m, n are the prevailing final consonants: all other final consonants are reduced to one or the other of these: the first three can never take a tone mark." It is to be noticed, too, that the Siamese notion that an *h* "raises" the tone is paralleled in the Wenchow dialect, where no low series word can begin with *h*, but must take what is in effect the(?) or *spiritus asper*, a sign used by the Siamese to "raise" a low letter not possessing a high correlative to medial quality. It has already been pointed out elsewhere that (colloquialisms excepted) Chinese words beginning with *y, j, n, m, l* are always in the "lower series," and the same notion seems to prevail in Siam. Both these last points

seem to be explained by the following remark of Mr. Smith: "of the low letters only those can have prefixed to them the letter *h* which have not their own correlative in the high letters; whence it follows that only *ng*, *jh*, *n*, *y*, *m*, *l*, *r* can have prefixed to them the letter *h*." Moreover it appears from Mr. Smith's Grammar that *y* can take both *h* and the *spiritus asper*, a fact which his Tone Table does not make clear.

The Shan language and tones are the same as the Siamese,\* but the latter are not marked at all. On the other hand the Shans subdivide their five tones into what Dr. Cushing calls the open and closed series, to which two series Dr. Cushing adds what he calls the middle series. His grammar is not perfectly clear upon this point, but I find, after an interview kindly granted by him, that the distinction refers to the length of the vowels. Thus *hén*, *hén*, *hein* (none of which vowel distinction would be marked in Shan even with a tone-mark) are different series "of a syllable which the Shans write with one identical vowel." Mr. Cushing goes on to say that the Karenns have a most perfect system of marking the tones; but he does not explain

\* This apparently sweeping remark made by one ignorant of both languages requires explanation. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne found that many of the so-called Miao-tsz of Kwang Si were Shans. M. Wallys of Penang informs me that two "Chinese" boys in his school from south Kwang Si were found by him to speak a language perfectly intelligible to Siamese. Dr. Warlike of Mandalay, who has just passed an examination in Shan, gives me the five Shan tones, which I find are, apparently, the same as the five Siamese tones which I learnt in Siam. The Burmese call the Siamese the "Shans of Juthia." Foreign and Siamese authorities in Siam informed me that the Laos spoke a language which, at base, was the same as Siamese. Finally Dr. J. N. Cushing, who has published a Shan Grammar, says that the Siamese, Shans, Burmese Shans, Chinese Shans, &c., are all of the one Tai race (called Thai in Siam); and that, with slight dialectical variations, (Dr. Cushing taking the Legga as a standard), the one Shan language is spoken in Burma from Karenri to north of Theinnyi, from the eastern hills of Burma to the Meikong. He also says Siamese call themselves the Lesser Thai, and the Laos the greater Thai; whereas the Laos call themselves the Lesser Tai and the Shans of North Burma (the cradle of their race) the greater Tai. Finally, that the dialect of the Tai Mau, (Méng-mao) of North Burma, differs less from Shan than do Siamese and Laos dialects from Shan.

it, nor does he inform us what alphabet they use. [I have since ascertained from a Karen that Karen has six tones, and that the alphabet was invented by the missionaries]. He says that the Laos mark six tones: possibly the sixth is the missing 下平 which, with M. Hardouin's approval, we have consigned above. [I have since learnt from Dr. Cushing that it is not, but a prolonged "third tone" peculiar to Laos].

There now remain the Burmese tones, which Bishop Bigandet, perhaps the highest authority in Burma, insists are essential to the right speaking of Burmese. With the assistance of Mr. Stevenson, assistant Commissioner at Pakoko, considered one of the very soundest speakers of Burmese, I have succeeded in getting a tolerably firm hold upon these tones, which are three, and very simple. The "natural" tone (which disproves the title of any tones to the name by the fact) differs from the "natural" tone of Siam or Annam, and from any 上平 in China: it resembles (what is very near the 上平 of Canton) the 下平 of Wenchow; The "light tone" is precisely the 上平 of Foochow,—as nearly as possible the 上去 of Canton. The remaining tone is as nearly as possible the "emphatic tone" of Siam. There is no proof as yet forthcoming, but it is possible that the 平 the 入 (i.e. 上 or 去) and the 入 are in effect the three Burmese tones. With regard to Mr. Smith's Tone Table, there can be no doubt that, in spite of its apparent complication, it is right, for it accords with the verbal account of the tones given by Mr. Hardouin without reference to Mr. Smith's Tone Table at all. As far as I have been able to make out, neither the Annamese, Siamese, or Burmese have any word for "tone" corresponding to the Chinese word 韻, but I have already shewn, on the authority of Mr. Truong Vinh-ki, that the Annamese, previous to the introduction by the missionaries of the *quoc ngu* system, divided their tones as belonging to Chinese words into the 上 and 下平, the 上 and 下中 (i.e. the 上上 and 下上) and the 上 and 下入 (i.e. the 上去, 上入 and 下去, 下入); whilst theoretically adhering to Chinese rules for purposes of poetry. According to M. Lorgeon, the Siamese

distinguish their three classes of consonants into *klang* (中), *tam* (下), and *khun* or *sung* (上); and the word *sieng* (apparently one of the not unnumerous Chinese words found in Siamese) appear to be used for the word "sound" or "tone," without, however, being specified or enumerated as specially alluding to the five tones. Still, there the fact is, that Annamese, Siamese, and Burmese alike appear to have conceived three main divisions,—the 𠂇 or "natural," the 𠂇 or "modified," and 𠂇 or "abrupt" tone; and, on purely internal evidence, I have already shewn, in treating of Chinese dialects, that this division seems to be the first original conception of the Chinese. The Burmese do not mark the "natural" tone at all; when the other two tones are marked, it is with a dot underneath the last letter for the one tone, and a sort of semicolon at the end of the syllable for the other: at this moment I forget which mark refers to which tone.

The facial type of the Burmese, Siamese, and Annamese alike is decidedly "Mongol;" but the Siamese seem to differ physically from the other two and especially from the Burman in having short strong legs like the Japanese. An average Chinese or Japanese done up in the attire of any of the three might easily pass for a native, and *vice versa*; but the Corean type is certainly bigger and less un-Aryan looking than any of the other five. Competent authorities agree that the structure (apart from the individual words) of the Siamese and Annamese languages is extraordinarily alike, and the same thing has been shewn of the Japanese and Corean. But, when manifest Chinese importations are eliminated from all four, it is observable that individual Siamese words of common use no more resemble individual Annamese words than individual Japanese words resemble individual Corean words. M. Lorgeon of Bangkok, (a very thoughtful and weighty authority), rejects the view which has recently been vigorously urged,—that it is to the construction of sentences rather than to the similarity of individual words that we must look for evidence of kinship in languages; and (to take one instance alone) the resemblance of the English

and Russian constructions, which is much more marked than the resemblance of the English construction to that of its kinsman High German, lends countenance to M. Lorgeon's view. It appears to us that tone sympathies are as much a likely factor as word or construction sympathies, and that any specific evidence of kinship whatever (e.g. the remarkable likeness of supposed pure Japanese words to Chinese roots having the same meaning) is sufficient to overturn any rival evidence whatever which is of only a by-theoretical nature. There has never been any mention made of Mongol tones, but it seems to be granted by those who are acquainted with Mongol and Manchu that the construction of those languages is very similar to that of Japanese and Corean, from which the construction of Chinese certainly widely differs, as it widely differs from the construction of Annamese and Siamese. Of the nature of Burmese I know nothing, except that it is stated to almost exactly resemble Arakanese, and to be totally different from Shan or Siamese, but, like Siamese, to have been largely affected by Sanskrit or Pali influences. A cursory glance through Hancock's and Gordon's hand-books leads me to judge that, though monosyllabic and uninflected in genius, its construction is like the Japanese. The traditions of all these peoples, and the incomplete evidence so far available seem to point to a very remote kinship between Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Siamese, and Annamese. If the Annamese and Siamese originally came from Central Asia, they have not as yet been traced back further than Yün Nan and Kwang Si; nor have the Burmese been traced back with certainty further than Assam, or at the utmost Magadha; the Chinese than Shen Si; the Japanese than west Japan. Since their first separation from a presumed common stock, the Japanese seem to have been first affected by Mongol or Corean influences, and then both they and the Coreans by more modern Chinese influences, Chinese meanwhile having changed and developed: the Annamese have been affected by Chinese influences alone: the Shans or Siamese slightly by popular Chinese but extensively by literary Indian influences;

and the Burmese by Indian influences alone. There is no evidence whatever that the Chinese have derived anything from anybody, and they possessed characters for 95 per cent of the words now in use before any of the other four had emerged from barbarism. In intellect, and especially in literature, the Chinese have not only shewn themselves immeasurably superior to the nations they have affected, but those affected nations have nothing whatever intellectual or literary to shew which is not manifestly derived from a Chinese source, and which is not inferior to the original, which original, all three still affect to imitate, and have (even the Japanese at heart) always held in higher honour than their own *kana*, *chu-nom*, or *én-mon*, as the case may be. The Chinese have in fact, done for eastern Asia what the Romans did for Europe; by sheer force of intellectual superiority they have morally affected all the nations around them, borrowing nothing but physical fresh blood in return.

A Karen Christian missionary employed amongst the Kachyins repeated to me several times the six tones used in his language, which appear to differ but slightly from the Siamese tones. The Karenns write their language with an alphabet invented for them by the missionaries, and, like the Western Shan alphabet, very like the Burmese: the excellent system of tone marks above referred to is therefore a foreign invention. From what it was possible to ascertain from this man, and from what the Rev. Father Cadaux, who speaks Kachyin, says, it appears doubtful if the Kachyins (who have no script of any sort) lay so much stress on their tones as do the Shans. As the construction of the Kachyin tongue is almost absolutely Burmese, (which includes Arakanese), and many roots are said to be similar in the two tongues, this fact would appear very natural, as tones are only of secondary importance in Burmese. The Shan (Pa-i) chief of Mang-shi gave me a native grammar or set of paradigms; from his pronunciation of the tones (unmarked) it would seem that they differ slightly from the Siamese, which language he said he could but imperfectly make out. The above-mentioned three "series" of tones is simply a question

of open or partly closed teeth, and consequent prolongation of the vowels.

Since writing the above, already interlarded with emendations and additions, I have been fortunate enough to meet the Rev. Mr. Roberts, whose ten years' experience amongst the Kachyins places him in the very first rank as an authority. He agrees with Father Cadaux that the construction of Kachyin is absolutely Burmese, with the exception of the place assigned to the negative particle in some instances, and of the comparative poverty of Kachyin in particles generally. A Kachyin Spelling Book has been published by the American Baptist Mission Press, and the alphabet used by Mr. Roberts is almost exactly the same as that invented for the Karenns: a Kachyin girl in his service read off the sounds of the letters one by one. I have also had the good fortune to meet the Rev. Mr. Cross of the same mission, who has had considerable experience amongst the S'gaw or Săgaw Karenns: a Karen in his service enunciated the six tones, which, as far as I was able to judge, corresponded with the six tones given by the Karen at Bhamo. The Rev. Mr. Brayton, however, whose experience has lain entirely amongst the Pwo Karenns says that, in addition to the six S'gaw tones, the Pwo Karenns have four more tones which are only used with words ending in *ng*,—their only final consonant. S'gaw Karen cannot even take this final, and consequently does not need these four tones, all its words ending in a vowel, or a sort of faint jerk. As to the construction of Karen in general, it is agreed by all, that anyway, it differs totally from Burmese: but it is not easy to specify, or to say what it resembles, as the Karen-speaking missionaries seldom know much of Shan; but the general opinion seems to be that the construction is much the same as Shan and, in support of this hypothesis, it may be mentioned that Bishop Pallegoix considered that the Karenns and Siamese probably came from the same stock. Talaing, (Peguan), as a spoken language is said to be almost extinct west of the Salween, and few persons, if any, in Burmah can be found to give any account

of it. It seems, however, that the Indian influence has been greater there than even in Burmah, and that the Talaing alphabet, derived from the Pali, was the mother of the Burmese alphabet.

In addition to the Burmese Shan alphabet published by Dr. Cushing, and the diamond-shaped Burmese alphabet used by the Chinese Shans, there is the Khamti (Shan) alphabet (of Assam), distinguished by the extensive dotting of the letters. Dr. Cushing, who, it is hoped, will soon share with us the stores of Shan lore now buried exclusively in his breast, shewed me a handsome Khamti scroll book which he had just received, and allowed me to copy his Laos alphabet, which differs widely from Siamese and Shan. Of all these alphabets I shall have something to say another time. From what I gather from Dr. Cushing I am disposed to think that the Shans of Kiang-sen have yet another alphabet, and that this nation is the Ailao 峩率 of the 17th century; the Ch'eli 車里 of to-day; and the Muang Lai as known to the Siamese.

In Haswell's Vocabulary of the Peguan or Talaing language (now almost extinct), nothing is said of tones. Though the Peguan alphabet is almost the same as its offspring the Burmese, yet the language is agreed by all authorities to be totally different, and the balance of probabilities seems to point to the conclusion that the Talaings are not of Indian, Burmese, or Shan origin. A glance at Dr. Haswell's vocabulary is enough to satisfy any one that the language is at root monosyllabic, and it is difficult to believe therefore that there are no tones in it, seeing that all the settled nations of the peninsula whose language is monosyllabic possess them, and all much in the same degree.

The following facts about the Shans, or Tai tribes, may be of interest: they are mainly derived from Cushing's Shan Grammar and Shan Vocabulary. Of their alphabets, Dr. Cushing says in effect that the different Tai races use different alphabets. The alphabet now used by the Judia (Ajuthia) Shans, or Siamese, is stated by Dr. Jones to be a

simplification of Cambodgian Bali. On the other hand, Bishop Pallegoix says that "Phra Ruang, cum magno Si-nenium comitatu, reversus characteres linguae Thai instituit." Bastian says that, according to the inscription on a stone found in Ajuthia, the Siamese had formerly no written characters; but that, in the year 1205 (?) of the era commencing 543 B.C.), Ram Kham Heng, having consulted with his wise men, established the Thai writing as it now exists. Of the different Shan tribes the Lau (Meikong) use an alphabet which is derived from the same source as that of the Siamese. The Laos\* use an alphabet which is a modification of the Talaing or Mon. The Burmese Shans use an alphabet about half of which is identical with Burmese, from which it is derived.† The native Shan tradition is that, after Buddhism had been established in the Shan countries, a Shan priest descended into Burma, learnt Pali and Burmese, devised the present Shan alphabet, and translated a number of books into Shan. The Tai Mau alphabet, or the alphabet of Maing-mao, is the same as that of the Burmese Shans, with the addition of the letters *f* and *ch*; but certain letters are formed with diamonds instead of circles, which fact, Dr. Cushing thinks, points to Chinese influence. [It is noticeable that the Corean *en mon* and the Japanese *katakana*, both of which seem inspired by Sanskrit, are also modified so as to suit the Chinese strokes as made by the Chinese writing brush]. The Khamti and Ahom [Shan] alphabet very much resemble that of the Burmese Shans; but a Khamti peculiarity is the use of a large dot in all consonants. A clever Burmese Shan can read a Tai Mau book. One of the local peculiarities of the Burmese Shans is the use of *ngō* for *wō* "an ox," and *win*

\* Laos is a word totally unknown to any of the peoples of Indo-China.

† Captain Forbes says that the Talaing alphabet, derived from that in use in India about the 3rd. Century A. D., was almost certainly introduced about A.D. 400, and most probably by the Cingalese *Buddhaghosa*, who seems to have been engaged in transcribing the *Beedagat* into Pali just when Fa Hian was in Ceylon transcribing the same work into Chinese. Burmese is derived from Talaing, which contains more and older forms.

for *min* “a fly,” [cf. 我, Cant. *ngo*, Pek. *wo*; and 蚊, Cant. *mēn*, Pek. *wēn*, “a mosquito.”] The Shan language is essentially monosyllabic, but they have some disyllables of their own [a statement of Dr. Cushing's which should be proved] in addition to the polysyllabic words which they have borrowed from Pali and Burmese, the loans from Burma being colloquial as well as bookish.

Dr. Cushing divides the Tai or Shans into Siamese, Burmese, Chinese, and Native. The Siamese Shans are (1) the Laos, (who call themselves the Lesser Tai, and the north Burman Shans, the Tai Lōng\* or greater Tai); (2) the Siamese, who call themselves T'ai Noi or Lesser T'ai, and the Laos the T'ai Niai or greater T'ai); and (3) the Lau, who live beyond the Mekong, and are tributary to Siam [not the same as the *Lawas* of other writers]. The Burmese Shans lie in the Theebaw and Theinnee country, north-west of Luang Prabang and Xiengmai. The Tai Mau and Tai Kh'e (Kh'e or kie being the Shan words for China) are Chinese Shans, and the Khamti and Ahom are nearer Assam; the Ahom (now all but extinct) once gave a dynasty to Burma. [Thus all the Shans belong to Burma, Siam, or China, and none of them to Annam]. The Shan name for a Moné Shan is Tai Nai, and the Shan *m* becomes the Laos *b* [cf. Swatow *ban* for *man*, *wan* 萬]: the Laos and Tai Mau *b* is the Shan *hp*, [as is invariably the case in Corean, and often in the Foochow dialect with Chinese words]. The Shan *pek* becomes Siamese *plek* “to distinguish” [cf. Foochow *peik* 別], and the Shan *kang* becomes

\* Dr. Cushing discusses the aspirate with which the Siamese modify the word Tai, and the meaning “free” which they give to the Thai thus modified. The fact that the Shans say *kōn*, and the Laos *k'ōn* for “man,” shews that as *Tai* does not mean “free” in Shan, it seems probable, as Dr. Cushing more than hints, that the Siamese word is purely ethnological, and did not originally mean “free.” Pallegoix says that Phra Ruang or Arunnarāt was born in the year of Buddha 950 (A. D.) and reigned at Sangkhalok. After freeing his people (the *Sajam* or “brown”) from Cambodian domination, he gave them the name of Thai, invented the present alphabet, and modified the *Khom*, or Cambodian alphabet, which was thenceforth used only for religious books. The relations of Phra Ruang with “le roi de la Chine, appelé alors roi “de Maghata” are probably imaginary, the explanation being that Magadha was called 中国.

Siamese *krang* or *klang* “middle” [a change often made in Annamese with Chinese words]. The Tai Mau often turn the Shan *l* into *n* : thus *nün*, for *lün*, “moon”; *nan* for *lan* “star.” The above instances given by Dr. Cushing only shew that much the same dialectical variations are at work in the Shan as in the Chinese dialects; and it has already been elsewhere shewn that the same changes take place in China as in Europe, even to the systematic corruption of the 入聲 by the French, except, more rarely, with final *k* or *c*. The Kaing Tung Shans call themselves *Khun*, and the Kaing Hong Shans call themselves *Lu*. The Kaing Tung Shans make use of a modified Laos alphabet, as well as of the Shan alphabet, but this is not the case with the Western Shans.

The true relation of Annamese and Shan to Chinese can never be satisfactorily shewn except by those (none of whom yet exist) who are thoroughly conversant with at least the Cantonese dialect of Chinese and with those languages. It is possible, however, by scrutinising dictionaries and grammars, and by consulting students of Annamese and Shan to form a reasonably sound opinion. One thing is certain: the construction of Annamese, Siamese and Shan is almost identical, and in all cases very different from that of any modern Chinese; moreover hardly in any respect resembling that of Corean and Japanese, and, it is therefore presumed, of Mongolian. The most marked peculiarity is the following of the noun by the adjective and by the genitive case: thus, Muang Luang Prabang, “the country Luang Prabang,” Phu Lang-thuong, the Lang-thuong Prefecture, Menam, the “water’s mother,” or “mother of waters.” The construction of sentences is almost childishly simple, and for abstract ideas and complicated sentences the Annamese have to fall back on Chinese, as the two others must on the Indian tongues. On no possibly imaginable system of assumed changes can more than a small proportion, say ten per cent., of old native Annamese words be traced to the same origin as Chinese, and still fewer Siamese words can be traced to the same origin as Annamese. This necessari-

ly proves nothing, except that, assuming that all or most languages come from one or at most few stocks, the date at which the nations under discussion separated from each other is so remote, that, though other evidence points to a common origin, there is little more chance of locating and dating the circumstances than there would be of fixing the separation point of the English and Russians, who are both unmistakably Aryans. The most remarkable thing is that the native Siamese numerals are manifestly Chinese, and most of them would be good *Hakka* even now. "One" and "two" and perhaps "five" are the only doubtful ones, and it is possible even to probability that the Shan races, like many others still existing, were unable to count more than two, or perhaps five, at the period when they came into second contact with their presumed kinsmen the Chinese. The other few words which seem to be Chinese may be names of objects or animals the Shans had never seen before, or expressions of ideas too deep for their then simple minds: in some cases, indeed, it is possible that the ancient prehistorical word has survived almost unmutilated from the remotest times. The Shan words (each with the tone numbered) *kheeng*<sup>1</sup> "ginger," *khoon*<sup>1</sup> "governor," *kōng*<sup>1</sup> "a bow," "hollow," *hpō*<sup>1</sup> "husband," *khim*<sup>1</sup> "needle, are not only almost the same as the average Chinese sounds o 罷, 宦, 弓, 空, 夫, 針, but the "natural" or first tone given to each by Mr. Cushing is also the "natural" or upper even tone in all Chinese dialects; and, on totally different evidence, we have shewn that these two "natural" tones are possibly the same in origin. On the other hand, *pin*<sup>1</sup> "sick" carries the same "natural" tone, and fails to answer Chinese rule, (both as to initial (*b* or lower *p*) and the tone; and *kham*<sup>4</sup> "gold" fails as to tone too, as also do *kai*<sup>2</sup> "a fowl," *hpeüng*<sup>3</sup> "a bee," and others which would otherwise be unexceptionable. *Hsook*<sup>4</sup> "ripe," and *meük*<sup>5</sup> "ink"; *ng:lk*<sup>3</sup> "crocodile, and *hták*<sup>2</sup> "to hew" are all lower *入* in the Chinese words 熟, 墨, 壴, and 斧, but differ in tone in Siamese. There are a few other words in the same predicament; thus, *tât*<sup>3</sup> *neüng*<sup>2</sup> "able," *meow*<sup>4</sup> "cat," *ht'an*<sup>2</sup>

*mee*<sup>3</sup> "charcoal," *kaum*<sup>2</sup> "coffin," *ma*<sup>5</sup> "horse," *lau*<sup>3</sup> "mule," and *peau*<sup>5</sup> "a watch," which are almost certainly the Chinese words seen in the characters 鐵, 箔, 灰, 鐵, 棺, 馬, and 馬.

As regards the numerals, which in Shan and Siamese, (and even to a small extent in Burmese), resemble those of China, Dr. Cushing mentions (Meikong) once had numerals of their own, and the oldest men can occasionally repeat them now; but, for some unexplained reason, they gradually abandoned them a generation or two ago, and now use the Shan numerals.

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## THE PARTICLE *NE.*

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By W. G. ASTON.

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*(Read 12th December, 1888.)*

In these days of rehabilitations of character, when Judas Iscariot has been more or less conclusively shown to have been the only true believer among the disciples, it has occurred to me that some injustice has been done to that despised little particle *ne*, and that it deserves a higher place in public estimation than it holds at present.

I find that I have myself been guilty of referring to it as meaningless and vulgar, and as more used by women than by men, so that it is all the more incumbent on me to set forth my reasons for now thinking that it is very far from meaningless, that its antecedents and connections are highly respectable, and even distinguished, and that, if it is more used by women than by men, this fact is only another example of the influence of that healthy conservative instinct which prevents their sex from following too closely the caprices of linguistic innovation.

In order to make clear the real nature of the particle *ne*, it is necessary to examine briefly that important change in the Japanese language, which consists in the disuse of the "conclusive forms" of the verb and adjective, and the substitution for them of the "attributive forms," and which constitutes one of the chief distinctive features of the modern Colloquial.

Thus, while it was formerly the practice to say *shiroki tori*, 'a white bird;' *aru tori*, 'a certain bird;' *taburu tori*, 'a bird which eats;' but *tori wa shiroshi*, 'the bird is white;' *tori ari*, 'a bird is;' *tori wa tabu*, 'the bird eats;—the present spoken language has discarded the forms *shiroshi*, *ari*, and *tabu*, and uses *shiroki* (contracted into *shiroi*), *aru*, and *taburu* (*taberu* in the Tōkyō dialect) for both the attributive and conclusive forms. I would suggest that this change is owing to the influence of the habit, to which the Japanese are prone, of breaking off their sentences in the middle, and leaving their hearer's imagination to supply what is omitted. Evidence is not altogether wanting that where *shiroi*, *aru*, or *taberu* are used as indicative or conclusive forms, the sentence is really incomplete. We find, for example, phrases like *mada demasenu wa* (or *wa ye*) in the sense of "he has not yet gone out," where it must strike everyone that the presence of *wa* is an indication that the word *demasenu* is to be taken as a noun, and that something must be understood after it. This "something" we may conjecture to have meant "is" or "is a fact," so that *demasenu wa*...will mean "his not going out (is a fact)." But we have more than mere conjecture in favour of this supposition. In the Kyōto dialect there is a common termination of verbs, *waina* or *wayena*, which is the particle *wa*\* followed by *na*. *Na* is here obviously the radical syllable of *naru* "to be." *Na* is also found added to the verb without any *wai* intervening. It would appear therefore that *shiroi*, *aru*, and *taberu* of the modern Colloquial have come to mean "is white," "is," and "eats," simply because the word *naru* or *nari* is understood after them,—a fact which is now quite forgotten by the people who use these forms.

The further question now presents itself—of what is this *na* a contraction? Does it represent the conclusive form *nari*, or the attributive form *naru*? Notwithstanding the reasons advanced above, it seems more probable that *na* here stands for *naru*, and not

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\* The *i* or *ye* I am unable to account for.

for *nari*. In such phrases as *kirei na mono*, it obviously represents the attributive form, and it is easy to see how a change, which was brought about by the use of *naru* at the end of sentences, should afterwards, when the process had made some progress, be applied to *nari* itself, causing it to be replaced by *naru* or *na*. But there is another reason why *na* should be regarded as an abbreviation of the attributive form. A contraction of the conclusive form *nari* is already in existence, being, if I am not mistaken, no other than the so called particle *ne*, familiar to us in the Tōkyō dialect. There are parallels for the omission of *r* in the words *gozaimasu* and *kudasaimasu*, for *gozarimasu* and *kudasaremamu*; and the fondness of the common Tōkyō language for the sound *e* in preference to *ai* is too well-known to require comment. But the intermediate link between *nari* and *ne* is fortunately not wanting. It is evidently the *nai* which surprises in the western provinces of Japan travellers who find that a word, which they were familiar with in an exactly opposite sense, there means 'yes' (*nari*, 'it is'). The similarity of *nai*, 'yes,' and *nai*, 'no,' was no doubt, one of the reasons for preferring the sound *ne* in the former case. Ambiguity would thus be avoided.

If *ne* is thus only another form of our old and valued acquaintance, the verb *nari* 'to be,' there is reason for treating it with greater respect in future. Let us extend a share of our consideration for it to the women of Japan, whose persevering, though sometimes misdirected, efforts to preserve the grammatical purity of their language by besprinkling their conversation profusely with *ne*'s, we have been in the habit of listening to with a smile of fancied superiority. Their *yoroshii ne*, *sore kara ne*, *sō deshita ne*, conform more truly to the grammatical standards of the older language than our *ne*-less sentences.

An episode in the grammatical revolution above described may perhaps be briefly mentioned here, though it has no direct connection with *ne*. It is the change of *ga* from a possessive to a nominative particle. It is obvious that if we take a sentence (*tori ga taberu*), which means "a bird's eating,"

and make "eating" mean "eats," the form "bird's" (*tori ga*) must lose its possessive force, and "s" (*ga*) will become simply the sign of the nominative case.

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A REVIEW OF MR. SATOW'S MONOGRAPH ON "THE JESUIT MISSION PRESS IN JAPAN.

1591—1610."

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By B. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

(*Read 16th January, 1889.*)

Mr. Ernest Satow's last work, entitled "The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591—1610," is of such unusual interest and importance to all persons who occupy themselves with Japanese studies, whether historical, religious, or linguistic, that no excuse is needed for bringing it before the notice of the Asiatic Society of Japan. The author has chosen to print his Monograph for private circulation only. An enormous amount of labour among the libraries of the religious orders in Rome, Spain, and Portugal,—to say nothing of the great national libraries of England, France, and Holland,—is thus doomed to bear but little fruit so far as the general public is concerned. All the more needful is it, therefore, to draw attention to it in our "Transactions." The public of specialists and students may thus be preserved from neglecting one of the chief original sources of information concerning a curious episode in the history of Japan and of Catholicism.

The volume in question is a carefully prepared bibliography of the earliest Romanised Japanese works printed

by the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit Fathers on Japanese soil. Few persons now-a-days know that such very ancient Christian works in Romanised Japanese ever existed. Copies of them are extremely rare, and it is from the dust of the old libraries of Europe that Mr. Satow, after several months of toil, has succeeded in disinterring them. Of several he has disinterred but the names alone, no single copy being left extant. One of the curious facts relating to these Christian works is that they were the earliest books printed in Japan with movable types. Mr. Satow says in his preface:—“*Some years ago, in the course of an investigation into the history of printing in Japan,\* I found that the earliest book printed with movable types in that country, under purely native management, bore a date corresponding to A.D. 1596, and from various evidence I came to the conclusion that the invention had been introduced about that time from Korea, where it had been in use for over two-and-a-half centuries. I was, however, unaware that there existed in various European libraries at least five separate works, all of earlier dates, printed in Japan with Roman type by the Jesuit missionaries. So that the art had been actually practised on Japanese soil by foreigners, for some years before its adoption by the people of the country. On the other hand, the earliest dated work from the local mission press in which the Japanese character is used belongs to 1598. A letter of 1594 speaks of devotional treatises in Japanese with Japanese characters, but these were probably engraved on blocks. It seems possible therefore, though perhaps not very probable, that the Japanese may have learnt the advantages of typography from the missionaries, and not from the Coreans.*”

Of the fourteen works discovered by Mr. Satow, the first on the list, and also the first in point of time, is a “Compendium of the Acts of the Saints,” printed in 1591. The

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\* See Vol. X, p. 48 and 252 of these “Transactions.”

accompanying extract may serve as a specimen of the style, and at the same time of the system of transliteration adopted by the Jesuit fathers of A.D. 1591:—

TATTOQI APOSTOLOS NAV S. PEDRO. S. PAVLONO GO SAGVEO, NARABINI SONO MARTYRIO NO YODAI: CORE-AMATA no Doutores no qirocu nari. CONNichi Sancta Ecclesia yori S. Pedro, S. Paulo issai ninguen no mitçu no teqi ni taixerearete go vn uo firaqi tamō tocoro uo yorocobi mōsaruru mono nari. Mitçu no teqi toua vagami, cono xecai, tengu core nari. Connichi no iuai ua Christian no vchi no dai ichi no iuai nari. Sonoyueua, Christian no dai ichiban no taixō go xōri uo ye tamō fi nareba nari. Cono go riōnin no govn uo firaqi tamō von vye uoba caccacu ni iuai mōsaruru beqi coto fony nari toiyedomo, go riōnin no vye uo ichidoni iuai mōsaruru coto ua, Christian no yorocobi mo, xinjin-mo connichi casanari, sono von cagami mo connichioy ri [for yori] casanareba nari. Sono inyen no casanaru toqimba, Deus no tattomi tatematçuru coto mo casanarubeqi coto mottomo nari. Mata cono goriōnin connichi ichidoni Martyr ni nari tamaitaru cotomo mata Deus no von sadame nari. Go zonjō no vchi ni go ichimi, goixxin ni voboximexi ai tamō ga yuyeni, connichi vonaji fi, vonaji tocoro, vonaji acuvō no guegi vomotte vonaji Fides uo sodatçuru tameni, go ichimei uo sasague tamō nari. S. Paulo ua Roma no fito nite maximasu nari. Soreniyotte inixiye yori no fatto

*TRANSLATION.*—To-day the Holy Church celebrates the victory gained by St. Peter and St. Paul over the three enemies of the human race. These three enemies are the flesh, the world, and the devil. To-day's is the most important of Christian celebrations, because it is the day on which the chief captains of Christianity gained the victory. It would be the natural course to celebrate separately the gaining of the victory by these two, and the reason why they are celebrated together is, that on this day Christian joy and devotion were redoubled, and a double example was afforded. It is right that when the cause is doubled, the respect paid to God should be doubled also. Again, it was determined by God that these two should be martyred together to-day. During their life-time they were united in thought, and on the selfsame day they offered up their lives at the selfsame place, at the command of the selfsame wicked princes, for the support of the selfsame faith. St. Paul was a Roman, and therefore, in accordance with an

ni macaxete von cubi uo vchi  
tatematsçuritaru mono nari. S.  
Pedro ua Iudeo no xison taru ni  
yotte von aruji Iesu Christo no go  
cafû ni macaxete, Cruz ni cacari  
tamô nari. Corera no dôri ni  
xitagatte connichi Ecclesia yori  
fucaqu iuai tamô mono nari.

ancient law, was decapitated, St.  
Peter, being a descendent of Judah,  
was hung on the cross, following  
the precedent of our Lord Jesus  
Christ. For these reasons the  
Church to-day solemnly celebrates  
their memory.

Making full allowance for the consonantal usage of Spanish and Portuguese, and for the peculiarities of the Nagasaki dialect, we have in the above transliteration a sufficient proof that the pronunciation of the Japanese language has not altered materially during the last three hundred years. The Portuguese "x" is our "sh;" and "c" and "q" stand for "k;" while "tçu" is accurately our "tsu." The "v" of course represents a "u," while "u" does duty for "w" in certain combinations.

The next work on the list is a sort of manual of the Japanese Colloquial of those days, which, though separated from us by the lapse of three eventful centuries, was a language differing but little in style from the Colloquial Japanese to which we ourselves are accustomed to listen. It is called "NIFON NO COTOBA TO Historia uo narai xiran to FOSSVRV FITO NO TAMENI XEVA NI YAVA RAGVETARV FEIQE NO MONOGATARI. IESVS NO COMPANHIA NO Collegio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no go menqio to xite core wo fan ni qizamu mono nari. Go xuxxe yori M. D.L. XXXXII," i.e. "The Heike Monogatari, explained in Colloquial for the use of persons' desiring to study the language and history of Japan. Printed by permission of the Superiors at the Amakusa College of the Society of Jesus. in the year of our Lord 1592."—The pious compilers apologise for their enterprise in terms of which the following is a translation:—"In this volume are printed the Japanese History called Heike Monogatari, some moral sentences, and the fables of Esop the European. The authors thereof being heathens, the subjects may appear not very recom-

mendable, but it is not at all extraordinary for the Church to publish such books, whether for study or for the benefit of the world in general. Such a determination lies in aiming at God's service and in praying for His glory. And just as the books hitherto printed at this college have been selected in accordance with the rules laid down with respect to such matters, so also as respects this volume it has been decided that it would be desirable that the persons whom the Superiors have deigned to fix on should select and publish the same. Amakusa, February 23rd, A.D. 1593."

Passing over another grammar by Alvarez and a "Guide to the Faith," *Fides no Dōshi*, of which the University of Leyden possesses a copy, and which is interesting as containing the earliest translation into Japanese of a Papal Bull, we come to a "Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum ac Japonicum," published at "Amacusa in the Japanese College of the Society of Jesus, with permission of the Superiors" in the year 1595. This, the first dictionary of the Japanese language,—for the Japanese themselves did not begin seriously to study their own tongue till nearly a century later,—was followed in 1596 by a translation of the world-famed "Imitation of Christ." The title of the little volume, *Contemptus mundi jenbu*, must have been a poser to Mr. Satow. However, a little consideration, added to a knowledge of the Nagasaki pronunciation, showed him that the mysterious word *jenbu* is none other than *zembu* (全部), which signifies "complete in one volume." There is a Japanese subtitle signifying, "This is a scripture teaching the way to shun the world and to imitate the conduct of Jesus Christ." The identity of the Japanese work entitled "*Contemptus Mundi*" with the work commonly known as "The Imitation of Christ" is sufficiently proved by a comparison of the Japanese text with the Latin text. The question as to the change in the Latin title admits of easy explanation. It would seem that, properly speaking, the original work has no title at all. The

first Chapter of it has the heading *De imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi*. The general usage of Christendom has accepted the first half of this heading of the first Chapter as a sort of title for the whole book. The Jesuits of the 16th century preferred the second half. That is all.

This first Japanese version of the most celebrated of Christian devotional treatises, must be of the highest interest. Nor was the Jesuits' version of the "Imitation of Christ" only the *first* attempt at rendering that book into Japanese. It was also, so far as I am aware, the last. But I speak, of course, subject to correction; for the French Catholic Fathers may, since the re-opening of Japan, have quietly done much for their converts, of which the outer world knows nothing. Mr. Satow gives several quotations from the Japanese "Imitation of Christ," which raise questions interesting to the translator. One of them is as to the rendering of the verb "to love" in such contexts as "to love God" or "to love Christ." This verb the sixteenth century Jesuits translated by the phrase *taisetsu ni omou*, which means literally "to think highly of,"—a phrase which would perhaps be a better translation of the verb "to honour" than of the verb "to love." But the difficulty of finding a thoroughly satisfactory equivalent in Japanese for the European *amare* or "to love" is one which is still felt.

Not only were the Jesuits occasionally embarrassed in the rendering of European terms into Japanese. The few Europeans who looked into the Jesuits' books during the last two or three centuries were much more sorely embarrassed in their endeavours to comprehend the meaning of the Romanised Japanese. The bibliographer Cotton falls into a very comical error with regard to the title-page of the "Imitation." This title-page contains the words *Toqini goxuxxeno nenqi*

1596," that is to say, "At this time it is 1596 years from the august birth" (of Jesus Christ). Well, the English bibliographer says: "Toquinum, qu. Tokis, or Tokoesi, a town of the Island Niphon, in Japan (?) A book entitled *Contemptus Mundi*, in the language of Japan, was printed here by the Jesuits in 1596." Thus he actually supposes *Toqini* to be the genitive case of a town named *Toquinum*. Had Tōkyō existed in his day, that doubtless would have been turned into the dative or ablative of some similarly airy figment of the imagination. It is true that Cotton should disarm criticism by the humility with which he declares himself to be "not intimate with the niceties of the Japanese tongue." (!)—Before leaving the subject of the Japanese version of the "Imitation," which is by far the most important of Mr. Satow's finds, it is impossible to resist the temptation of quoting a specimen from it, just as an illustration of its style. The original Latin is given in the parallel column:—

*Christono von voxieua moro-  
morono jenninno voxiyeni sugure-  
tamayeri: jenno michini tachiiri  
taran fitoua govoxiyeni comoru  
fucaxigui no canmiuo voboyubexi.  
Xicaruni vonoqu no fito Christono  
minoriuo xiguequ chōmō suredomo,  
focqi sucunagi cotoua, Christono  
gonaixōni chigū xitatematçuranu  
yuye nari. Christono micotobauo  
agiuaī fucaqu, taxxite funbet  
xitatematçuranto vombni voiteua,  
vagamino guīguiuo cotogotocu  
Christoni filoxiqu xi tatematçu-  
ranto naguequ bexi. Pericudaru  
cocoro naqini yotte Trīdadeno  
gonaixōuo somuqī tatematçuru ni  
voiteua, sono Trīdadeno tacaqī  
von cotonariuo rongitēmo nanno*

*Doctrina Christi omnes doctrinas  
Sanctorum præcellit; & qui Spiriti-  
tum Christi haberet, absconditum  
ibi manna inueniret. Sed contin-  
git, quod multi ex frequenti auditu  
Euangelii paruum desiderium  
sentiunt, quia spiritum Christi non  
habēt. Qui autem vult plenē &  
sapide Christi verba intelligere,  
oportet, ut totam vitam suam illi  
studeat conformare. Quid prodest  
tibi alta de Trinitate disputare, si  
careas humilitate, unde displices  
Trinitati? Verē alta verba nō  
faciūt sanctum et iustum, sed vir-*

*yogizo? Macoto ni cobitaru coto-bana fitou jennin nimo, tadaxiqi fitonimo nasazu, tada jenno guīgūi coso fitou Deusni xitate. maxe tatematçuru mono nare. Contriçōo toyū cōquaino cotouaruoxiru yorimo, sono Contriçōou cocomori voboyuru cotonu nauo conomaxiqi coto nari. Biblia toyū tattoqi qibmōno mōcuuo coto-gotocu soranji, moromorono gacuxōno gouo mina xiritemo, Deusno gataixetto, sono gocbriociu naqunba, kore mina nānō yeqica aran?*

*tuosa vita efficit Deo charū. Opto magis sentire compunctionem, quam scire eius definitionem. Si teneres tota Biblia memoriter & omnium Philosophorūm dicta: quid totum prodesset sine charitate Dei & gratia?*

We must pass lightly over the rest of the works on Mr. Satow's list. There is a Dictionary published in 1598, next a book printed partly in ordinary Japanese style, i.e., in a mixture of Chinese cursive characters and *hiragana*. It consists of a Manual of Confession, followed by a Japanese-Portuguese glossary of theological terms.

The ninth work on Mr. Satow's list is one on the "Christian Doctrine" in the form of question and answer. It contains the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, etc., etc. Next come some works in Spanish and Japanese, entitled "The Sinner's Guide," 1599, and "The Christian Doctrine," 1600, both printed at the Jesuit College in Nagasaki; then, on the 4th August, 1602, a new Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary, and in 1604 Father Rodriguez' famous Portuguese-Japanese grammar. Both of these works attained to a celebrity denied to the others on the list. French editions of both were published a couple of centuries later,—editions, however, which leave much to desire. Fourteenth and last on the list, and dating from the year 1605, comes a romanised work in the Latin language, a "Manual for the Administration of the Sacraments." The Japanese translation has been lost.

Equally lost are Japanese translations of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, of a Manual of the Holy Rosary, and several other works.

Persecution, long threatened, soon descended on the devoted heads of the missionaries and their converts. The whole Catholic work in Japan was crushed, and driven almost out of remembrance. Dutchmen traded where friars had preached. Christianity, now termed by the Japanese "the corrupt sect," became a synonym for everything that was depraved and abominable. If ever persecutors triumphed and reaped the reward of their labours, it was here in Japan. And yet this triumph cost their country dear. It retarded by two centuries and a half the entry of Japan into the comity of civilised nations. Not only did it retard this entry; it made it infinitely harder when at last it had perforce to come. Had Japan Europeanised herself two hundred and fifty years ago, she would not now, at the fag-end of the nineteenth century, be still knocking for admittance, still pleading for the abolition of the political discrimination made against her as a heathen state by the governments of Europe. But it is not in the political field alone that her rejection of European civilisation in the seventeenth century bore disastrous fruits. When she turned her back on the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries, she betook herself to the Chinese philosophers. She used the two hundred and fifty years of the Tokugawa *régime* in assimilating Chinese philosophy, Chinese literary methods, Chinese medicine, Chinese music, Chinese everything,—and now she has to try to unlearn it all. Instead of starting almost fair with Europe, as she might have done two hundred and fifty years ago, she starts with a Europe infinitely further ahead, owing to the phenomenal expansion of European civilisation in the meantime. While Europe was progressing with strides and

leaps, Japan was handicapping herself with the useless weight of Chinese methods in thought and language. She acted like one who, in a sailing race, should purposely delay to start his boat till half-an-hour after the other competitors, and who should employ this half-hour in filling the hold with lead.

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## THE GOBUNSHO OR OFUMI, OF RENNYO SHŌNIN.

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By JAMES TROUP.

[*Read 20th February, 1889.*]

In the Transactions of this Society for 1885, the present writer presented a sketch, or summary, of the doctrines of the Buddhist sect known as the Shinshyu, based on a pamphlet written but a few years ago. The present paper will consist of an endeavor to illustrate the development of the doctrines of this sect in the 15th Century, by presenting a translation of selections from the Gobunsho, of Rennyo Shōnin.

By way of introduction to these selections, a short account of the origin and character of the book, of the life of the writer of it, and of the use made of it in the temple services of the sect will not be out of place.

Rennyo Shōnin was Chief of the Shinshyu in the latter half of the 15th century, and was the eighth of the succession which commenced with the founder, Shinran. The original of the following abridged outline of his life has been put together, for this paper, by a Japanese friend.

'The personal name of Rennyo Shōnin was Ken-juu (Kane-naga.) He was the eldest son of Zonnyo Shōnin, 'the seventh of the Shinshyu succession; and was born on 'the 4th April, 1415. While young he was of quick parts.

'In 1429, being then only in his fifteenth year, and of a 'warm-hearted disposition, he conceived, it is stated, the 'purpose of the revival of religion. In 1431, he became, 'by adoption, the nephew of the Chyunagon, Hiro-hashi 'Kane-sato; and, entering the monastery of Sei-ren-in, he 'pursued learning. From then, his application to study was

'unremitting; neither the heat of summer nor the cold of winter could check the ardor with which he prepared himself for the prosecution of the difficult task which he had proposed to himself. He thus passed sixteen years, more or less, in preparation for the work of his life. In June-July, 1447, he made a tour in the Eastern Provinces; and, in 1449, he travelled through the Northern provinces. On both occasions, in his circuit, he paid his homage at the places formerly visited by the founder.

In 1457, his father and predecessor died; and from this year, therefore, his succession to the headship of the Shinshu falls to be dated. 'In June-July, 1460, he composed the Sho-shin-ge Ta-i, a commentary on the Sho-shin-ge, of Shinran. He also gave expositions of the principles of the sect. His words, being kindly, influenced mens' minds; and, his style being simple, his hearers found him easy to understand. He also wrote the Ryo-ge-mon, (otherwise called the Gai-ke-mon, "Treatise on repentence,") as the rule of peace of mind.

'In 1461, (the narrative notes,) we pass the two-hundredth Anniversary of the death of Shinran.

'On the 4th February, 1465, the evil-disposed monks of the Eastern Tower of Hiyeizan, being jealous of the progress of the sect, collecting a crowd of accomplices, destroyed the tower at Otani, occupied by the Shōnin; and, on account of this disaster, he retired to Otsu. Afterwards, a reconciliation took place between him and the monks. Subsequent to this, he temporarily resided in several places. In 1467, he removed to Katata, in Goshyu. In 1468, he again made a tour in the Eastern and Northern Provinces. In 1469, he returned to Otsu, and built Ken-shō-ji, the southern detached house at Miidera.

'In April-May, 1471, he made a tour in the Northern Provinces; and, in August of that year, he constructed a residence at Yoshizaki, in Echizen, and multitudes there followed his teaching. It was also from about this time, as would appear, that he commenced writing the Gobun-

sho. In February-March, 1472, observing the envy of other sects, and being concerned at the excessive course of a mixed multitude, who flocked to his abode at Yoshizaki, he prohibited the visits of people in general,—a circumstance to which reference appears to be made in one number of the Gobunsho.(1) As a characteristic of the times, it may be mentioned that the story is related that on the occasion of a fire having broken out in the residence at Yoshizaki, one of his pupils, Hon-kō-bo no Ryōgen, to save certain writings of the founder, cut open his body and put them therein.

From about August, 1475, the Shōnin, having reason to apprehend that his life was threatened by one Togashi Masachika, and previously, also, dreading the enmity of certain other persons inimical to him and the sect, was desirous, on that account, to go into retirement for a protracted period; but he was induced by his friends about him not to do so; and so he went to Wakasa, and, passing through Tamba and Settsu, he stayed on the borders of Kawachi, and founded Kōzenji.

In 1476, March—April, he pursued his work of proselytising in Kishyu. In November—December, 1477, on the advice of his pupil, Zenjyū, the Shōnin changed his head-temple to Yamashina, in Yamashiro. In March—April, 1479, he commenced building; and in September, 1480, it is said the Hall of the Founder was finished. So the image of the founder was brought from Otsu, and placed in it.

In 1489, the Sage, being then in his 85th year, transferred the management of temple matters to his successor, Kō-ken, and retired to a separate habitation, which he called Shin-shō-In, (the Hall of faith and salvation.) He still, nevertheless, exercised his experience in, and still carried on the work of proselytising,—with great success.

In October, 1496, he founded another detached temple, at Ozaka, and lived there.

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1. See Section I, No. 8, of the annexed translations.

'In April—May, 1498, he fell sick; and in March—April, 1499, he returned to Yamashina. During his illness he summoned his children to him, and set forth to them the difficulties which beset the revival of religion; and exhorted them not be remiss in keeping the Path.

'In April—May, his illness became very severe; and he bequeathed to all his followers his earnest admonition that they should be diligent.

'On the 5th of May, 1499, at Noon, he died,—being then in his 85th year.

'The Sage, in his best years, applied his strength to the revival of the Law. He was vigorous in purpose and in body; and, from his carrying forward the work of the founder, he has come to be termed the Reviver of the Shinshyu.(2)

The present Emperor, on the 22nd March, 1882, conferred on Rennyo the posthumous title of Kei-tō (3) Taishi

The materials of the Gobunsho, (Writings,) then, as the work is named by the Western branch of the Honganji (4), or Ofumi, as the same characters are read by the Eastern branch, were written by this man. The book consists of a series of open letters, or general epistles, containing directions as to doctrine and discipline, written apparently either as occasion arose, on special enquiry for advice on the part of adherents of the sect, or as the writer found opportunity while pursuing his work as a spiritual adviser and the director of this religious body. The form of question and answer is frequently adopted in these compositions merely as a popular method of exposition.

Some of these epistles were collected during Rennyo's lifetime; others were, at the time of his death, scattered about in various places. The whole were collected by his grandson, Ennyo. The collection is divided into five

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2. A fuller account of the life of Rennyo is to be found in the Shinshyu Ho-yu.

3. Intelligent light.

4. It is also termed the Shosoku, (消息, "reports,") by the Western Branch.

parts, or sections, in the first four of which the epistles are arranged in chronological order, those in Section I being comprised within the period from 1471 to 1473; in Section II, from 1473 to 1474; in Section III, from 1474 to 1476; in Section IV, from 1477 to 1499. The Fifth Section contains the epistles which were not dated. These are generally shorter, and for the most part consist of exhortations to faith, or assurances on main points of doctrine.

There are many repetitions throughout these epistles, some portions of different ones being even absolutely identical. The text of the book is, however, prized in its entirety by the sect, and is carefully revised anew by each chief of the Honganji, when he succeeds to his office, and the revision signed and sealed by him, and published afresh. The copy from which the annexed translations have been made bears the priestly name of the present metropolitan of the Western Honganji.

In style these letters present a good specimen of medieval Japanese, written by one who was well read in Chinese literature, not to speak of the special literature of Buddhism, but who writes Japanese, not Sinico-Japanese.

The book has attained the position of a standard of the Shinshyu, and is used in the daily services of the temples of the sect. The order of those services is as follows:—First, there is a reading from the Sûtras, (5) the scriptures of the sect; then a portion of the Wasan, or hymnal, composed by Shinran, is chanted; then comes the reading from the Gobunsho. The selection of the reading appears to be left to the officiating priest; some read these epistles through in their consecutive order; others select for reading such as they deem most suitable. On the occurrence of any special event in the community, one suitable to the occasion will be taken, as, for example, that known as the "Haku-kotsu no gobunsho," (Whitened bones epistle),—Section V, No. 16,—after a death has occurred in the

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(5) See *Transactions Vol. XIV.* p.p. 4 & 5.

locality. The service afterwards concludes with the sermon, when there is preaching; but this is not daily.

These epistles are valuable as giving some insight into the mental workings of a Buddhist priest,—one evidently of ability,—of the 15th Century,—a time no doubt somewhat remote from the present, but yet not so far removed in social and religious conditions but that it may be assumed close counterparts of such an one still live among their co-religionists in this country, but to realize the mental state of whom, and the conditions of whose lives, is necessarily a difficult thing for those brought up in Western modes of thought. The reading of these epistles, it is believed, will show also that the doctrine of the Pure Land has received, in Japan, a development somewhat beyond what it has attained in China, particularly as regards the prominence which is given, in the Shinshyû system, to its main doctrine of salvation by faith. They further afford additional instances of the parallellisms which have been so frequently pointed out as existing, in many different particulars, and in times remote from each other, between Buddhism and Christianity.

Another characteristic of the Shinshyû system is referred to, again and again, in the V Section of the book,—the provision, namely, which is made, according to the doctrine of the sect, for the salvation of women. According to the earlier and general view of Buddhism, women are condemned, in virtue of the pollution of their nature, to look forward to rebirth in other forms. By no possibility can they, in their existence as women, reach the higher grades of holiness which lead to Nirvâna. According to the Shinshyû system, on the other hand, a believing woman may hope to attain the goal of the Buddhist, at the close of her present life. It might be a matter for speculation whether this doctrine has not had a reflex influence on the social position accorded to women by this sect, with its married priesthood.

The following selections are confined to the first and fifth sections only,—not but what the intermediate sections would afford material equally valuable and interesting.

I have pleasure in acknowledging here the assistance received from two eminent Japanese authorities on this subject, who have kindly given their advice on important points throughout the greater portion of these translations.

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## THE GOBUNSHO, OR OFUMI.

### SECTION I.

No. 1. *Of distinction between teacher and disciple.*\*

Some people ask :—Is it the authorised view of our sect to hold that the members of our religious community (monto) are to be considered my disciples, are they to be considered the disciples of the Tathâgata, (6) or of the Shônin (7)? We do not know which. Again, in different parts of the country, and in different places, there are of late those who, as small communities, feel themselves held, as it were, in concealment by intermediary local leaders. This is not right, people say. This, therefore, being also a matter as to which we are altogether in doubt, we desire to have your friendly advice on the point.

I reply :—This point on which you are in doubt I consider a matter of the highest importance ; and I shall set out in your hearing what, respecting this subject, I have heard, thus :—According to the instructions of the departed Shônin [himself], Shinran had not a single disciple. The reason of that was, that, in proclaiming the Law of the Tathâgata to the living beings of the world, he represented himself merely as the Deputy of the Tathâgata. Moreover, Shinran published no strange law. ‘I also,’ he used to say, ‘believing in the Law of the Tathâgata,

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\* These headings are not in the original, but are taken from the index of another edition.

6. i.e. Sâkyâ-muni Buddha.

7. i.e. Shinran Shônin, the founder of the sect.

'am only engaged in teaching it to men.' Besides, 'What do I teach that I should speak of disciples?' he used to say. So then, [we] are to be considered companions. Thus the Shônin calls [you] 'my own friends, my own 'companions,' in the most intimate manner.

It being so, of late the more important local leaders do not know what that which we call peace of mind is. Occasionally, on some disciples going to the localities where there are tidings of faith, they heard of this, and reproved them; and differences arose between them. And the local leaders themselves do not understand the full principle of faith; and, further, while they thus obstruct their disciples, they cannot themselves attain settled faith, and thus they are as if passing a life in vain. They truly cannot avoid the offence of injuring themselves and injuring others. Alas! Alas!

It is said in the old song:—"Formerly happiness "was wrapped up in the sleeve; now it exceeds the capacity even of the body." The meaning of 'formerly 'wrapping up happiness in the sleeve' is that formerly there was no distinction between general and special practice (8). All that was thought was that, by repeating the "Nem-Butsu" many times, salvation would be attained. The meaning of the expression:—"Now it exceeds 'the capacity of the body' is this:—On understanding the distinction between 'special' and 'general,' and, [by reliance on Amida] only, getting the steadfast mind, and on attainment of settled faith, [the Name of] Buddha is called to remembrance (Nem-Butsu), as an expression of gratitude for His mercy,—a state of mind which is very different from any other. Thus, as the body is not large, it is felt to be altogether inadequate, and, in rejoicing, happiness is even too great for the body. This is what is meant.

With much respect.

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8. The special practise of repeating the "Nem-Butsu" was looked upon as being only of a kind with other Buddhistic practices,—such as observance of ritual, abstinence and other austerities.

Bummei, 3rd Year, 7th month, 15th day.

(1st August, 1471.)

No. 2. *Of the desire to quit the family.*

The principle of Shinran Shönin was not to insist on making a desire to quit the family an essential. He did not set up the form of leaving the family and putting away desire. When, by following the behest [of Amida\*] in once calling [the Name] to remembrance, (9) faith by the power of Another is confirmed, there is no distinction between male and female, between the old and the young.

And so, the condition of having attained this faith is explained in the Sûtra (10) as being 'to attain salvation 'and to remain in the state of not returning (11) to 'revolve' [in the cycle of birth and death]. It is [further] explained as 'to conceive once the remembrance [of the 'Name of Buddha] and to enter the company of the 'steadfast.' This is, in a word, what is meant by there being 'no coming [of Buddha] to meet' one [at the end of life] (12), and 'Karman being completed in one's ordinary lifetime.' (13)

\* See note 28, p. 67.

9. Not by the audible voice, but by the mental act,—elsewhere expressed as "once conceiving the remembrance."

10. In the Dai-mu-ryō-jyu-kyō.

11. Avāivartika,—not returning, i.e. entering directly into Nirvâna.

12. That is, that salvation is present, and there is no waiting for the end of life to be received by Buddha. The expression "no coming to meet" (不來迎) is explained as being, substantially, equivalent to that used of Kannon (Avalôkitêsvâra) and Seishi (Mahâsthâma-prâpta), in the "Kam-mu-ryō-jyu-kyō," 常來至 = "habitually come," "always with." (See also No. 4, in the text.)

13. Karman (Karma) is defined as "(the law of) moral action," and "the recompense attending on moral action." It may be termed the power of good or evil in the character to affect the state of the individual in a future existence.

In the Shinshyû system, belief in the power of the Prayer of Amida, becoming portion of the chain of causation, secures to the believer, from

It is said in the hymn:—(14) ‘The outward conditions of those who desire Mida’s Land-of-reward differ from each other; they who receive with faith the Name of Him who uttered the Prayer (15) forget it not, sleeping or waking.’ By ‘outward condition’ is meant that there is no distinction of laity and priesthood, of male and female. What is termed ‘receiving with faith the Name of Him who uttered the Prayer, and not forgetting it, sleeping or waking,’ is said of the person,—whatever may be his condition, and notwithstanding that his sins may have been those of them who commit any of the ten evil deeds (16), of the five classes of reprobates, (17) of the revilers of the [Buddhist] Law, or the unbelievers,

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the moment of his attaining this faith, his attainment of Nirvâna at the end of his present life. His salvation, thus, is no more contingent on the goodness of his acts in this life; the chain of causation leading to this “recompense” is completed in his ordinary time,—secured to him at every moment of his present life.

In illustration of what is meant by the power of the Prayer of Amida, in relation to this point, see Gobunsho, Section V., No. 5, “causing all ‘living beings to fulfil merit.’” See also, under that Section, No. 6, and under the present Section, No. 4.

14. In the Kô-sô Wasan, of Shinran Shônin, under the section Genshin Oshô.

15. In this paper the term “Prayer” has been used throughout, and not “Vow,” as the translation of the character 誓, which, it appears, is used as the equivalent of “Prajidâna,” which is better rendered by “prayer” than “vow.” The expression “Hon-gan” (Transactions Vol. XIV page 8, et al.) had better be rendered, “Great Prayer.”

16. The ten evil deeds are:—

Taking away life.

Stealing.

Lewdness.

Lying.

Ornate language.

Slander.

Double tongue (hypocrisy).

Covetousness.

Anger.

Heresy.

17. See Transactions, Vol. XIV. pg. 8. note.

if he has changed the heart and repented, and profoundly believes that the Great Prayer of Mida the Tathâgata is that which affords deliverance to such vile classes of beings,—who, with singleness of mind, has the heart habitually relying on the Tathâgata, and, whether sleeping or waking, is constantly in the frame of mind of repeating, millions of times, the remembrance of Buddha,—who follows the practice of the faith which is the attainment of unforgetting, confirmed reliance on the Great Prayer.

Thenceforward, indeed, when those of the company who follow this practice, whether sitting up or lying down, chant the Name, it is to be understood that this is repeating the Name of Buddha as an expression of gratitude for His Mercy. These are they whose salvation is settled through their having attained true faith.

With much respect.

My sweat pours down in the heat of day, like tears; after I have laid down my pen, this appears as foolishness.

Bummei, 3rd year, 7th month, 18th day.

(4th *August*, 1471.)

*No 3. Of hunting, fishing and service.*

The meaning of what our sect terms peace of mind, is not the persistent checking of the evil of one's heart and the rising of disorderly thoughts or pre-occupations in the mind. It is this:—while engaged whether in buying and selling, or in service, or in hunting or fishing, to have a profound belief in the Great Prayer of Mida the Tathâgata, who swore to aid (18) (save) unprofitable creatures like us who are involved night and day only in vile evil deeds, and, with steadfast mind and singleness of heart, while relying on the merciful Prayer of Mida

18. Where the verbs "aid," "help," or "assist" are used in these translations, in conjunctions similar to the above, the word "save" may be used as an alternative.

the One Buddha, to have true faith to call once to remembrance the Name with a mind desiring "help";—[in response to which] then will the help of the Tathāgata of a certainty be given. And, thereafter, on whatever the mind is bent, [the Name of] Buddha must be called to remembrance. Salvation being the result of the power of this faith, thanks are to be rendered for His help. And, as thanks for His mercy, as long as our life lasts, [the Name of] Buddha is to be called to remembrance with gratitude.

Such are they who follow the practice of the true faith of settled peace of mind.

With much respect.

Bummei, 3rd year, 12th month, 18th day.

(28th January, 1472.)

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No 4. *Of certain questions and the answers to them.*

Now, Shinran Shōnin was, we have heard, in the habit of speaking of 'Karman being completed in one's ordinary lifetime,' and there 'being no coming [of Buddha] 'to meet' one [at the end of life]. What may this be? This that is called 'Karman being completed in one's 'ordinary lifetime,' and 'there being no coming to meet,' we do not at all understand, and would like to hear explained.

I reply:—This matter on which you are in doubt I consider one of great importance with us. In our sect, what is spoken of as 'once conceiving the remembrance 'of [the Name of] Buddha' and 'Karman being completed 'in ordinary lifetime' [is this]:—To understand how we are aided (saved) in our ordinary lifetime by the Great Prayer of Mida the Tathāgata, is to know that this is the result of [the growth of merit in] a previous state of existence;—and then, that it is not by our own strength. Being bestowed by the extraneous power of the Wisdom of Buddha, we know [this help] to be the result of the

Great Prayer. This is Karman being completed in ordinary lifetime. And so, this that is called 'Karman being 'completed in ordinary lifetime,' is, having thus begun to understand the above principle, to have assurance in the mind of settled salvation,—which state is termed 'to 'conceive once the remembrance of [the Name of] Buddha 'and remain in the company of the steadfast;' as well as 'to have Karman completed in ordinary lifetime;—and, in a word, 'to attain salvation and not to return 'to revolve [in the cycle of birth and death].'

It is asked:—We thoroughly understand what is meant by 'conceiving once the remembrance of [the Name of] 'Buddha and attaining salvation,' but we do not yet perceive what is meant by there being 'no coming of 'Buddha to meet.' Will you kindly instruct us about this? I reply:—As to the 'not coming to meet,'—when the position is reached of 'having once conceived the 'remembrance of [the Name of] Buddha and entered the 'company of the steadfast,' the expecting of a period of 'coming to meet' is entirely done away with. The reason of that is, that what is called 'expecting the period of 'coming to meet,' and so on, is an expression used in connexion with the methods of salvation by works.

For those who follow the method of true faith,—when, having once conceived the remembrance of [the Name of] Buddha, they have forthwith attained the glorious benefit of being received and accepted [by Buddha], the 'coming to meet,' even, is, they know, done away with. And so the Shōnin has given this instruction;—he says:—  
 (19) "The term 'coming to meet' belongs to the system "of salvation by works; they who follow the system of "true faith, since they are received and accepted [by Bud- "dha], remain in the company of the steadfast; and, since "they remain in the company of the steadfast, they do "certainly attain Nirvāna; and thus there is no await- "ing the end of life, there is no calling on [Buddha] "to come to meet them [then]."  
 Consider these words.

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19. In the Mattō-shō, a collection of Shinran's letters.

It is asked:—Are the attainment of steadfastness and the attainment of Nirvâna to be considered one stage of benefit, or two stages? I reply:—Those who have once conceived the remembrance of [the Name of] Buddha are the company of the steadfast. This is the stage of the world of impurity (20); Nirvâna, you are to consider, is the stage to be attained hereafter in the Pure Land. Thus you are to consider them two stages.

It is asked:—When one thinks as has been said, since we have got to know that salvation is fixed, why should we perplex ourselves [further] about obtaining faith? What are your instructions as to this? How should we think on this point? we are desirous to learn. I reply:—Very much indeed is your inquiry an important one. The condition of mind now indicated is, in effect, the meaning of having settled faith.

It is asked:—The condition of settled faith we have now completely understood is, in a word, the meaning of 'Karman being completed in ordinary lifetime,'—'no 'coming to meet,'—'being in the company of the steadfast,'—but, nevertheless, after having settled faith, are we, in calling Buddha to remembrance, to consider that we are doing so for the sake of our own reaching the Land of Bliss (Sukhâvatî), or are we to consider that it is for the sake of giving thanks for the mercy of Buddha? We have not yet grasped that. I reply:—This point on which again you are in doubt is, I consider, a matter of importance; because, having once conceived, in faith, the remembrance of Buddha, the calling of Him thereafter to remembrance is not to be considered as working for the sake of one's own salvation, but is to be considered as being done only by way of thanks for the mercy of Buddha. And so the expression of Zendo, the priest:—(21) "From continuance (perseverance) throughout life, to the once

20. i.e. this present world.

21. see Kwan-gyô-san-zen-gi; also O-jo-rai-san.

"calling of Buddha to remembrance," (22) is thus interpreted:—The once calling to remembrance, refers to the attainment of settled faith; the continuance thereafter, throughout life, refers to the chanting of the Name of Buddha, in remembrance, as thanks for His mercy.

Think well, think well on this.

With much respect.

Bummei 4th year, 11th month, 27th day.

(27th December, 1472.)

No 5. *Of pilgrimage to Yoshizaki.*

Now, during the present year, there have been numbers of priests and laity, men and women, assembling in the country districts,—especially from the three provinces of Kaga, Noto and Etchu,—and going for religious worship to the mountains of Yoshizaki. I do not understand what their minds are about; for the authorized doctrine of our sect is, that the salvation of the Land of Bliss is the result of having obtained faith by the power of Another. And yet, among them, there are none who have attained the appearance of having faith. How can such persons easily attain the salvation of the Land-of-Reward? That is the most important consideration of all. It is a matter of the utmost insignificance this frame of mind in which the intention was formed of making a pilgrimage in the midst of this snow, and happily accomplishing a journey of five or ten *ri*.

[But,] in fine, whatever may have been the frame of mind [of such persons] heretofore, I shall here state exactly what is the frame of mind which they should have henceforth;—listen and attend. The rationale of it

22. Literally:—"From those who continue [the remembrance] through-out life, to those who once call Buddha to remembrance." The purpose of the original appears to have reference to the comprehensiveness of the application of the prayer of Amida.

is this:—What is called 'Faith by the power of Another' is to be firmly preserved in the mind; and, thereafter, simply as an expression of gratitude for the mercy of Buddha, is [the Name of] Buddha to be called to remembrance, whether while moving or standing still, whether in sitting up or lying down. If this is kept in mind, birth this time (23) [into the pure Land] is assured. It is in the excess of joy for this that there should also be a desire to make pilgrimages to the localities where Teachers and Leaders live.

Such as do this are they who are to be called persons of faith, who have known the doctrines of our sect.  
With much respect.

Bummei, 5th year, 2nd month, 8th day.

[6th March, 1473.]

*No. 6. Of drowsiness in summer.*

Now, at present, during the summer of this year, for some reason or other being unusually overpowered by drowsiness, and inclined to sleep, I have been considering what could be the meaning of it, and have thought that, without doubt, the time of death-birth was at hand. I have been feeling sad at the idea of parting with you; but still, up to this day, I have been constantly expecting when the time of Birth [into the pure Land] would come, and I am assiduously concerning myself about it. And so, my sole prayer, which absorbs my thoughts constantly, day and night, is, that there may be, without ceasing, people in this district who hereafter attain settled faith.

As it is, I am prepared thus now to go to be born [into the pure Land]; but, as in the heart of each [of the people] there exists a great amount of indolence, I shall continue as I am while life remains. With regard to all, I look upon the heart of every one as wanting;

23. i.e. at the end of this present life.

and, as in this life of ours we do not know what tomorrow will bring, should by some chance our life come to its end, it were all a vain thing. If, during lifetime, doubt is not quickly dispelled, you ought to reflect that this will assuredly be a matter for nothing but regret hereafter.

With much respect.

I send this to those outside the screens [of my room]. Let them take it out and look at it in after years.

Written in Bummei, the 5th year, 4th month, 25th day.

(21st May, 1473.)

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*No. 7. Of the conversation of the women regarding Yoshizaki.*

Lately, in the 4th year of Bummei (1472), about the 3rd month (April), to the best of my recollection, one or two women, attended by some men, (24) had the following consultation about this mountain:—‘Well, people remark, ‘does not the building erected on this mountain at Yoshizaki now form an unspeakably delightful place here! ‘There have come to this mountain, especially from the ‘seven Provinces of Kaga, Etchu, Noto, Echigo, Shinano, ‘Dewa, Oshyu, [multitudes] of priesthood and laity, men ‘and women, of the followers of this sect, of the assembling of whom the fame could not be hidden. This is ‘wonderful in this Latter Period; it is no ordinary thing! ‘But further, we have heard minutely what is the Gate of ‘the Law, of the remembrance of Buddha, which each of ‘these disciples recommend, and, in particular, what is ‘that faith of which each of them speak as what they teach ‘as their main doctrine; and we have heard what about us ‘even, who possess these vile bodies of women, weighed ‘down with an evil Karman, possessing this faith; and on ‘enquiring of those of this mountain respecting our desire

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24. The fact of their having attendants with them appears to imply that these women were of rank, or good position.

'for salvation through the understanding of the practice of 'faith,—they teach thus:—There is no difficulty about this 'matter; only thinking of ourselves as vile things, subject 'to being of those who commit the Ten evil Deeds (25), 'of the Five classes of reprobates, and to the Five Dis- 'abilities (26) and the Three Obediences, (27) we are to 'know well that assistance can come to such beings as 'us from Amida (28) the Tathāgata; [and that] when we 'call, in singleness of mind, on Mida, and, with a mind 'desiring "help," conceive the one remembrance of 'Buddha, the Tathāgata, throwing out eighty-four thousand '(innumerable) radiances, will graciously receive us. This 'is what is called the Reception by Mida the Tathāgata of 'those who practice the remembrance of Buddha. To 'receive and reject not' has the meaning of to take a hold 'of and not cast away! This is what is said of those who 'have attained faith. And the calling, thereafter, of Bud- 'dha to remembrance,—whether when asleep or awake, 'whether in rising up or sitting down,—by repeating 'Namu\* Amida Butsu,' is the remembrance of Buddha 'by reciting 'Namu Amida Butsu' in response to Mida's 'mercy,—in thankfulness for receiving the help of Buddha. 'In this way are we to think of it.'

To speak in a friendly way,—These women and other persons said:—'Surely the Prayer of Mida the Tathāgata 'is suitable to us,—in which if we have already believed,

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\* or "Namo."

25. See Notes 16 and 17, pg. 101.

26. The Five Disabilities of a woman are:—To become a Chakravartin Monarch, (Wheel King, or Universal Conqueror); to become Brahma; to become Sakra (Indra); to become Māra; to become the person of a Buddha.

27. The Three Obediences of a woman are,—To her parents, at first; to her husband, later; and to her son, when she is old.

28. The Japanese form "Amida," where it is used in the original, has been retained throughout in this translation. Amida may, apparently, stand either for Amitābha, the Being of Immeasurable Light, or Amitāyus, the Being of Immeasurable Life; and may therefore be taken as the equivalent of "the Being of Immeasurable Light and Life."

'and, not speaking more only of the vileness of things,  
'but, hereafter, relying on Mida alone, and believing that  
'on one remembrance of Buddha being conceived, in sing-  
'leness of mind, there will come help from the Tathāgata  
'for our salvation, we will then, in calling Buddha to  
'remembrance, chant His Name in thankfulness for His  
'Mercy. In this way we must think of it. It is not merely  
'the making mention of the thankworthiness and pre-  
'ciousness of having, by a wonderful chain of causes, come  
'within reach of the hearing of the most excellent Law,  
'but the laying to heart of this.'

'But now we must say, Farewell!' And thus, with tears, they all departed.

With much respect.

Bummei, 5th year, 8th month, 12th day.

(4th September, 1473.)

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No. 8. *Of the building at Yoshizaki.*

In the former part of the 4th month of the 3rd Year of Bummei, (April, 1471,) casually stealing forth from the Southern detached quarter of Miidera, at Otsu, in the Shiga district of Goshyu, I made the circuit of the various places in Echizen and Kaga; and so, at Yoshizaki, in the district of Hosorogi, in this province,—this being an unusually fine situation, among these mountains, from remote times the abode of wolves,—levelling [a site], from the 27th day of the 7th month, I proceeded with the erection of this building here; and thus, quickly as yesterday and to-day go by, the Springs and Autumns of three years have passed away.

Well, numbers of people, both priesthood and laity, men and women, have been in the habit of assembling here; but, as there is nothing particular [about my being here], I have, from this year, stopped every one from coming,—the reason for my so doing being this:—If you ask me what is my motive for staying in this place, I say, that,

having attained to birth in the world of men, would it not be a most foolish thing that one who has thus come within reach of the Law of Buddha, difficult to reach, should in a vain and futile manner sink into Hell! But I have come to the conclusion that, with people who have not the settled faith of the remembrance of Buddha, and are thus not aiming at the salvation of the Land of Bliss, it does not comport to congregate in this place. The sole reason of this is, that fame and self-advantage are not the motive to have; but only the enlightenment of the next life is the object to be aimed at.

Therefore let not people who are [mere] spectators express opinions on this matter.

With much respect.

Bummei, 5th year, 9th month.

(September—October, 1473.)

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*No. 9. Of the avoidance of certain things.*

Now, our sect has, from olden times, been called, by people meeting together, a ludicrously filthy sect. This is a very reasonable-looking imputation. The cause of it is, it may be, that certain of our sect are in the habit of speaking of the affairs of our establishment without circumspection, in face of other communities and other sects, and they, in so doing, commit a great mistake. What we call the observance of the rule of our sect is this:—The man who carefully treasures up in his mind the tradition of our sect, and does not let the expression of it be visible in his outward appearance, is he who, we say, has understood about the matter well.

Nevertheless, in the world, it is not that such deference is [to be] shown respecting what concerns our sect, in the face of other communities and other sects. It is from rash expression that men think lightly of our sect. And thus, from there being people who will think ill, so men look upon our sect as filthy and odious. Moreover, you must

know, this is not owing to other people being evil,—it arises from the evil of the people of our own sect.

In the next place, respecting the avoidance of [certain] objects:—in our sect we say, there is not, according to the Buddhist Law, anything to be avoided. In our bearing towards other sects, in public matters, and the like,—are there not things to be avoided? There are, of course, in our bearing towards other sects and other communities, things which are to be avoided. [But], moreover, in our avoidance of things concerning other people, they are not to be evil spoken of. However, the observers of the Buddhist Law are not limited to the observers of the Remembrance of Buddha; [and] that things are not so much to be avoided clearly appears in several passages throughout the Sûtras. For example, it is said in the Nahan-kyô, (Nirvâna Sûtra):—“In the Law of the Ta-“thâgata there is no selection of lucky days and favorable “times.” The meaning of this passage is, that ‘in the ‘Law of the Tathâgata there is no such thing as choosing ‘lucky days and favorable times.’

Again, in the Han-jyu [Sammi] Kyô (Pratyutpanna-buddhasammukhâvasthita-samâdhi-sûtra), it is said:—[As in the following sentence.] The meaning of this passage is this:—‘The Upâsikâ (lay woman) who desires to hear ‘of and learn this Samâdhi, (29) let her follow (30) the ‘behest of Buddha, let her follow the behest of the ‘Law, let her follow the behest of the Priesthood; let her ‘not go after other Paths, (employ other methods), let her ‘not worship Heaven, let her not celebrate services to ‘demons and gods, let her not respect lucky days.’ There are [other] passages in the Sûtras of similar import, but this will do.

Especially would it appear that the observers of the Remembrance of Buddha ought not to concern themselves with such things.

With much respect.

29. Samâdhi=fixity of mind, *faith*.

30. “follow, &c.” in previous paper translated “take refuge in, &c.”

Bummei, 5th Year, 9th Month,—day.

(September—October, 1473.)

No. 15. *Of the determining of the name of the sect.*

It is asked:—Our sect (system) is vulgarly called, by everybody, the “Ikko-shyu,” (the only sect,”)—how about this? We wish to be informed.

I reply:—That our sect (system) should bear the name of the “Ikko-shyu,” was never specially appointed by the Founder. It is so termed by everybody on account of the fact that we place our reliance on Amida Buddha “only.” However, seeing that it is set forth in the Sūtra:—“Only “concentrate the mind on the Buddha of Immeasurable “Life (Amitāyus),”—when the intention is to express the injunction:—“Call to remembrance *Only* the Buddha of “Immeasurable Life,”—there is no objection to our being called the “Ikko-shyu.”

Nevertheless, the Founder settled that the sect was to be termed the “Jōdo-Shinshyu;” so that, it is to be understood that the name “Ikko-shyu” is not one which is used by us ourselves of our sect.

Now, the other Jōdo sects allow the practice of all sorts of austerities, while the Shōnin eliminated the practice of austerities. In this way is attained the salvation of the True Land-of-Reward, and for this reason the term “Shin” (“True”) is specially inserted [in the name of the sect.]

Further, it is said:—We understand clearly that our sect is denominated the Jōdo Shinshyu; but, although the sin of living in the family is a thing characterized as being of profound wickedness and reprobation, yet, according to the system (form) of our sect,(31) by leaning on the power of the Prayer of Mida, the attainment of salvation in the Land of Bliss is an easy matter;—on this point we should like to be fully enlightened.

To this I reply:—According to our doctrine (system), they who have got settled faith of a surety will attain the

31. Where living in the family is the rule with the priesthood.

salvation of the True Land-of-Reward. If you ask, what sort of a thing is this faith? It is this:—relying, without any anxiety, only on Mida the Tathāgata, and, not concerning oneself about other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, to believe only, in singleness of mind, on Mida. This is what is termed attaining settled faith. The two characters “Shin-jin” (32) are to be read “True mind.” The “true” (or “believing”) “mind” is not that which depends on the depraved self-power of the practice of austerities; its dependence is on the excellent other-power of the Tathāgata; and therefore it is called the “true mind” (=“believing mind,”=faith.)

Again, it is not by merely chanting the Name, without any understanding, that assistance will come. And so it is expressed in the Sūtra:—“To hear the Name, and rejoice ‘in believing.’ This hearing of the Name is not a hearing of the name composed of the six characters, “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu,” in a reasonless (lit: nameless) and unreal manner. The rationale of the thing is that, on a man coming into contact with the good and wise, receiving their teaching, and, in saying “Namu,” placing reliance on the Name, Namu Amida Buddha,—then will, of a certainty, Amida Buddha afford his aid to him who does this. And his condition is what is expressed in the Sūtra as “rejoicing in “believing.” And thus you are to understand that the formula ‘Namu Amida Buddha’ expresses the condition of the rendering of assistance to us. After you have understood this, whether while in motion or at rest, whether while sitting up or lying down, the chanting of the Name, with the mouth, you are to consider simply as the calling of Buddha to remembrance in rendering thanks to Him, Amida the Tathāgata, for His Mercy in having vouchsafed us assistance. And they who thus have settled faith are they who are to be called the practisers of the remembrance

32. “Shin-jin” (信心) “believing,” or “true,” “mind;”—“true,” say, from the usual combining of the subject and object in the meaning of the Chinese characters,—because we *believe* what we see, or conceive to be, *true*.

of Buddha by the strength of Another, whereby we are born into the Land of Bliss.

With much respect.

The collection and writing down of the above was completed at the baths of Yamanaka, in Kaga, at four o'clock on the 2nd day of the latter third (22nd day) of the 9th month of the 5th year of Bummei. (Ten o'clock, of the 13th October, 1473.)

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## SECTION V.

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### *No. 1. Of the ignorant of the Latter Period.*

In this Latter Period [of the Law], if there be any,—be they without knowledge, living in the family, men or women,—who, with singleness of mind, place profound reliance on Amida Buddha, and, without in any manner turning away their minds to other things, with steadfast mind rely only on Buddha to help them,—grave although their sinful Karman may be, assuredly Mida, the Tathāgata, will succour them. This is the meaning of the eighteenth prayer, which is called the prayer of the salvation of the remembrance of Buddha.

Being thus established (settled) let such ones, henceforward, whether sleeping or waking, as long as their lives shall last, in remembrance of Buddha, chant His Name.

With much respect.

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### *No 2. Of the eighty-thousand books of the Tripitaka.*

It is said:—‘He who knows the eighty thousand books of the Tripitaka, but who knows not [the salvation of] the world to come, is to be accounted a novice; the woman or man entering on the Path, who knows not a single letter, but who knows [the salvation of] the world to come, is to be accounted an adept.’ And so, let it be known, our sect holds, that he who is extravagantly familiar with the reading of all the Holy Sūtras, but who knows not the signification of the faith of the once calling of Buddha to remembrance, is engaged in trifling. As is said in the words of the

Shōnin:—‘To the whole body of men and women, without their believing in the Prayer of Mida, help will never come.’ Therefore, what manner soever of women, laying aside the practice of various austerities, place profound reliance, by the one remembrance on Mida the Tathāgata for help for the life now next to come,—be it ten persons, or a hundred persons,—all, together, let there be no doubt, will be born into Mida’s Land-of-reward.

With much respect.

No. 3. *Of the nun of the family.*

The nun-wife, who lives in the family, who, void of concern, with steadfast mind, places profound reliance only on Amida Buddha, even such as call for help for the next world, be it known that He will aid, every one of them;—[on this] let there not be in your minds the slightest doubt.

This is, in fact what is called the Great Prayer (33) of the power of Another,—of the Oath of Mida the Tathāgata.

Thereafter, as they think of the happiness and bliss of the help which will further be theirs in the World to come, they will do nothing but chant, “Namu Amida Buddha,”—“Namu Amida Buddha.”

With much respect.

No 4. *Of the man or woman whose sins are grave.*

Now, although a man or a woman, of those whose sins are grave, do place reliance on the merciful prayers of the multitude of the Buddhas, yet the present time, being the evil age of the Latter Period [of the Law], is a time when the power of the multitude of the Buddha is by no means of avail.

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33. Great Prayer, here, in original, 本願.

And so,—as He whom we call Amida the Tathāgata, in virtue of His having uttered the Great Prayer, (34) when he said:—‘I, excelling the multitude of the Buddhas, shall save sinners committing the ten evil deeds, ‘and those of the five classes of reprobates,’ became Amida Buddha,—if we profoundly rely on this Buddha,—seeing that He is that Mida who uttered the Oath:—‘If ‘I do not save all sentient beings who by one remembrance shall call for help, may I not attain Enlightenment,’ there is not the slightest doubt that we shall be born into the Land of Bliss.

And, for this reason, the company of those who, profoundly believing, with hearts free from doubt, and, not concerning themselves about the depth of the sins attaching to themselves, but placing their trust on Buddha, attain the settled faith of the one remembrance, [relying] with steadfast mind, only on Amida the Tathāgata,—be they ten persons, then ten, be they a hundred persons, then a hundred,—all will, without doubt, attain Birth in the Pure Land. And, afterwards, when again and again the feeling of appreciation [of this] arises in their hearts, will they,—without regard to time, and without respect to place,—call Buddha to remembrance, saying. “Namu Amida Buddha,”—“Namu Amida Buddha!” This then is what is termed the calling of Buddha to remembrance, in thankfulness for His mercy.

With much respect.

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No. 5. *Of attainment of faith.*

It is the attainment of faith which is the apprehension of the 18th Prayer; the apprehension of this Prayer is the apprehension of the meaning of “Namu Amida Buddha.” The explanation of this is that, in the one remembrance,—“Namu,”—the following the behest [of Buddha],—must be apprehended the bestowal [of merit]

through the uttered Prayer [of Amida]. This is, in fact, the meaning of Mida the Tathāgata "bestowing" on the unenlightened (ordinary man).

This is explained in the Greater Sūtra as "causing all living beings to fulfil merit." Thus,—leaving no remnant of passions or of evil deeds\* accumulated from when there was no beginning,(35) namely through the annihilation(36) brought about by the extraordinary power of the Prayer,—is it attained to dwell in the condition of 'not-returning' (avāivartika),—in the company of the steadfast.(37)

Wherefore,—this is what is called the attainment of Nirvāna without [of oneself] eradicating the passions. This is the view as held among ourselves by those of our sect; it is not a matter for communication, in intercourse with those of other sects. Give good heed to this.

With much respect.

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*No. 6. Of the highest degree of merit.*

The Shōnin expresses, in the hymn, how the person who by the one remembrance places his reliance on Buddha attains the highest degree of merit, thus:—

"The sentient beings of the evil world of the five 'spheres of corruption'(38), who believe in the eminent 'Great Prayer, shall have their persons filled with merit, 'unchantable, unspeakable, inconceivable.'" The meaning of this hymn is this:—The expression 'sentient beings 'of the evil world of the five spheres of corruption,' refers to all us women and wicked men. Now, although we are thus vile unenlightened doers of evil during the

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\* or, translate, "evil Karman."

35. Say, 'Accumulated through time which had no beginning.'

36. i.e. annihilation of the power of the passions and of evil actions.

37. See note under Sect. I, No. 2.

38. The five spheres of corruption (Kāchaya), see Eitel, Handbook, p. 67. new Edition.

present life, if we rely with singleness of mind only on Mida the Tathāgata and call on Him to help us for the next life, there need be no manner of doubt that He will of a certainty succour us. And on those who thus place reliance on Mida will be bestowed unchantable, unspeakable, inconceivable merit. 'Unchantable, unspeakable, inconceivable merit' means great merit without limit. This great merit arises from His bestowing assistance on us sentient beings, who by the one remembrance place our reliance on Mida, and,—the obstructions of the evil Karman of the Three Times, Past, Future and Present being cut off and disappearing in a moment,—our thus becoming confirmed in the condition of the steadfast, and in a condition equal to that of Perfect Enlightenment.

Further, it is said in the hymn:—'You must believe 'in the Great Prayer of Mida.' It is said:—'They who 'believe in the Great Prayer all attain a condition equal 'to Perfect Enlightenment, because of the grace of being 'received and rejected not.' 'Being received and rejected 'not,'—this also means that the sentient beings, who by the one remembrance place their reliance on Mida, are kept in the Bright One, and,—their faith never straying in other directions,—are not cast away.

Although there are, besides this, various Gates of the Law, (i.e. Ways of Salvation,)—yet let all those beings, who, by the one remembrance, place their reliance on Mida, never have the slightest doubt that they will, everyone, attain the salvation of the Land-of-reward.

With much respect.

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*No. 7. Of the five disabilities and three obediences.*

The persons of women are subject to the five disabilities and the three obediences, and their faults are greater than those of men. Therefore,—in the case of the whole of women,—all the Buddhas even who exist in the ten regions can never by their power make a

woman a Buddha. But Amida the Tathāgata,—by uttering His Great Prayer when he said, 'Only I will aid '(save) woman,' is he who succours them. Unless by reliance on this Buddha, the person of a woman cannot become a Buddha. Wherefore, if you ask, what frame of mind must one have, and how must we place reliance on Amida Buddha, in order to become a Buddha,—[I reply]:—There is nothing to be done; simply, with singleness of mind, by placing reliance solely on Amida Buddha alone, and by having a mind fixed only on calling for His aid for the next life, will you, without difficulty, become a Buddha. If you possess this mind without the least particle of doubt,—assuredly, assuredly, going to the Land-of-bliss, (Sukhāvatī), you will become a beautiful Buddha! And, henceforth, as you keep this in mind,—from time to time when you call Buddha to remembrance, your doing so will but be in order to express your happiness and thanks for the mercy of Amida the Tathāgata, in His having so readily given His help to us so vile. Keep this in mind.

With much respect.

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*No 8. Of the laboring through five Kalpas.*

The Great Prayer meditated through five Kalpas, the laboring (practising meritorious actions) throughout the long protracted Kalpas, is simply this:—Amida the Tathāgata,—laboring by his pious device for the purpose of resolutely aiding all of us sentient beings, and uttering the Great Prayer of 'Namu Amida Buddha,' (of 'reliance on,—adoration of, Amida Buddha,') by which he swore:—"If,—when any of erring sentient beings, by once calling Amida Buddha to remembrance, place their reliance on Him (i.e. Me), and, laying aside the various practices of austerities, place their trust in singleness of mind only on Mida,—I do not aid such beings, may I not attain enlightenment,"—thus became Namu (i.e. the adored) Amida Buddha.

It is, in a word, you must know, by reason of this that we can, without difficulty, attain to be born in the Land of Bliss (Sukhāvati.)

So then, the meaning of the six characters “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu” (rely on Amida Buddha) expresses the condition whereby all sentient beings can be born into the Land-of-Reward. Thus,—the meaning is,—on our following His behest—“Namu,” forthwith Amida Buddha will aid us. Thus the two characters “Na-mu” must bear the meaning of sentient beings turning towards Mida the Tathāgata, and imploring his assistance for the next life. And, the idea that those who thus call on Mida He will, without exception, succour, is contained in the four characters, “A-mi-da-Butsu.” It is thus that you are to understand it.

So that, whatsoever women—be they of those who have committed any of the ten evil deeds, be they of the five classes of reprobates, of the five disabilities, and the three obediences,—lay aside their observance of various austeries, and earnestly place their reliance [on Him] for the next life,—be they ten persons or a hundred persons,—all, without exception, will He help. All they who, without doubting, believe in this, shall be born into Mida’s true Land-of-Reward.

With much respect.

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*No 9. Of the principle of peace of mind.*

That which we call Peace of Mind (the Rest of the Heart,) is just what is implied in the six characters “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu.” To illustrate this;—On the following His behest—‘Namu,’ it is meant that at once the help of Amida Buddha is rendered. Thus the two characters “Na-mu” bear the meaning of following His behest. By ‘following His behest’ is meant the laying aside of all austeries practised by sentient beings, and placing reliance for the next life on Amida Buddha only. Therefore, by this it is implied that Mida the Tathāgata knows well,

and will aid, every sentient being. Consequently, the principle is, that the help of Amida Buddha is given to the sentient beings who place their reliance on Him,—“Namu;” and thus we see that the signification of the six characters “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu,” is, in effect, that of assisting the whole body of us living creatures.

So then, moreover, the attainment of faith by the power of Another is also what is implied in the six characters “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu”; and thus it is implied that all the Holy Sútras, also, have for their end just the production of faith in the six character “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu.” Thus are you to think of it.

With much respect.

*No 10. Of the system of the Shōnin.*

The tenor of the preaching of the Shōnin was,—make faith the foundation; and when, casting aside all practices of austerities, with singleness of mind [you] have followed the behest of Mida, then, by the inconceivable power of the Prayer, from Buddha will your salvation be confirmed. This condition is that which is expressed in the words:—“To utter one remembrance, and to “enter the company of the steadfast.” Thereafter, the chanting of the Name, in calling Buddha to remembrance, is to be looked upon as a calling of Him to remembrance, in gratitude for His mercy, as the Tathágata who has assured our Salvation.

With much respect.

*No. 11. Of attending the celebration of the death of the Founder.*

Now, among those who have the desire to visit [the temple] during the period of the ceremony of the anniversary of the death of the Shōnin,(39) who contemplate the expres-

39. That falls between the 9th and the 16th January,—the 16th being the exact date of the anniversary.

sion of gratitude for mercy, and thanks for virtue, by presenting themselves before [his statue], there will be those who have attained faith, and there will be those who have not faith. This is a matter of the very utmost importance. The reason of that is, that, without confirmation of faith, there is no assurance of the salvation, this time, of the Land-of-reward. Therefore let them who have not faith make haste to attain this confirmation in their minds. The state of human beings is an unstable one; the Land-of-Bliss is an abiding country. Therefore, for those who are in the unstable state of human beings, [this] Land-of-Bliss to abide in, is a thing to be desired. And so we hold that faith is to be put first. Not to apprehend the reason of this is idle. Make haste to desire this confirmation of peace of mind, and [thereby] the salvation of the Pure Land.

Now, all men generally will agree, that to imagine that all they who, without understanding, simply chant the Name, shall be born into the Land of Bliss, would be a very dubious matter. The attainment of faith by the power of Another, is no other thing than this,—to apprehend well the meaning of the six characters “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu,” and thus to have faith confirmed.

The formula of faith is thus expressed in the Sûtra:—“To hear the Name and rejoice in faith.” Zendo says:—“The expression ‘Namu’ is the following of His behest; “and it is, further, to utter the Prayer and bestow [merit] “upon us. ‘Amida Butsu’ is, in effect, the ‘practice’ “of this.” The meaning implied in the two characters ‘Na-mu’ is, laying aside the practice of all austerities, without doubting, in singleness of mind, to place reliance only on Amida Buddha. And the meaning implied in the four characters “A-mi-da-Butsu” is, that Mida will, simply, afford assistance to the sentient beings who in singleness of mind, follow His behest. And so, the understanding in this way of the formula “Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu,” is termed the attainment of faith. This then is said of those who follow the practice of calling Buddha to remembrance,

having well known the faith which is by the power of Another.

With much respect.

*No. 12. Of the sleeve of the Tathāgata.*

For those who wish exactly to understand the meaning of what we term peace of mind, it is not essential to have also knowledge, ability and learning. Realizing merely that their personalities are things of deep sinfulness and vileness, and knowing that Amida the Tathāgata only is the Buddha who aids even such as they, they simply, with the whole heart, clinging firmly to the sleeve of this Amida Buddha, and while they, in this frame of mind, place their reliance on Him for the next life, this Amida the Tathāgata, rejoicing exceedingly and throwing out from His person Eighty-four thousand (innumerable) great radiances, will receive and lay up such within His radiance. This it is what you are to understand by that which is set forth in the Sūtra:—" [His] radiance, pervading the worlds of "the ten regions, embraces and rejects not the sentient "beings who call Buddha to remembrance."

About the fact of our personalities becoming Buddhas there is no difficulty. Oh! it is by the Great Prayer, pre-eminent above (surpassing) the world! It is by the gracious radiance of Mida the Tathāgata! Without the influence of this radiance, no recovery whatsoever from the dreadful malady of darkness (ignorance and evil passions), and of the obstruction of [evil] Karman, from when there was no beginning, until now, has been possible. But they who, by the means of the operation of the influence of this radiance, have a store of merit from a previous life, have already attained that which is called faith by the power of Another. But this, it is at once plainly understood, is the faith which is bestowed on the part of Mida the Tathāgata. And thus it is not a faith which is excited by the observance of religious austerities. So you can now clearly understand what is meant by the great faith by the power of that Other,—

Mida the Tathâgata. And thus, also, they who have by grace once attained this faith by the power of Another should all think upon the mercy of Mida the Tathâgata, and, in thankfulness for the mercy of Buddha, habitually chant the Name in remembrance of Him.

With much respect.

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No. 13. *Of the merit of the six characters.*

Now, although the expression "Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu" consists of no more than six characters, by which alone it might not be thought that the possession of merit could come about, yet in this Name, consisting of these six characters, the magnitude of supreme merit and favor is entirely unlimited. And thus, you must know, that which is termed the getting of faith is comprised in these six characters. There cannot in any way be the existence of faith otherwise than by these six characters.

Now, these six characters, "Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu," Zendo has explained as follows:—"‘Namu’ means [our] ‘following His behest,—and also [His] uttering the Prayer ‘and bestowing [merit] upon us. ‘Amida-Butsu’ is the ‘practice of this. Consequently, by this means a certainty of salvation is attained,’" he says.

But if it be asked, How is the meaning of this interpretation to be understood? It is this:—If any one of evil Karman (evil actions) and passions like us, by once calling Amida Buddha to remembrance, follows His behest, of a certainty He will know (recognize) this person, and afford him help. Now, ‘following His behest’ has the meaning of calling for His help; and what is meant by ‘Uttering the Prayer and bestowing [merit] ‘upon us’ is the conferring of supremely great merit on the sentient beings who by the one remembrance place their reliance on Mida.

By reason of the conferring on us sentient creatures of this great goodness and great merit, through the utterance of the Prayer and the bestowal [by Amida],

the evil Karman and [effect of the] passions, accumulated through the long Kalpas, since when there was no beginning, are in one moment annihilated, and, in consequence, those passions and evil Karman of ours all disappearing, we live already in the condition of the company of the steadfast, who do not return [to revolve in the cycle of Birth and Death] (Avāivartika).

And thus it is truly apparent, that the formula of the six characters, "Na-mu-A-mi-da-Butsu," expresses the condition of our being to be born into the Land-of-Bliss. And when we speak of peace of mind, and faith, what we mean is this, that they who have well understood the meaning of the six characters of this Name are called they who have attained the great faith of the power of Another. In view of the exceeding adequacy of these doctrines, you ought profoundly to believe.

With much respect.

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*No. 14. Of high and low rank.*

Now, it is to be kept in mind that the personalities of all women are sinful beyond what is known,—that, whether they be of high rank or of low, they are vile personalities. Accordingly if you ask, how should they believe in Mida? [I reply]:—There is no difficulty in the matter; those women who, without doubting, firmly place their reliance on Amida the Tathāgata, and call on Him to aid them for that most important life which is next to come, without fail them will He aid.

So then,—those who, putting aside the depth of the sinfulness of their own personalities, and placing their trust in Mida, simply, in singleness of mind, call on Mida the Tathāgata to aid them for the life to come,—such ones, let there be no doubt, will He well know and assist. Be they ten persons, or be they a hundred persons,—all will, they need not have an atom of doubt, without exception, be born in the Land of Bliss. Women who believe thus will be born into the Pure Land.

Let those who have hitherto disbelieved in the easiness of this, while thinking on the foolishness of their having done so, place their reliance still more deeply on Mida the Tathâgata.

With much respect.

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*No. 15. Of the great faith.*

Now, if it is asked what sorts of sentient beings are to be saved by the Great Prayer of Mida the Tathâgata, and how is reliance to be placed on Mida, and what frame of mind must we have so as to get assistance,—[I reply]:—As to the sorts of beings,—whether it be sinners of the ten evil deeds, of the five classes of reprobates,—whether it be women of the five disabilities and the three obediences, they are not in the least to concern themselves with the gravity of their evil Karman (evil actions);—it is simply by the great faith alone which is by the power of Another that the true salvation of the Land of Bliss is to be obtained.

Well then, if it is asked:—As to this faith, what frame of mind must we have, and how must we place reliance on Mida,—[I reply]:—As to the getting of faith, there is no trouble,—only casting aside the observance of all austerities and formalisms, and the evil mind of reliance on one's own power, with singleness of mind earnestly to take refuge in (follow) Mida, having no doubt in the mind,—this is what is called true faith.

Those sentient beings who thus in singleness of mind place their reliance, and place it only on Him, graciously will Mida the Tathâgata, knowing such well, sending out a radiance, receive into the midst of His splendour, and secure their being born into the Land of Bliss. This is what is termed the Reception of the sentient beings who call Buddha to remembrance.

Therefore, while such call Buddha to remembrance throughout their whole life, this is to be considered as the calling of Buddha to remembrance in acknowledg-

ment of His Mercy. Those are they who are to be termed the observers (practisers) of the calling to remembrance of Buddha, who have well understood what we mean by faith.

With much respect.

*No. 16. Of the fleeting life of man.*

Now, if we consider attentively the fleeting (lit: floating) nature of the life of man, it is but an evanescent thing; the beginning, middle and end of this existence is a period like the twinkling of an eye. At present there is no endowment with a human body which attains its ten thousand years. A lifetime soon passes away, and who is there now who retains his form for a hundred years! Whether I am first or another is first, whether it be to-day or to-morrow, we know not,—they who are behind and they who go before [are] thicker than the drops by the roots and the dew on the top [of the herbage].

And thus in the morning our body shows a ruddy countenance,—in the evening it is whitened bones. If there comes a variable wind, in a moment [our] two eyes close; if one breath is cut off, our ruddy countenance changes away, and loses the adornment of the peach and plum. Then, although relatives of every degree assemble, and there is mourning and lamentation, yet it is of no avail, and there is nothing to be done but to send out [the remains] on the waste, and turn them into the smoke of midnight, till only some whitened bones remain. Alas! it is vain to speak of it.

Wherefore, there being no distinction between old and young in this fragile condition of humanity, let each one, speedily laying to heart the first importance of the life to come, place profound reliance on Amida Buddha, and call Him to remembrance.

With much respect.

*No. 17. Of the next life of women.*

Now all women, who look upon the next life as an important matter,—who look upon the Law of Buddha

as excellent,—and who simply place their reliance profoundly on Amida the Tathâgata, and, casting aside the observance of all austerities, with singleness of mind place their reliance firmly on Him for the next life, will of a certainty,—let there be no doubt,—be born into the Land of Bliss.

And, after having thus understood this,—they will, earnestly, in the profound conviction of the graciousness and excellence of the fact of their having thus been the recipients of the help, thus readily given, of Mida the Tathâgata,—whether they be sleeping or whether they be waking, continue to repeat “Namu Amida Butsu,” “Namu Amida Butsu.” Those are they who are termed the observers (practisers) of the remembrance of Buddha, who have obtained faith.

With much respect.

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*No 18. Of the Shöuin of our sect.*

The peace of mind, according to our system, which the Shönin discoursed of, consists in this:—Those who, simply putting aside the depth of the vile sinfulness of their own persons, and ceasing the observance of austerities and formalities, with singleness of mind, by the one remembrance, profoundly place their reliance on Amida the Tathâgata, by calling on Him to aid them for the life to come,—whether they be ten persons, then ten, or a hundred persons, then a hundred,—all, without exception, will He help,—of this there need be no manner of doubt. Those who truly possess this frame of mind are they who are called the observers (practisers) [of the remembrance of Buddha] who possess faith. And, thereafter, whenever they contemplate the happiness of their receiving His help for the life to come,—whether they be sleeping, or whether they be waking, such persons will chant “Namu-Amida Butsu,”—“Namu Amida Butsu.”

With much respect.

*No 19. Of evil men in the Latter Period.*

Now, in this Latter Period, let all sinful persons and women, with singleness of mind, profoundly place their reliance on Amida Buddha. Unless by doing so,—whatever law they may believe in,—there can certainly be no help for them for the life to come.

But, if it is asked, How shall we place reliance on Amida the Tathāgata, and ask His aid for the life to come, [I reply]:—There is nothing to be done; they who simply, in singleness of mind, place their reliance firmly on Amida the Tathāgata, and earnestly call on Him to aid them for the life to come,—let there not be the slightest doubt, to them will He assuredly afford His assistance.

With much respect.

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*No 20. Of women attaining Buddhahood.*

Well then,—all the persons of women who firmly place their reliance on Mida the Tathāgata, and call on Him to aid them for the world to come, of a surety will He aid.

For He is that Mida, who, thinking, 'Those women who are rejected by the multitude of the Buddhas, if 'I only, Amida, the Tathāgata, do not aid (save), who of the Buddhas will aid?' uttered the supreme Great Prayer, saying, 'I, surpassing the multitude of the Buddhas, shall aid (save) women;' and who, meditating during five Kalpas, and laboring (practising meritorious actions) throughout the interval of long Kalpas, uttered the Great Prayer surpassing the world,—uttered the supremely excellent Prayer whereby women may attain Buddhahood.

By reason of this, those women who place profound reliance on Mida, and call on Him for aid for the world to come, all, all will be born into the Land of Bliss.

With much respect.

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*No 21. Of a clear statement in a Sūtra Commentary.*

The peace of mind of our teaching is this:—Those sentient beings who, simply laying aside the practice of

austerities and formalities, and, however deep may be the sinful Karman (transgressions) attaching to their persons, leaving that to Buddha, with singleness of mind just place their reliance, by the one remembrance, on Amida the Tathâgata, and trust to Him to aid them,—be they ten persons, then ten, or be they a hundred persons, then a hundred,—all of them, let there not be the slightest particle of doubt, will He aid. Those persons who have thus believed, are they who are said to have well confirmed [their] peace of mind.

This meaning is that which is clearly conveyed in the Sûtra commentary, where it is said:—"To conceive the "one remembrance, and to enter the company of the steadfast;"—and again:—"They who have attained settled "Karman in this life." And thus, simply to place profound reliance on Mida Buddha, by the one remembrance, is to be considered the important thing.

And, furthermore, in contemplating the depth of the mercy of Mida the Tathâgata in having readily given us aid, whether while moving or while at rest, whether sitting up or lying down, we are continually to call Buddha to remembrance.

With much respect.

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*No 22. Of the gist of our exhortation.*

Now, those who, understanding precisely the gist of our exhortation, hope to be born into the Land of Bliss, must, in a word, know what is called faith by the power of Another. If it is asked:—For what is this which is called faith by the power of Another, of importance? [I reply]:—It is a provision for vile unenlightened persons like us being enabled to go without difficulty to the Pure Land. If it is asked, What is the condition of [those who have] this faith by the power of Another? [I reply]:—It is nothing but this:—When, earnestly, with singleness of mind, we place reliance only on Amida the Tathâgata, and utterance is given to the one remembrance in

the spirit of reliance on Him for aid,—then of a certainty will Mida the Tathāgata, emitting the radiance of reception, while our persons are in Shaba (i.e. "this (present) world of suffering,") preserve us in the midst of His radiance. This is, in effect, the condition of our having our salvation secured.

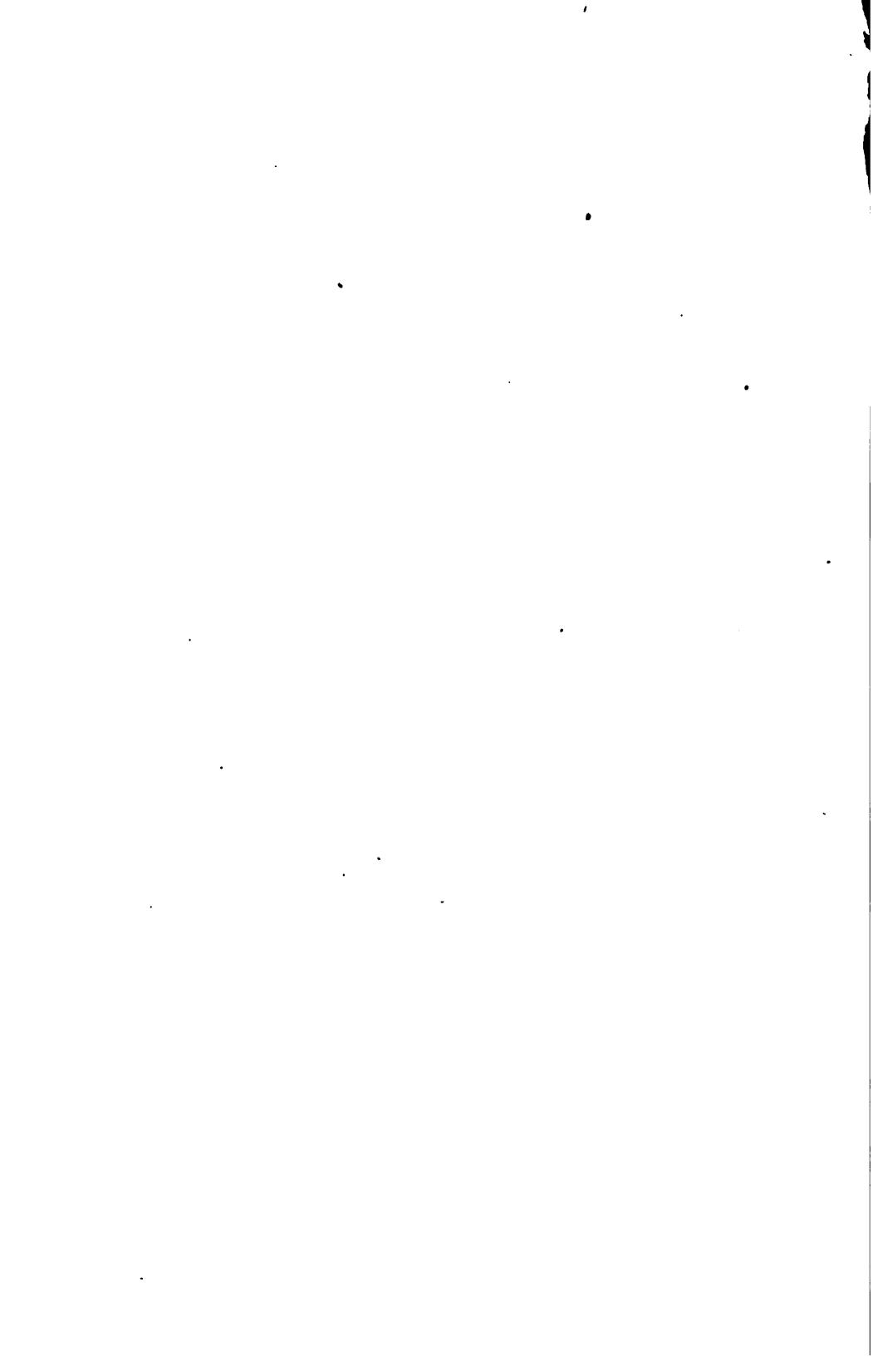
Thus the formula, 'Namu Amida Butsu,' expresses the condition of our having attained the faith which is by the power of Another. You must understand that this faith is the state which shows (embodies) the meaning of [the expression] 'Namu Amida Butsu.'

Thus there is no manner of doubt that, in virtue of our once having got this faith which is by the power of Another, we shall, without difficulty, be born into the Land of Bliss. How excellent is the Great Prayer of Mida the Tathāgata !

If you ask, How shall we exhibit our gratitude for this gracious mercy of Mida? [I reply]:—Simply, whether in our lying down or rising up, by chanting 'Namu Amida Butsu,' shall we exhibit our gratitude for this mercy of Buddha,—of Him, Mida the Tathāgata.

If it is asked, What is the meaning of our chanting 'Namu Amida Butsu?' [I reply]:—Think of it as a rejoicing in the thought of the graciousness and excellence of the help rendered by Amida the Tathāgata.

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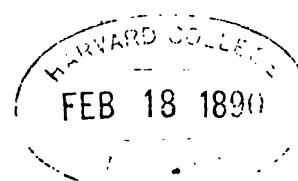
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# THEORY OF JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENTS.

BY

J. CONDER, F. R. I. B. A.

(*Read 13th March, 1889*).

The Art of arranging flowers has always been regarded in Japan as an elegant accomplishment, though by no means an effeminate one. It is true that the education of ladies of rank was not considered complete without the acquisition of some skill in composing with flowers, and the names of several noted *artistes* are found in the list of adepts. Far from being, however, exclusively a female accomplishment, the art has been principally practised by men of culture whose occupations have spared them leisure for æsthetic pursuits. Priests, philosophers, and men of rank who on account of declining years, or from political causes, had retired from a more active life have been its most enthusiastic patrons and devotees. As a close examination of the principles of Japanese floral design will shew, there is a bold and masculine vigour displayed in the best compositions which comes far more within the compass of the stronger than of the weaker sex.

High estimation in which the art has been held.

The high esteem in which the art has been held is illustrated by the following ten virtues or merits attributed to those engaged in its pursuit, namely.—

*Koishikko.* The privilege of associating with superiors.

*Seijōjō jōkō.* Ease and dignity before men of rank.

*Muitannen.* A serene disposition and forgetfulness of cares.

*Dokuraku ni katarazu.* Amusement in solitude.

*Sōmoku meichi.* Familiarity with the nature of plants and trees.

*Shujin aikiō.* The respect of mankind.

*Chobo furiu.* Constant gentleness of character.

*Seikōn gōjō.* Healthiness of mind and body.

*Shimbutsu haizō.* A religious spirit.

*Showaku ribetsu.* Self abnegation and restraint.

Comprehen-  
siveness  
of  
the term *hana*  
(flower).

It must be premised that the Japanese term *hana*, translatable as *flower*, is applied in the art under consideration in a somewhat extended sense. To those familiar only with European floral arrangements the word *flower* would suggest the blossoms alone, or the blossoms with only so much of their stems as were essential to keep them together in a bunch, and with perhaps the addition of sufficient greenery to shew off the mass of brighter colour. The term *hana*, on the other hand, includes the blossom-clad stems and branches of flowering plants and trees, and even the stumps and branches of flowerless trees and shrubs. The blossom is regarded as but one detail of the composition, of little artistic value dis-associated from the parent stem, and from those lines of growth which impart to it its

character. The branches of certain evergreens and other flowerless trees and plants hold the highest rank among flowers, such for example as the *pine*, the *cedar*, the *fir* and the *maple*.

The balance and beauty of lines in combination is *par excellence* the distinguishing feature of Japanese floral compositions and one which gives much scope for the display of skill and character in designing. Indeed, throughout the refined arts, as expressed by the Japanese, this predominant importance of line is everywhere observed. In the representation of objects in painting, where line is strictly speaking merely a conventional means of delineating the boundary of forms, such lines have been found capable of a variety of expression. Line in Japanese, more than in any other style of painting, has developed a distinctive power of its own, and become a vehicle for conveying the spirit and character of the painter. Sometimes the intrinsic qualities of line have been revelled, in to the utter neglect of realism of representation, in which case it is natural that the result should be condemned by those incapable of appreciating the *language of line*, and conscious only of the departure from realism. The *language of line* is only a stereotyped form of what we may call the *poetry of motion*. The Japanese fascination for lines of motion is observable in the dancing art. Here, whether it be in the flowing lines of female posturings, or in the more vigorous and angular movements of male dancers, the charm of the art lies in the rythmical succession and balance of lines or motions of different character. The leaping cascade, the rushing torrent, curling waves, floating mists, and similar evanescent forms have in Japanese art received a simple interpretation in lines which convey an unmis-

Importance of  
line in flower  
compositions.

takable impression of their form, motion, and force. This slight digression has been thought necessary in order to point out the importance of line in Japanese compositions, and to shew how the people of this country possess a very keen perception for the lines of beauty and harmony which underlie many natural forms. The European florist concerns himself with no such lineal distribution in his flower compositions. Mass, colour, and geometrical arrangements of the same, according to certain arbitrary rules of harmony and taste, alone receive his attention. The stems are used only to be hidden, and with the sole purpose of keeping the blossoms in their place, and leaves are interposed merely to enhance the brighter colours, and without any regard for their connections with the flowers between which they are bound. In studying, therefore, the principles of Japanese floral arrangements it is necessary to rid one's mind entirely of all preconceived ideas of flower compositions according to western standards.

Indian and  
religious ori-  
gin of flower  
arrangements.

The artistic arrangement of flowering branches and plants in vases and other receptables is attributed by certain Japanese writers to an Indian and religious origin. The same Buddhist doctrine which forbade the wanton sacrifice of animal life is said to have suggested the gathering of flowers, liable to rapid destruction in a tropical climate, and prolonging their life by careful preservation. The existence of such a theory would seem to shew that some form of the art was first introduced into this country with the adoption of the Buddhist faith, and then not so much as a part of its ritual, as forming a pious pastime of its devotees. Several stories are preserved relating to the early practice of arranging flowers by Buddhist priests of distinc-

tion. Shotoku Taishi, when a child, amused himself by disposing plants in seven separate vessels, classifying them according to their natural growth, as *Land Plant*, *Land Tree*, *Forest Plant*, *Forest Tree*, *Mountain Plant*, *Mountain Tree* and *Water Plant*, and designating them respectively as Heaven, Earth, Man, Sun, Moon, Planet and Star. In later times the priest Meikei Shonin is said to have adopted a similar seven-fold arrangement using the names of the five terrestrial elements, *fire*, *earth*, *metal*, *water*, and *wood* in combination with the male and female principles respectively called by the Japanese *In* and *Yo*. Both of these stories are related in explanation of the use of seven lines of distribution as being the most perfect number for flower compositions. They also serve to illustrate a certain philosophical spirit which underlies the whole of the art. Those distinctions of growth observed in the child-like arrangements of Shotoku are moreover characteristic of the logic of design as followed in all later compositions. The natural locality of production, whether it be mountain, plain, or river, is never lost sight of even in the most artificial arrangements.

The earliest known method of arranging flowers in a single composition went by the name of *Shin-no-hana* and consisted of a formal disposition of various branches and leaves about a stiff and vertical central stem, (see Plates 1a and 1b). Branches were used in their natural form as cut and fastened together in balancing masses; but the idea of imparting graceful curves and harmonious lines to the composition by artificial means was as yet undeveloped. The *Shin-no-hana* method of arrangement is still used for religious flower offerings placed before shrines.

Earliest forms  
of the art.

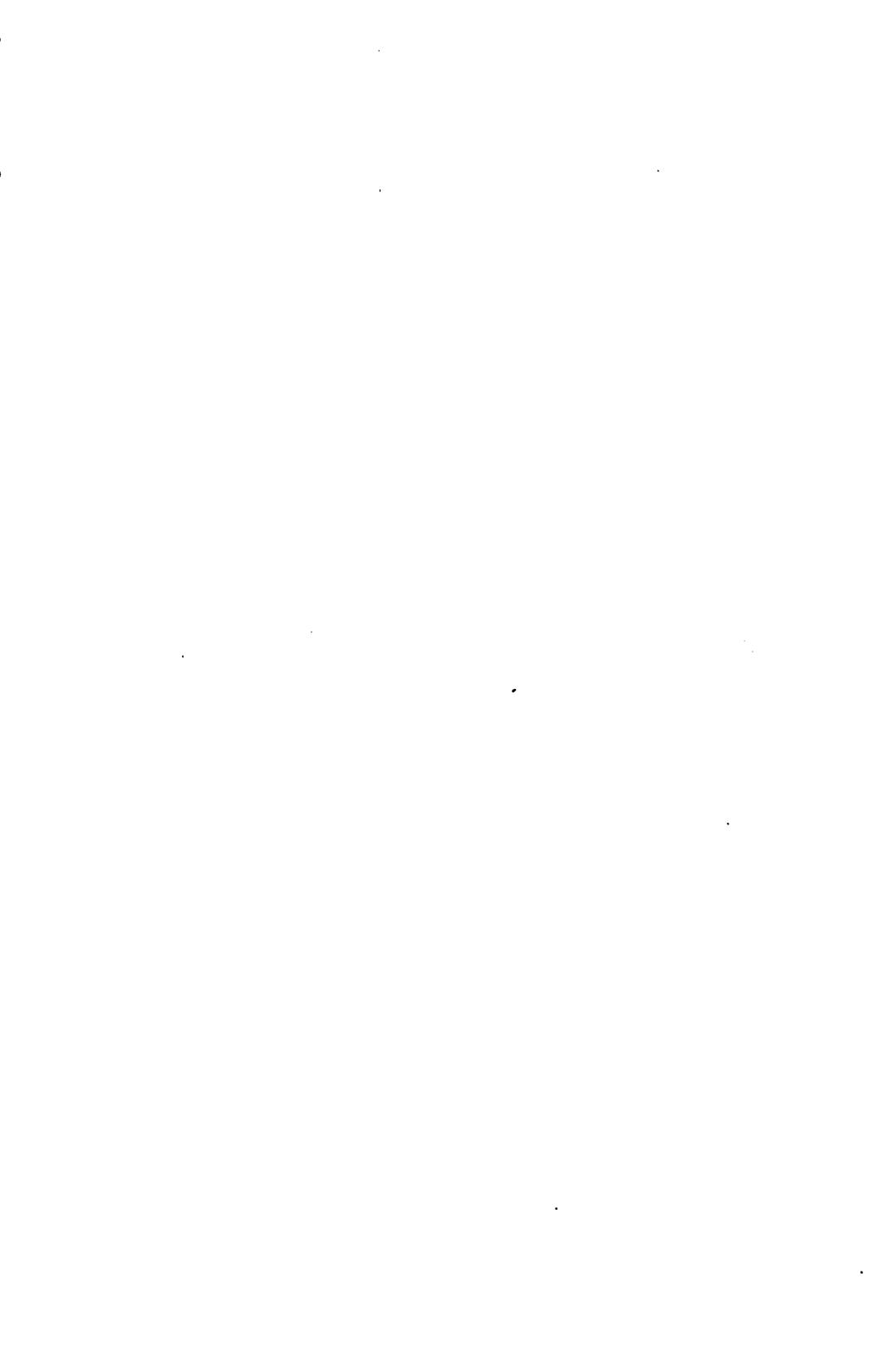
*Shin-no-hana*  
style.

*Rikkwa* style.

A somewhat similar style, differing chiefly in the disposal of the central stem, and going by the name of *Rikkwa*, was also followed at this time. Whereas in the *Shin-no-hana* the principal line was central and vertical, in the *Rikkwa* it was invariably bent and out of centre. (see Plate 2) In these early styles the use of large stumps of trees to form the principal line or lines was customary, and in some examples, arranged in broad vessels, the composition resembled rather a kind of miniature gardening than a composition of flowers. Heavy branched trunks of willow, pine, and plum trees were grouped together with plants and grasses added at their base in imitation of the grouping of natural vegetation. Unlike the later and more refined flower arrangements both of these early methods were distinguished by the mixture of a great variety of materials. The different lines of a composition distinguished by such terms as *centre*, *sub-centre*, *support*, and *secondary support*, were respectively formed of a branch of different growth. Some of these were in full leaf or flower, and others purposely light and spare in character, the chief object aimed at being variety and a judicious balance of contrasting forms. In the use of large leaves, which formed an important part of such compositions, careful attention was bestowed upon the bend and direction of their surfaces so as to reveal front and back in well balanced contrast. The proportion which the length of the principal line or centre held to the height of the vessel and to the width of the alcove in which it was placed, as well as the proportions between such centre and the various subsidiary lines of the composition were relatively established. The technical details of these primitive styles are elaborately treated in certain

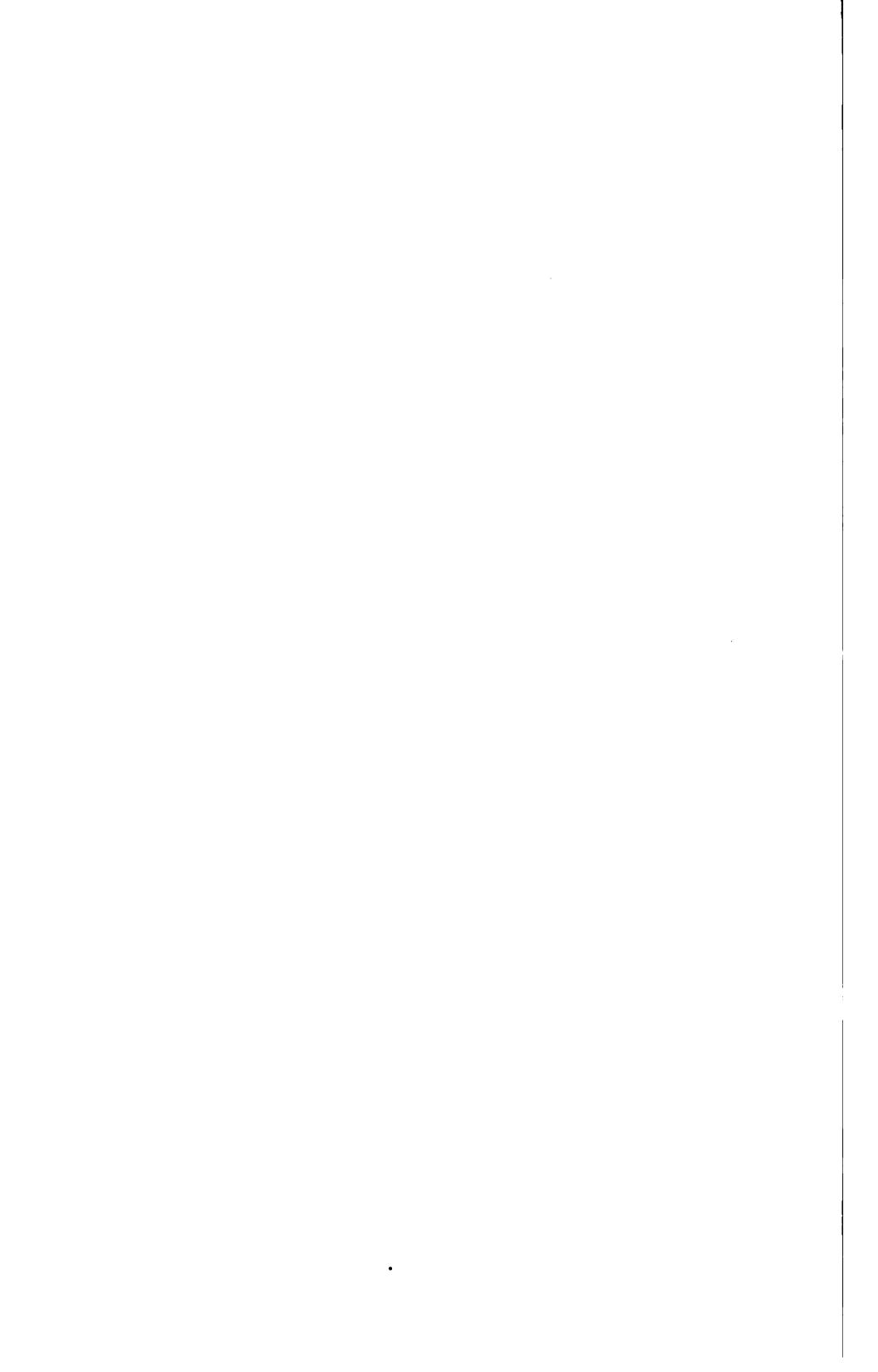
Relative proportioning of lines.





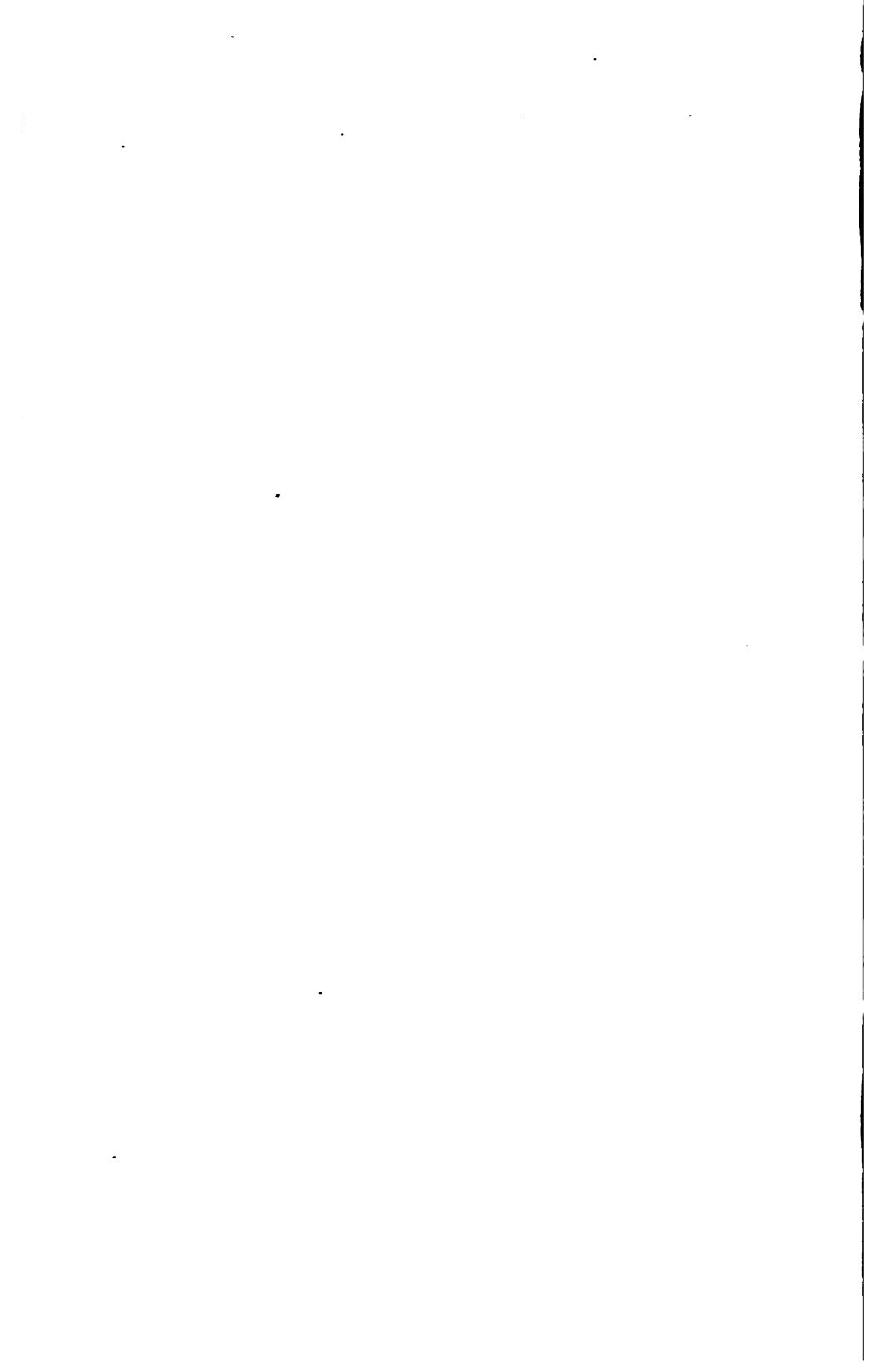


Early style of flow





Early style of flo



old books, but their consideration will better follow than precede a study of the later and more artistic methods.

To the famous philosopher Sen no Rikiu is attributed the introduction of the more modern art. The style which he followed is called the *Korin* and from it have sprung the later schools, among which are the *Enshiu Riu*, *Shinsho Riu*, *Sekishiu Riu*, *Jikkei Riu*, *Mishō Riu*, *Kōdō Riu*, and *Seizan Riu*. These schools owe their names to new teachers and differ principally in their theories and philosophy, though there is a considerable similarity in their results. Each school moreover possessed certain secret traditions of its own called *Hidden* which were jealously guarded and imparted only to those who had attained great proficiency in the art.

The later schools.

It is proposed in the following paper to consider principally the *Enshiu* style of flower arrangement, this being at the same time the most elaborate and most popular of the more modern schools.

The *Enshiu Riu* was originated by a retainer of the Shogun Ieyasu called Kobori Tōtōmi no Kami, a *hatamoto* of the province Omi. He was a distinguished professor of the Tea Ceremorial (*Cha no yu*) and became teacher of this accomplishment to the Shogun's heir Iyemitsu. As a tea professor (*chajin*) he was known under the title of *Sōhō*. Compared with some of the other styles the *Enshiu Riu* is characterised by a greater degree of artificiality in its arrangements, by which is meant, that the materials employed are subjected to more elaborate manipulation in building into compositions, and the leading lines of the designs produced are distinguished by a greater amount of artistic affectation. Notwithstanding however the pre-

The Enshiu style.

dominance of such artificiality, a leading principle insisted on in flower compositions of this school, is a due regard for the natural habits of growth and for the varying characteristics displayed by the same plants at different seasons. The whole ethics of the art are founded upon a devoted observance of natural laws and natural beauty and appropriateness, but there is little or no attempt to deceive by resorting to a slavish imitation where the result might be unsatisfactory and even abortive. In the main construction of parts an almost architectural conventionality is applied, which, while honestly proclaiming the compositions as works of well studied artifice, at the same time calls for admiration in as much as it is founded upon principles of proportion and harmony which nature itself reveals in numerous

*Three governing principles.* creations. The *Enshiu* school insist on three principles, called the *San-gi*, to be observed in all flower arrangements. The first called *Kioku* is the art of giving feeling and expression to compositions, the second called *Shitsu* is the art of conveying the particular nature of the growth, and the third called *Yi* refers to the principle of keeping in mind the particular season, in the proper use of buds, open flowers, withered leaves, dew, etc.

As previously stated an analysis of flower compositions shews that the lines or directions taken by different stems or branches form the basis of all arrangements. Technically the surface of the water in which the flowers are placed is regarded as the soil from which the artificial group is supposed to spring. The composer must here convey the impression of a stable and vigorous origin. There is here no actual intention to deceive by a futile attempt to represent the soil within the narrow limits of a slender

*Treatment of stems at their base or origin.*

vessel, but the principle laid down for observance is one founded upon the law of natural growth for the reason that its violation would produce an impression of weakness and want of vitality. The directions of such origin need not be always strictly vertical, but if curved, the curves employed must be strong and all weak bends and angles studiously avoided. As a composition generally consists of several lines there will be several lines of *springing* or origin. In some cases these are united in one continuous *springing* technically called *Ne-jime*, in other cases they are kept separate and apart, in a manner termed *Ne-wake*. There is also another term called *Sashi-wake*, used when the stems are united at their extreme base but separated almost immediately above.

In the arrangement of the principal lines of the composition above the base the artist studiously avoids an equal sided or symmetrical distribution, but he obtains by means of varied forms a well balanced whole. This harmony and balance without resort to symmetry, though existing in the best periods of the arts of all peoples, demands here some observation, inasmuch as, when occurring in Japanese designs it has been criticised by some as *irregular* and *bizarre*, and by others has been lauded as peculiarly unique. Symmetry, which has come to be the bye word of the ignorant in matters of art, is after all a highly unnatural and mechanical method of balancing forms in a composition. In nature, the great model of all art, symmetry nowhere exists, but everywhere, whether it be in the lines and masses of the mountains, or even in the proportions of the fingers of the human hand, a harmony and balance is discoverable more recondite but far more beautiful. Variety

Distribution  
of the princi-  
pal lines of a  
flower compo-  
sition.

in harmony is the leading principle of Japanese design, as it was in early Christian and even in Pagan art, notwithstanding those few purely symmetrical examples which remain.

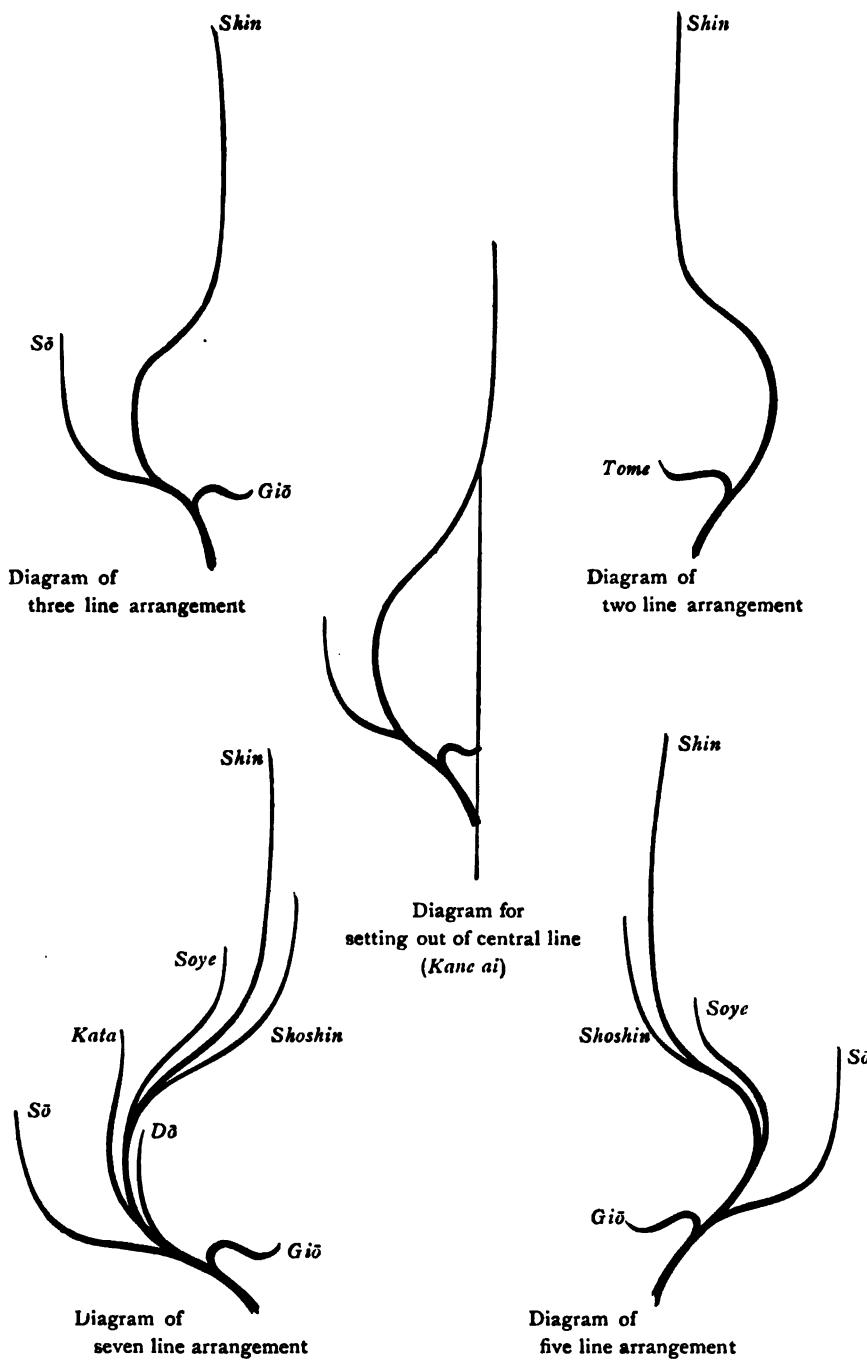
In the flower compositions under consideration, the lines of each stem, or more properly speaking, the central lines of each group of stems, receive first attention. Such lines generally consist of any number from three to seven (see Plate 3). Single line and double line compositions as well as those exceeding seven in number are sometimes made, but they are comparatively exceptional. The triple arrangement is a favourite and very characteristic one, as it contains the three radical lines of *Shin*, *Giō*, and *Sō*, additional lines being more or less auxiliary to these. These terms of *Shin* *Giō* and *Sō* are used by the Japanese in many of their arts to denote different degrees of elaboration.\* The *Shin* is the most central and longest line of the composition and is arranged in a double curve with the upper extremity vertical and perpendicularly in a line with the base. As this base is also vertical for a certain height above its origin, the general form assumed by the *Shin* is somewhat that of an English archer's bow. The *Sō* should be one half and the *Giō* one quarter of the *Shin* in length, supposing all three to be straightened out. Both of these lines usually coincide for some little distance from their origin with the base line of the *Shin* and then curve off in different directions. The character of these curves vary in different designs but as a general rule the *Sō* has a more vertical and the *Giō* a more lateral tendency (see Plate 4).

*Five lined arrangement.* In the five line arrangement two additional lines are introduced, one between the *Shin* and

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\* See paper by the same author on Japanese Landscape gardening.

PLATE 3.



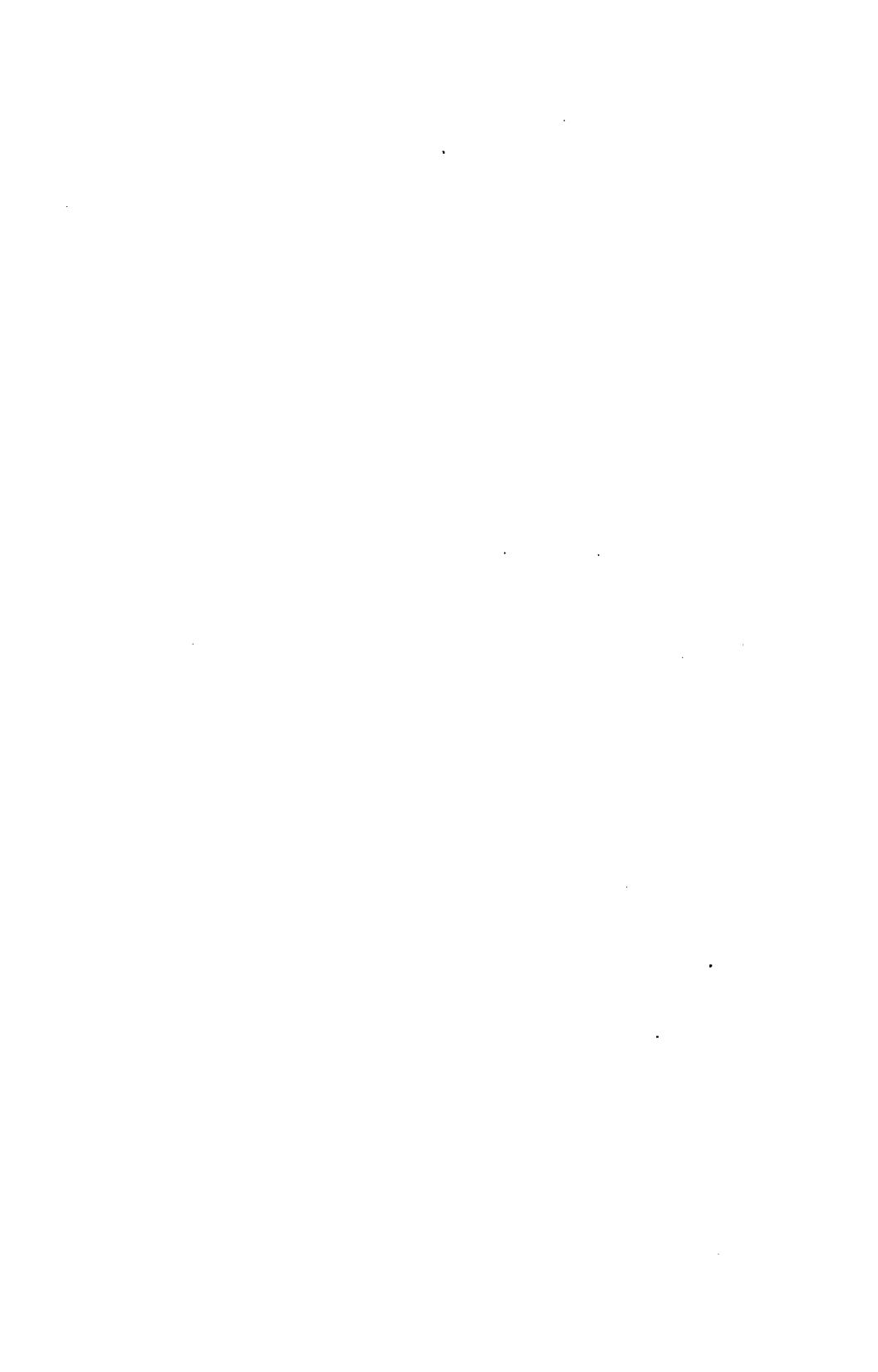
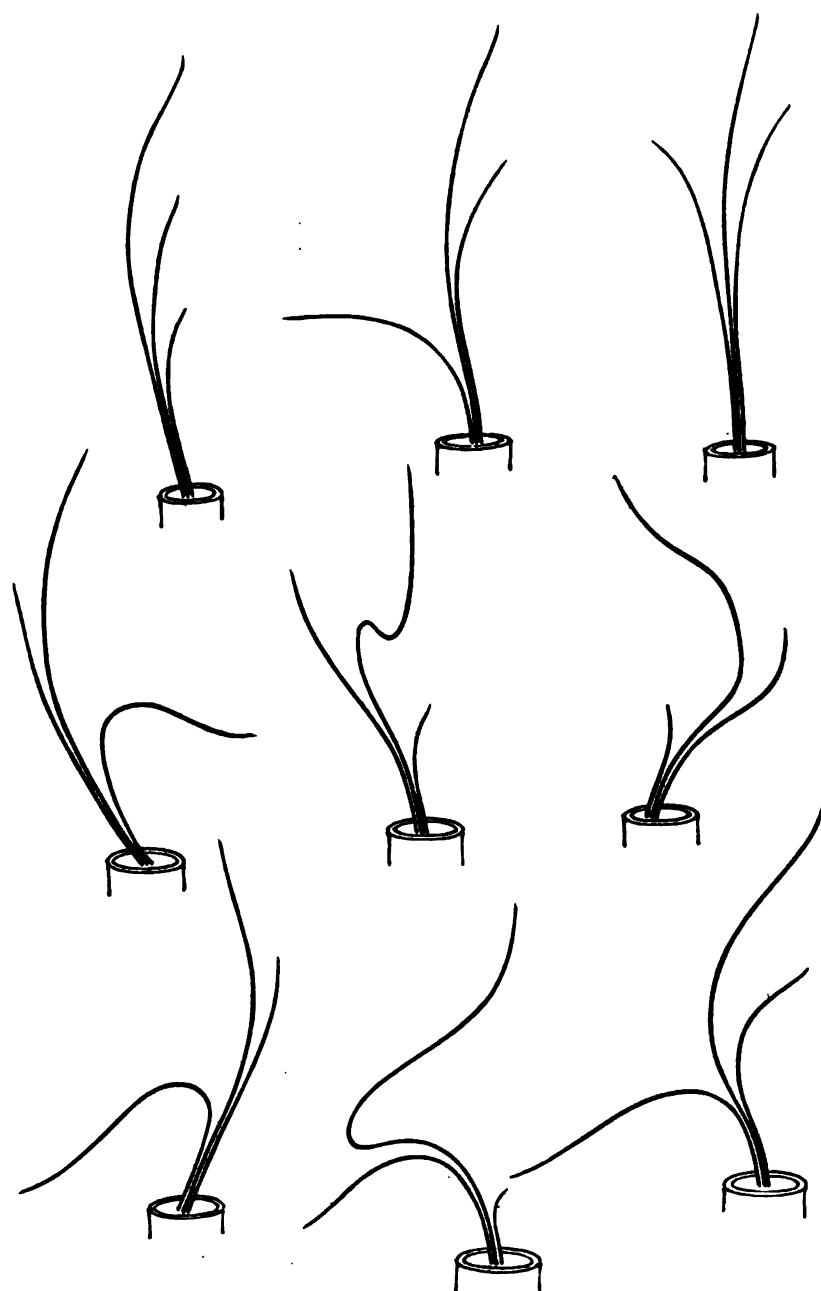


PLATE 4.



Various lineal distributions for three main lines.



*Sō* called the *Soye* (support), and the other between the *Shin* and *Giō* called the *Shoshin* (sub-centre). To these additional lines are given different intermediary lengths, and such curves as are best calculated to fill the intervals they occupy, with due regard to variety.

In the seven lined arrangement still two extra members are added, one called the *Kata* [side (piece)] between the *Soye* and the *Sō*, and the other called the *Dō* [trunk (piece)] between the *Shoshin* and the *Giō*. The different members of the above triple and quintuple arrangements have other fancy names bestowed on them by the different schools. For the triple arrangement such terms of relation as *Chichi* (Father) *Haha* (Mother) *Onore* (self), or *Ten* (Heaven) *Chi* (Earth) *Hito* (Mankind), are used. For the quintuple form, *Chiuwō* (Centre) *Kita* (North) *Minami* (South) *Higashi* (East) *Nishi* (West), also *Tsuchi* (Earth) *Hi* (Fire) *Mizu* (Water) *Kane* (Metal) *Ki* (Wood), also *Ki-iyo* (Yellow) *Aka* (Red) *Kuro* (Black) *Shiro* (White) *Ao* (Blue) are all employed. The *Enshiu* school also apply the following terms to the five principal lines of a composition associating with them the accompanying ideas. *Shin* to represent the *heart*, *Soye* to represent *help* or *support*, *Uke* to represent the *guest*, *Kioku* to indicate *skill*, and *Tome* to express the *last touch* or *finish*. A bilineal arrangement sometimes employed receives for its separate branches the nomenclature of *Ten* (Heaven), and *Chi* (Earth), or an alternative nomenclature is *Yō* (Male), and *In* (Female).

The general form of the above groups of three, five, and seven lines depends mainly on the amount of curvature given to the *Shin* or centre-most line. In the simpler and less affected styles this curvature is slight and strong, but in

Seven lined arrangement.

Nomenclature.

Curvature of line.

the Enshiu school of design .this central stem is boldly bent side-ways from a point a few inches above the *springing*, and curved back again above so as to bring the upper extremely vertically above the base, in such a way as to preserve its centre of gravity. The general form thus imparted is, as mentioned above, somewhat that of an English bow when strung. From such a shape the transition is not great to that produced in the arc of a bow by drawing it, a more violent lateral curvature with less vertical height being produced. This latter form is given to the *Shin* chiefly when used in positions where two much height would meet with actual or optical obstructions and be detrimental to a good effect. In flower arrangements placed below a shelf, or in front of a hanging picture the central line is often thus treated. This modification necessitates corresponding changes in the directions of the other supporting and auxiliary lines of the composition.

Returning to the simple triple arrangement, the *Giō* or shorter auxiliary line occupies the space within the hollow of the bow, being lowered in consequence, and the *Sō*, or longer of the two, forms a counterpoise for the space on the convex side of the bow, having, by way of compensation, greater length and a more upward bearing than the *Giō*. To each is imparted a graceful double curve having a more or less upward tendency. Other varieties of lineal distribution imparted to the three principal lines are shewn in Plate 4. In those compositions which, for reasons above stated are depressed and have a more lateral sweep of curvature given to their centre, one or other of the auxiliary lines receives a decided droop and a proportionate lengthening in order to emphasize the droop. Such drooping lines are

technically called *Nagashi* which in the present context we shall translate as *streamer*, see (Plate 5.)

The *streamer* character may be imparted to either of the auxiliary lines, but redundancy must be avoided, and it is regarded as a fatal error to introduce *streamers* on both sides of a composition. The *streamer* is very much used for arrangements in suspended vessels, in bamboo vases with side mouths, or in receptacles placed upon raised shelves. The prevailing sentiment in each of these cases is that the composition must be suggestive of the wild growth on the edge of a bank or cliff over which the *streamer* hangs.

Drooping lines or streamers.

The remaining auxiliary lines added to produce the five and seven lined compositions have no special rules laid down as to their length or distribution. Each fresh line added to the right is complementary to its partner on the left but similarity and symmetry are carefully avoided.

Up to the present we have alluded to the different lines of a composition as if existing in one vertical plane parallel to the spectator, but in reality, in addition to the vertical and lateral directions mentioned, they have also other directions of varying degrees forward or backward. In other words the extremities of these lines would be enclosed by a solid and not by a plane figure. These directions are best explained by supposing a bundle of stems arranged in an upright vase of octagonal plan, and designating the different facets of the vase respectively as North, North East, East, South East, South, South West, West, North West. (see Plate 6). Then imagining the South face of the vessel to be immediately facing the spectator, and bearing in mind that all the stems coincide for some little distance from their origin the direc-

Cardinal direction of lines.

tions which they take after separation would be as follows. The *Shin* bends N.E., the *Giō* S.E., the *Sō*. S.W. the *Shoshin*, which is between the *Shin* and *Giō*, bends E., the *Soye* between the *Shin* and *Sō* terminates centrally, the *Kata* an extra branch on the left bends W. and the *Dō*, its complement on the right N.E.

Thus it will be seen that although flower compositions are designed chiefly with a view to their being seen from one point of view immediately in front of the *Toko-no-ma*, all tendency to flatness is avoided and the general effect from points to the right and left are also taken into consideration to some extent.

Errors in  
lineal arrange-  
ment.

Certain errors are pointed out to be carefully avoided in arranging the lines of such compositions, (see Plate 7.) The first error is that of *cross-cutting* produced by allowing the different lines of a composition visually to intersect one another so as to form cross angles. Another fault, called *view-cutting* is when the smaller stems of a branch cross-cut the parent branch. This, though usually deprecated, is allowed for certain trees, as for example the Plum, in which such intercrossing is a distinctive characteristic of the growth. Another error called *parallelism* occurs when two or more stems of equal length run exactly parallel to one-another. *Window-cutting* is the term applied to an error occasioned by allowing branches or stems to cross in curves so as to form looped openings. *Lattice-cutting* is a fault produced when numerous stems cross in such a way as to suggest lattice or trellis work. Another error before mentioned is the use of the *double streamer*, that is, a *Nagashi*, or *streamer* placed on both sides of the same composition.

Manipula-  
tion.

The various lines or directions imparted to plants and branches of trees on the above prin-

PLATE 5.

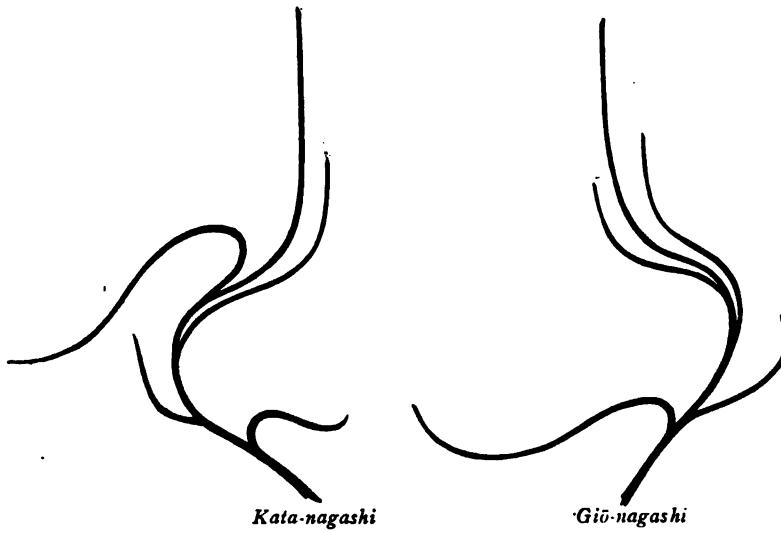
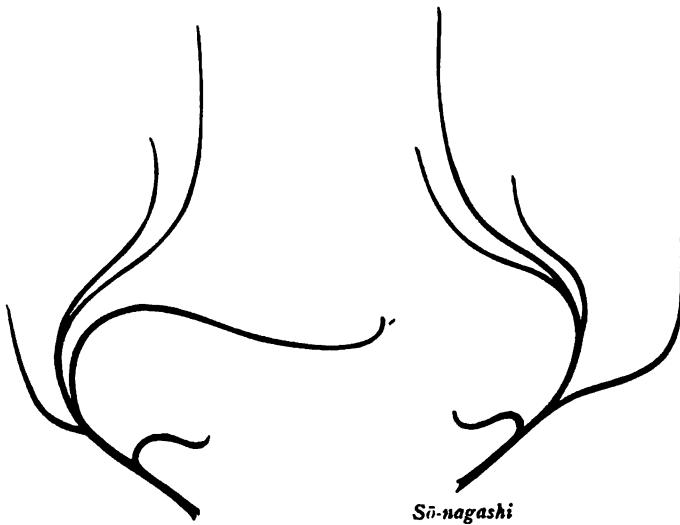




PLATE 6.

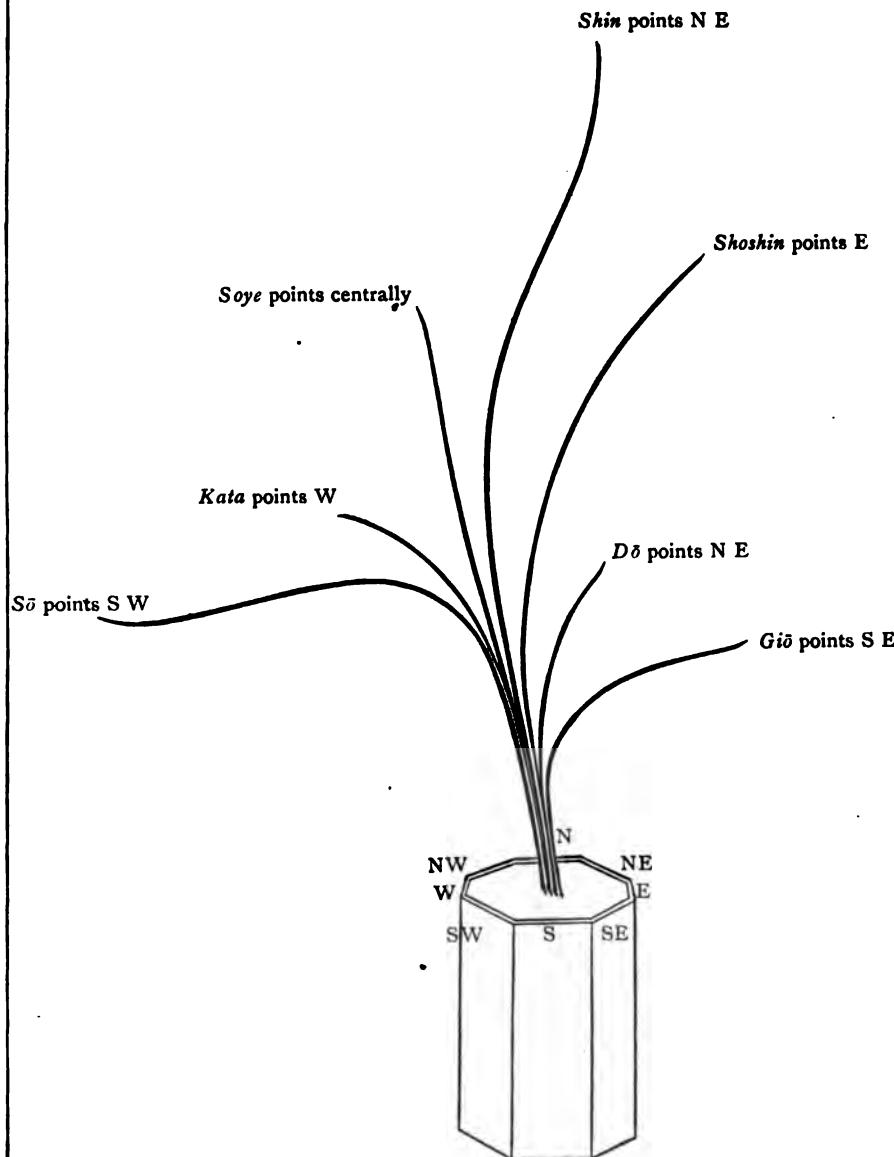
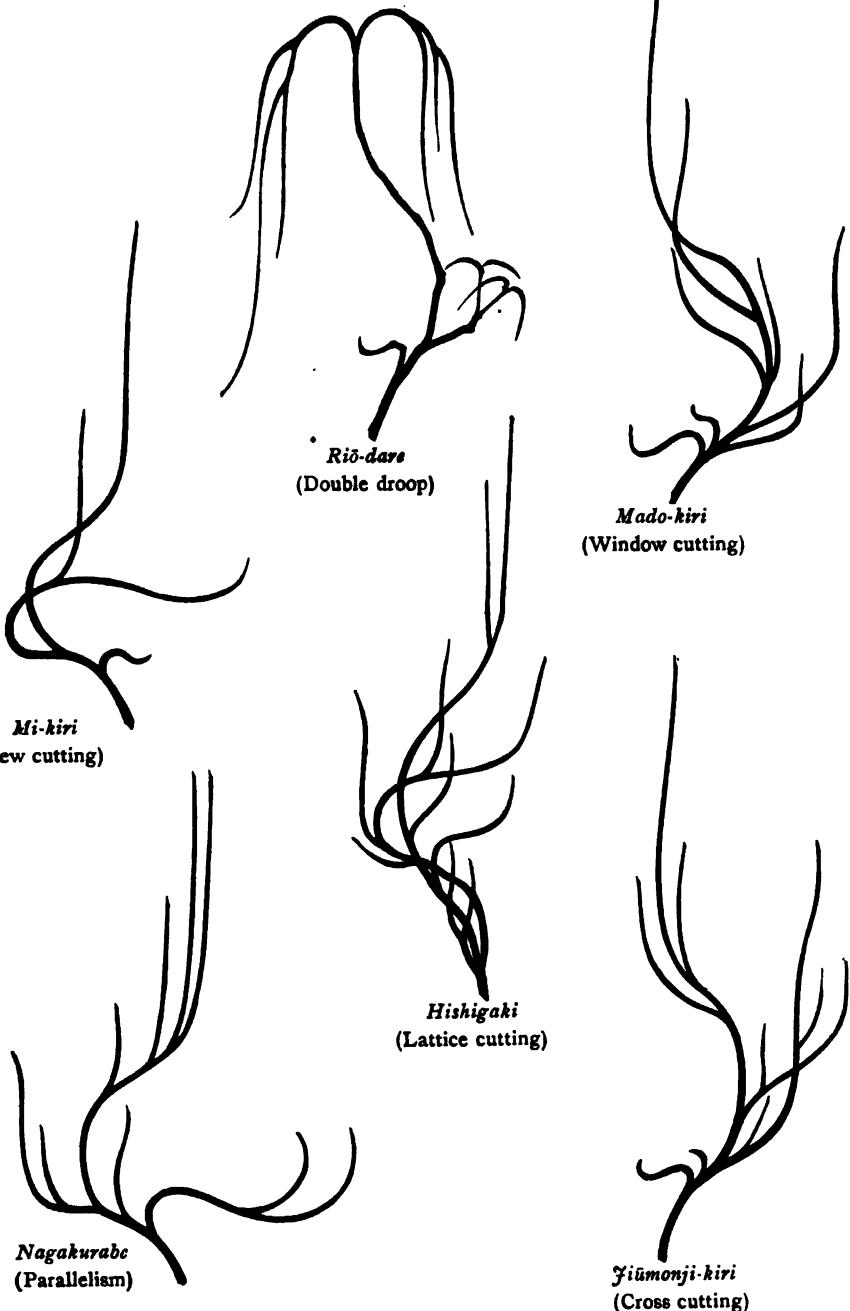
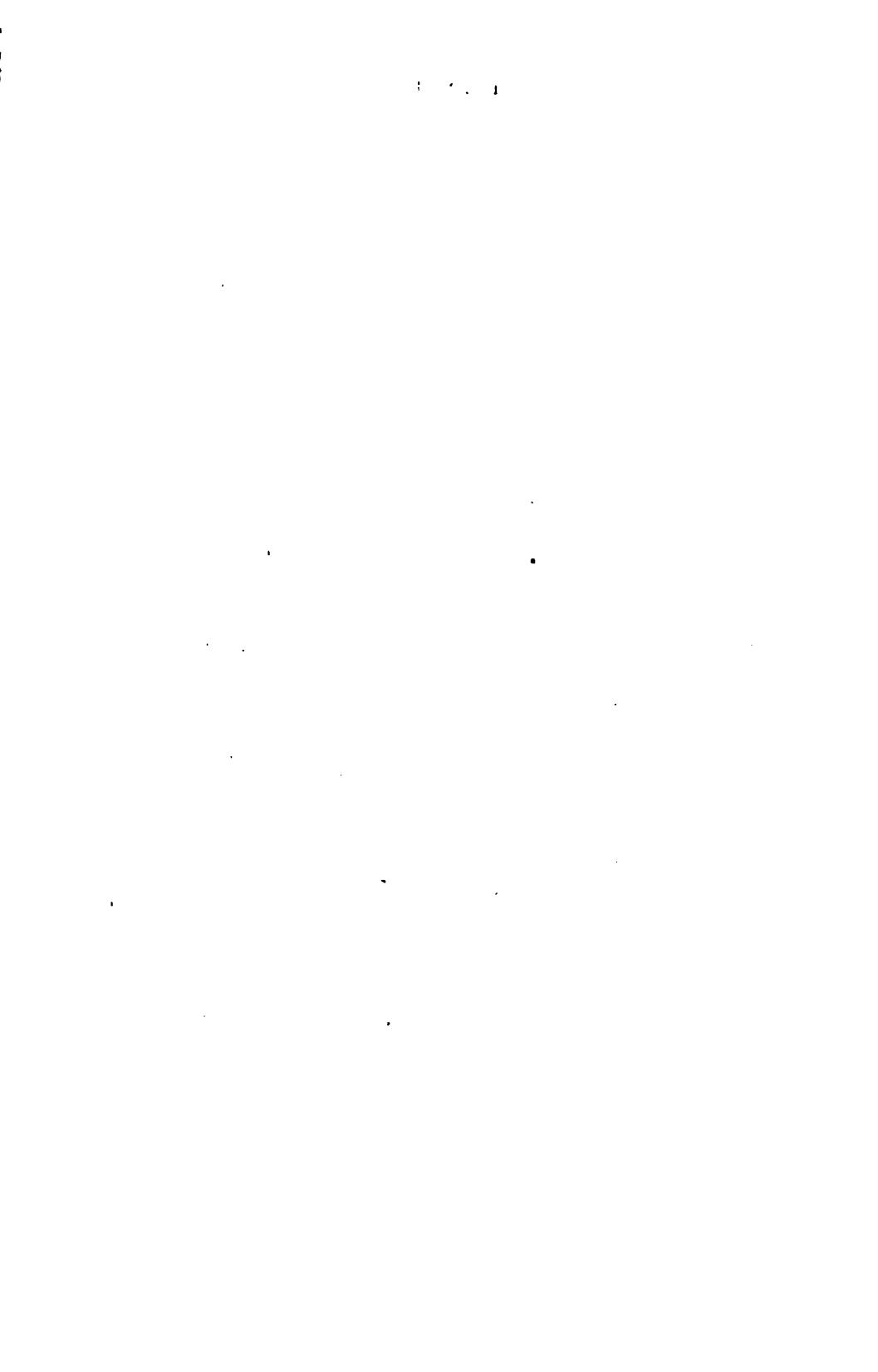


Diagram shewing cardinal direction of stem lines in a flower arrangement.



PLATE 7.





ciples of disposition are obtained first by a careful selection of suitable material, then by twisting, bending, and building together, and lastly by means of the cutting and clipping off of defective parts. Special methods of manipulation will be afterwards considered. It is admitted that such bending bruising and forcing into arbitrary shapes considerably injures the vitality of the branches, but it is nevertheless laid down as a ruling principle of the Enshiu school that art must aid nature in such compositions even at the expense of shortening vitality. To those who condemn what they term excessive artificiality in this respect as a violation of nature, it is explained that the conditions and surroundings of free natural growth are entirely different from those existing when branches are detached from their parent trunk and combined for the embellishment of architectural interiors. Nudity, one writer points out, is the *natural* condition of human birth, but none the less do the conditions of human existence require that we should attire ourselves in becoming clothing.

Intimately connected with the character of flower compositions as well as with the different methods of technique, is the form of the vessel used. These vessels are of a diversity of shapes and of different materials. The most ancient form in use was a long-necked vase of earthenware or bronze called *Kwa-bin*: and when such a vessel was employed the flower arrangement was made proportionately high. It is recorded that the difficulty of balancing such high arrangements led to the use of broader and shorter vases and to a corresponding lowering of the composition. This is an interesting tradition as shewing that, from the earliest times, a recognised proportion existed between the floral group and the

Flower ves-  
sels.

vessel in which it was placed. The ordinary wide mouthed bronze vases called *Hana-ike* of which a legion of different shapes exist (see Plate 8) are said to have been originally suggested by certain Buddhist characters called by the Japanese *Bon-ji*, the character for *great* being a favourite model. This story, fictitious though it sounds, is worthy of note as pointing further to the religious origin of flower arrangements. These bronze *Hana-ike* are sometimes of considerable height with a long and wide neck and oval or globular body; sometimes they are merely broad shallow pans of saucer or trumpet mouthed shape, supported upon a solid casting, representing rocks, water, spray, or some animal group. Numerous examples are given in *Plates 8 and 9*.

Flower tube  
and bowls.

Low tub-like vessels called *Usu-bata* also came into use from quite early times, being employed chiefly for arrangements of water plants and grasses (see Plate 10). Of the *Usu-bata* there are two principal kinds one called *Suna-bachi* (Sand bowl) and the other called *Ba-darai* (Horse tub). The *Suna-bachi* is a broad shallow square vessel generally of bronze, which contains a layer of pebbles or sand, in which the extremities of the stems are placed; the shapes are various. The *Ba-darai* is a shallow circular or oval tub-shaped vessel used in a similar manner to the *Suna-bachi*.

Flower bas-  
kets.

The famous Yoshimasa is said to have been the first to employ the *Kago*, a woven bamboo or reed basket of Chinese origin, as a receptacle for flowers (see Plate 11). These Chinese baskets were much prized in Japan and it is stated that a Chinese artizan named Hakoji first commenced their manufacture in this country. He presented one of his own make to the retainers of Yoshimasa, accompanying the present with a

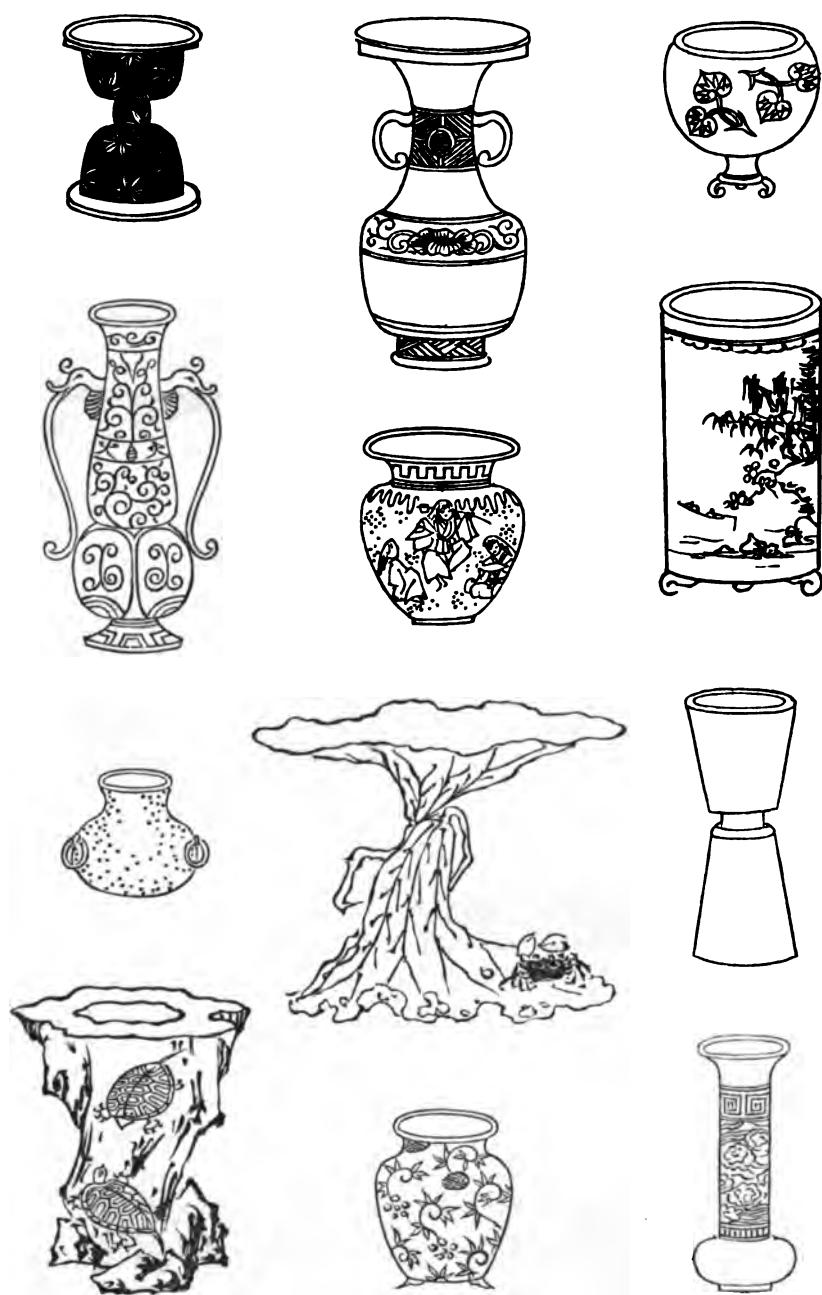
PLATE 8.



Various designs for wide mouthed bronze vases (*Hana ike*)



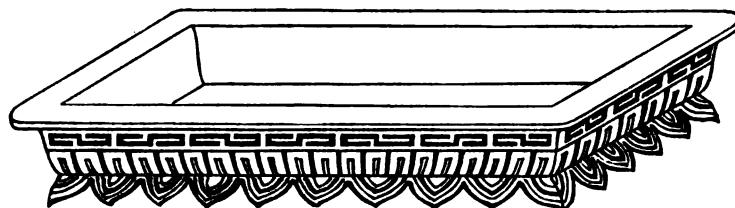
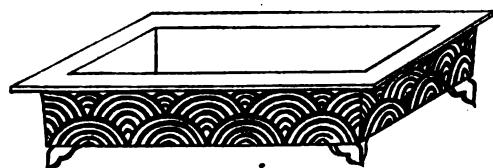
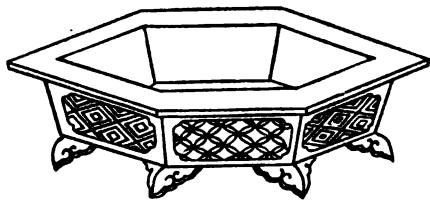
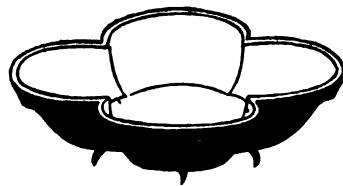
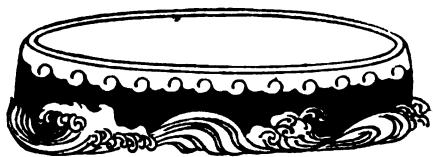
PLATE 9.



Miscellaneous bronze vases (*hana ike*)



PLATE 10.



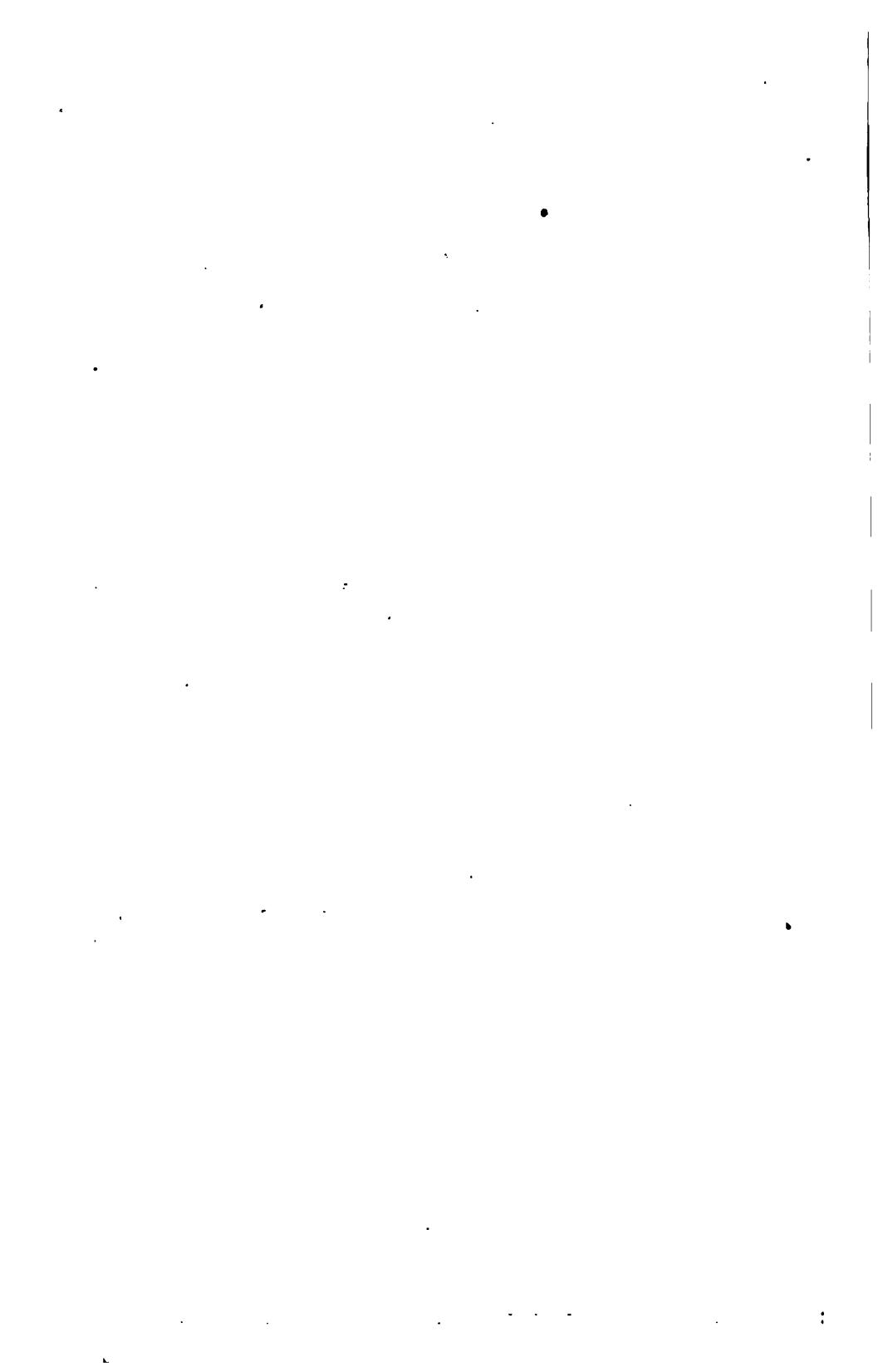
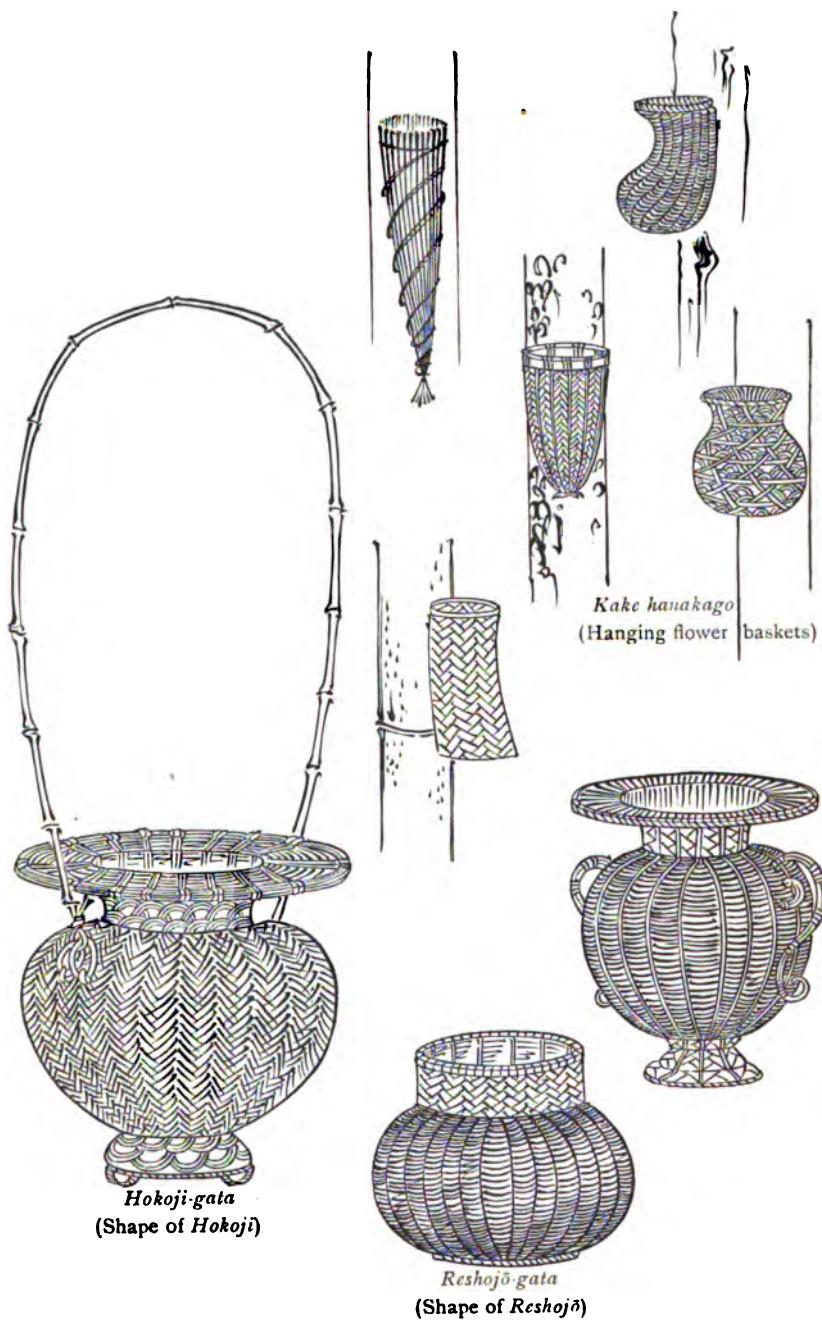


PLATE II.



Standing and hanging flower baskets (*hana kago*)



humble request that so unworthy an object should be embellished by an ornamental stand when placed before the Regent. Yoshimasa, it is said, was so pleased with its simple elegance that he ordered it to be placed immediately upon the polished dais without any stand or tray. Hence the custom of dispensing with the stand or tray used under all such flower vessels. *Hakoji* returned to his mountain cottage and continued his occupation of basket making with the assistance of his daughter *Reshojō* who herself originated a basket of somewhat different shape. Hence the two kinds of flower *Kago*, the one called *Hakoji gata*, and the other *Reshojō gata*.

The *Hakoji gata Kago* is characterised by a large oval handle arching over the top, and the *Reshojō gata* has no handle. When flowers are arranged in a *Kago* tubes of bamboo, containing the water and in which the stems are fixed, are concealed within.

To Yoshimasa's patronage is also attributed the first use of bamboo flower vases. As first introduced these consisted of simple cylinders of thick bamboo about a foot or more in height and four or five inches in diameter, the bottom being closed by a natural knot. The facility with which such vases could be cut into different shapes led to the invention of a variety of forms each bearing a different name and specially adapted for different styles of arrangement. Portions of the sides were notched out from the top and side apertures were introduced, sometimes in several stages. The following is a list of some of the principal varieties.

Bamboo  
vases.

1 *Shishi guchi gata*. Lion's mouth shape.

Plate 14

2 *Tabi makura gata*. Travelling pillow shape.

3 *Fukurokuju gata*. Named after an  
imaginary sage renowned for his  
long cranium. Plate 12

4 *Kara mon gata*. Chinese gate  
shape. Plate 13

5 *Utai guchi gata*. \*Singing mouth  
shape. Plate 14

6 *Wani guchi gata*. Sharks mouth  
shape.

7 *Gammon gata*. Goose's gate shape.

8 *Kawatarō gata*. *Kappa* † shape. Plate 12

9 *Seirō gata*. Distilling-vessel shape.

10 *Kawara gata*. Tile shape. Plate 12

11 *Ro gata*. Oar blade shape. Plate 13

12 *Tōrō gata*. Lantern shape.

13 *Ankō gata*. Ray fish shape.

14 *Daruma gata*. Hermit shape. Plate 14

15 *Nobori saru gata*. Climbing monkey  
shape. Plate 13

16 *Dai butsu gata*.

17 *Higashi kiri gata*.

18 *Enkō gata*. Monkey shape. Plate 13

19 *Katō guchi gata*. Cusped shape.

20 *Tōrō gata*. Mantis shape. Plate 12

21 *Go jū gata*. Five storey shape.

22 *Hioke gata*. Icicle shape. Plate 12

23 *Mitsu ashi gata*. Three legged  
shape. Plate 12

24 *Tori kago gata*. Bird cage shape.

25 *Te oke gata*. Hand pail shape. Plate 12

26 *Tegine gata*. Pestle shape.

27 *Usu gata*. Mortar shape.

28 *Shakuhachi gata*. Flute shape.

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\* The term "singing mouth" is in common use to describe a slight slope or splay given to the top and bottom of a vertical opening like the incline given to the lips when the jaw is opened.

† A fabulous animal somewhat like a monkey said to inhabit lakes.

29 *Hashi gui gata*. Bridge pile shape.  
30 *Mio tsukushi gata*.  
31 *Tsukushi gata*.  
32 *Ni jū giri sairai gata*. Plate 14  
33 *Tsurube gata*.  
34 *Tsuru kubi gata*. Storks neck  
shape. Plates 12 and 14  
35 *Tsurigane gata*. Bell shape.  
36 *Koma gata*. Top shape.  
37 *Tarai gata*. Tub shape.  
38 *Seirō gata*. Brothel house shape. Plate 12  
39 *Horagai gata*. Conch shell shape. Plate 14  
40 *Eboshi gata*. Ceremonial cap shape. Plate 14  
41 *Jikirō gata*. Food box shape.  
42 *Taki nobori riō gata*. Cascade-  
ascending-dragon-shape. Plate 14

The invention of most of the above is attributed to different *Chajin*. In some cases the names used are very suggestive of the shapes, in other cases the appropriateness of the nomenclature is difficult to recognise. We shall make special mention of some of the principal kinds—most commonly in use.

*Shishi guchi gata* No 1. The inventor of this was Hogen sai Rikiu of the school of Senge no Senso. This vase varies from ten inches to fifteen inches in height and from four to five inches in diameter, and derives its name of lion's mouth from a large square opening four inches deep cut out of the side near the top. The top of the cylinder is closed by a bamboo knot, and there is a small nail hole at the back opposite to the mouth for hanging the vase to a pillar by.

Rikiu is also said to have introduced the *Nijū giri hanaike* a tall bamboo vase having two side holes one above the other besides being open at the top. The holes as well as the top are used for placing flowers in.

The *Tsurube gata hanaike* invented by Furuda Oribe no Kami is a tall cylinder of bamboo with its top closed and a great slice taken out of the side forming a deep lateral mouth for flowers.

The *Tsurukubi gata hanaike* invented by Oda Urakusai is very similar to the former excepting the shape of the side cutting, the upper and lower extremities of which are rounded off.

The *Oke gata hanaike*, invented by Sôhô, differs from the two former, in that the side cutting is carried right through to the top, leaving only half of the upper knot remaining. It has, as its name implies, a resemblance to a Japanese hand bucket. The *Tabimakura gata hanaike* is a very low vase with a narrow deep side slit. The *Kara mon gata hanaike* is a tall vase with one long oval side hole near the top and a deep horizontal slit near the bottom. The *Fukurokuju gata hanaike* is so called from the low position of the side hole which gives the upper part an imaginary resemblance to the long cranium of the *Fukurokuju* one of the seven gods of fortune.

Many of the above bamboo vases are provided with a small hole on one side near the top for hanging purposes. Such vases can be used at will either in this position, or standing upon the floor of the alcove. The tall ones with open tops are invariably used standing.

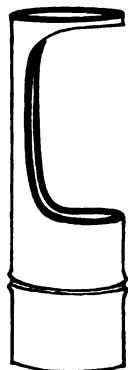
Another kind of vessel consists of three or more bamboo cylinders of different heights attached in a line, and from the resemblance to an irregular row of pile heads this receptacle is called *Rangui* (see Plate 12).

Vessels for  
hanging by  
hooks.

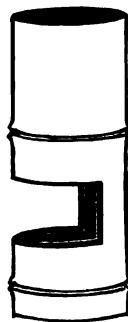
Vases specially suited for hanging to a peg against a pillar are called *Kake hanaike*. As previously stated some of the lower bamboo vases mentioned above belong to this class (see Plate

PLATE 12.

Bamboo standing vases



*Tōrō-gata*  
(Mantis shape)



*Fukurokuju-gata*



*Sairai-gata*



*Tsurukubi-gata*  
(Storks neck shape)



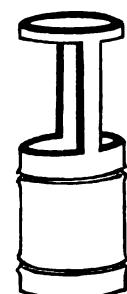
*Mitsuashi-gata*  
(Three legged shape)



*Hiōkei-gata*  
(Icicle shape)



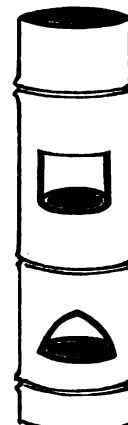
*Kawara-gata*  
(Tile shape)



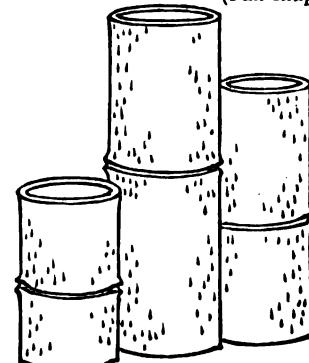
*Teoke-gata*  
(Pail shape)



*Kawatarō-gata*



*Seirō-gata*



*Rangui-gata*

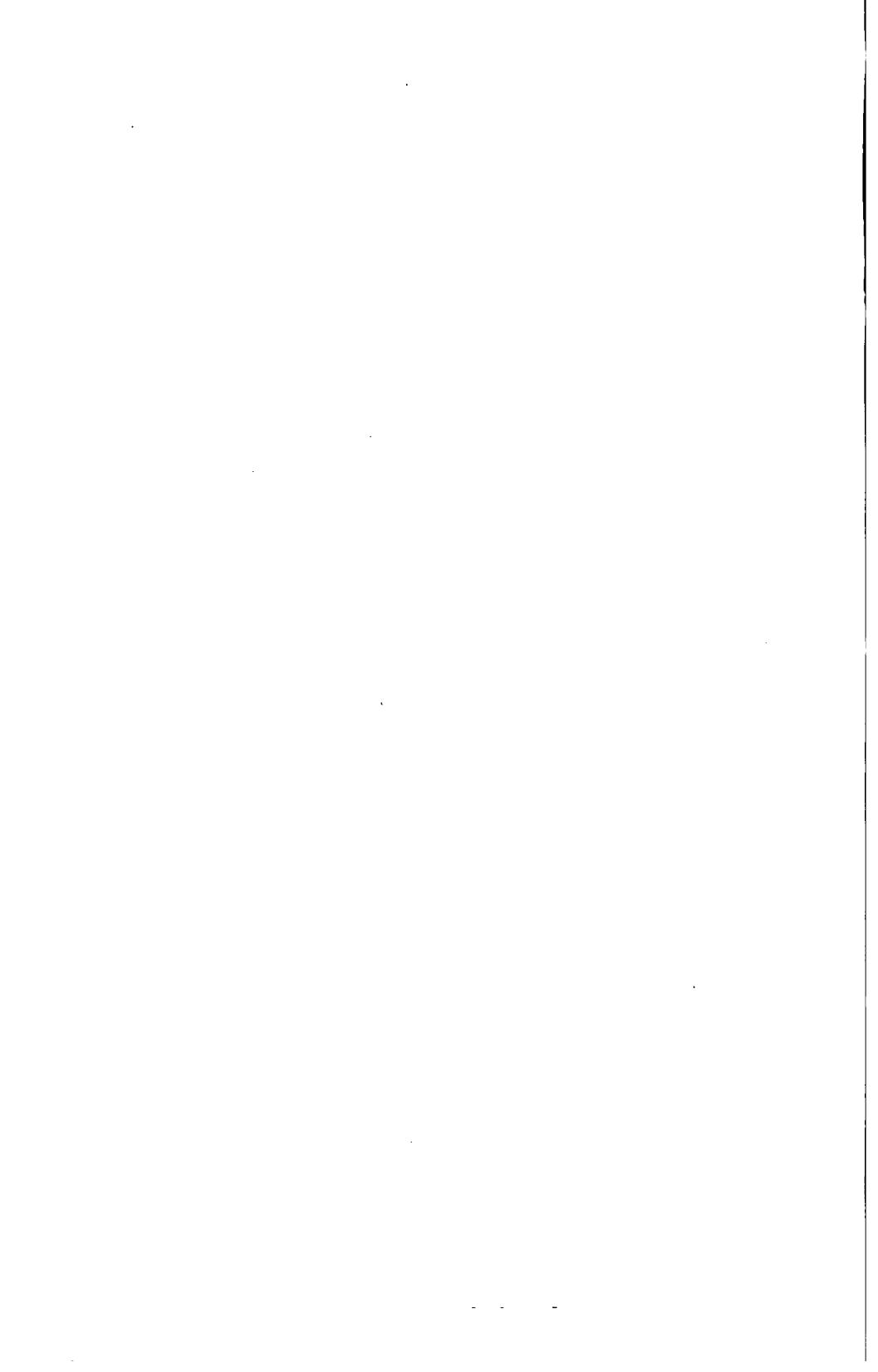
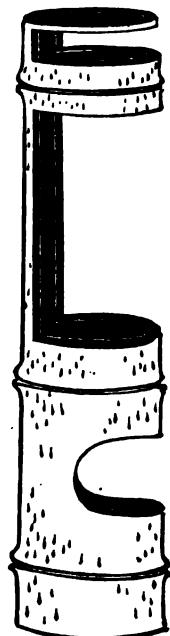
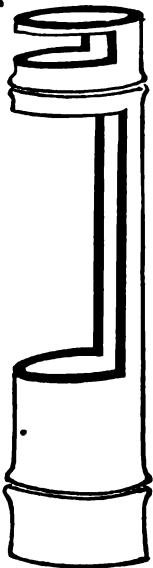


PLATE 13.

Bamboo standing vases.



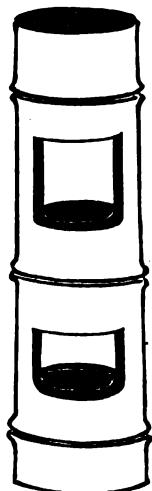
*Enkō-gata*  
(Ape shape)



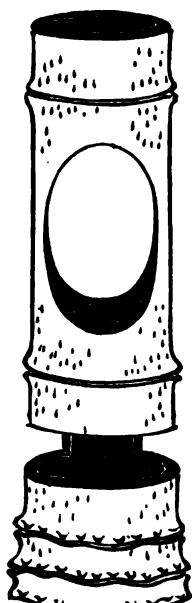
*Nobori-saru-gata*  
(Climbing monkey shape)



*San-jū-gata*  
(Three staged shape)



*Ro-gata* (Oar blade shape)



*Kara-mon-gata*



*Teoke-gata*

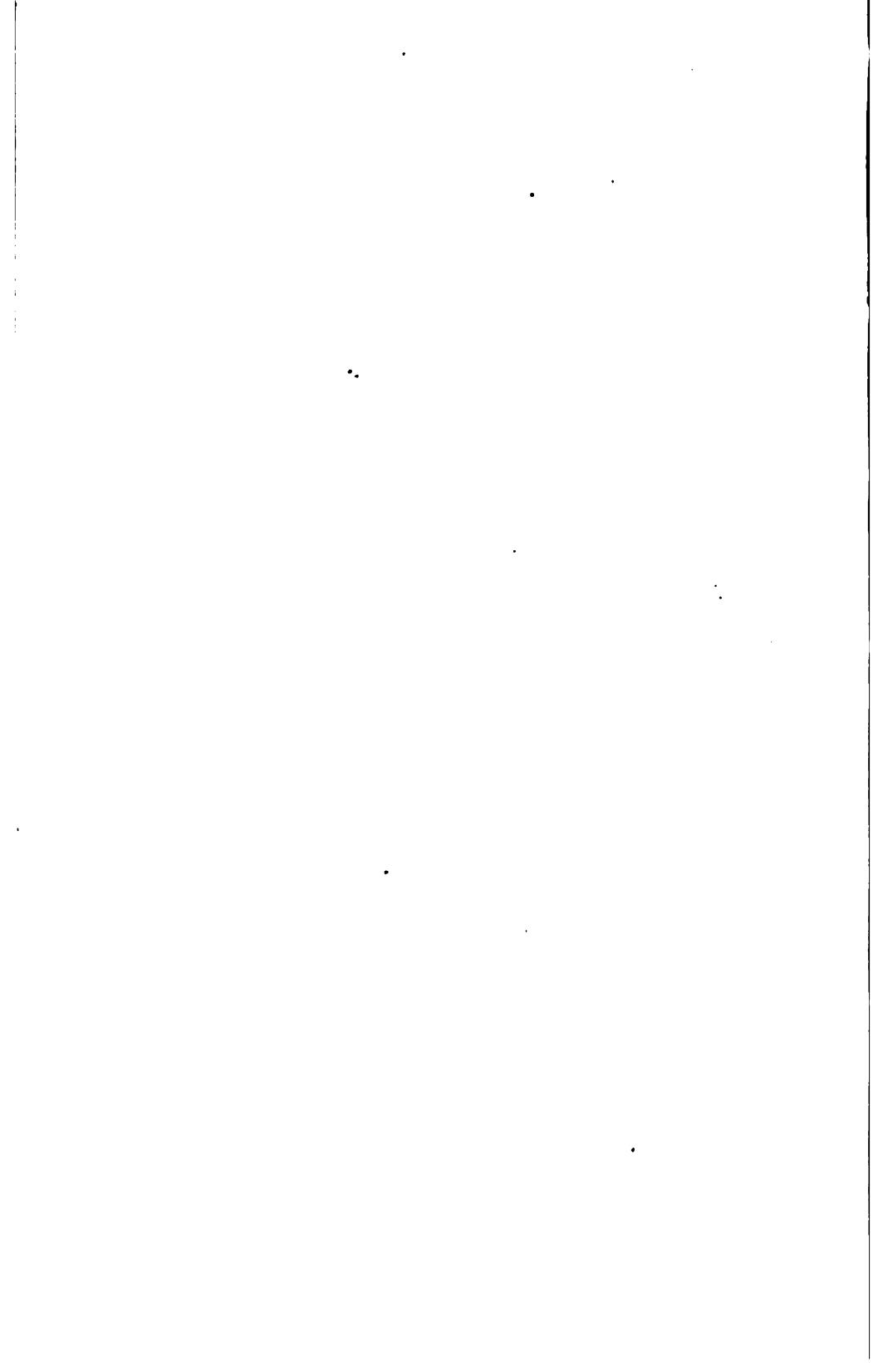
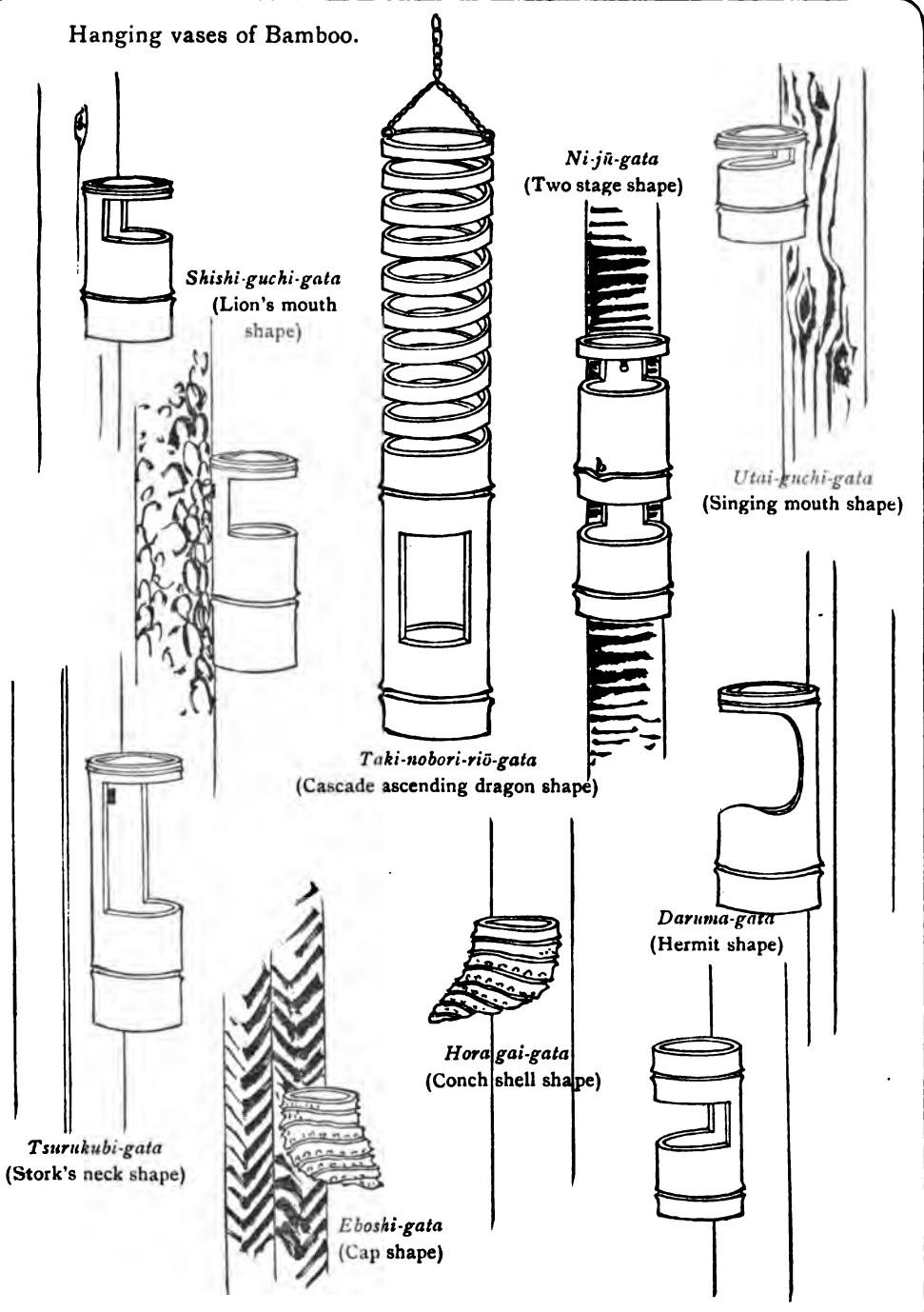


PLATE 14.

Hanging vases of Bamboo.



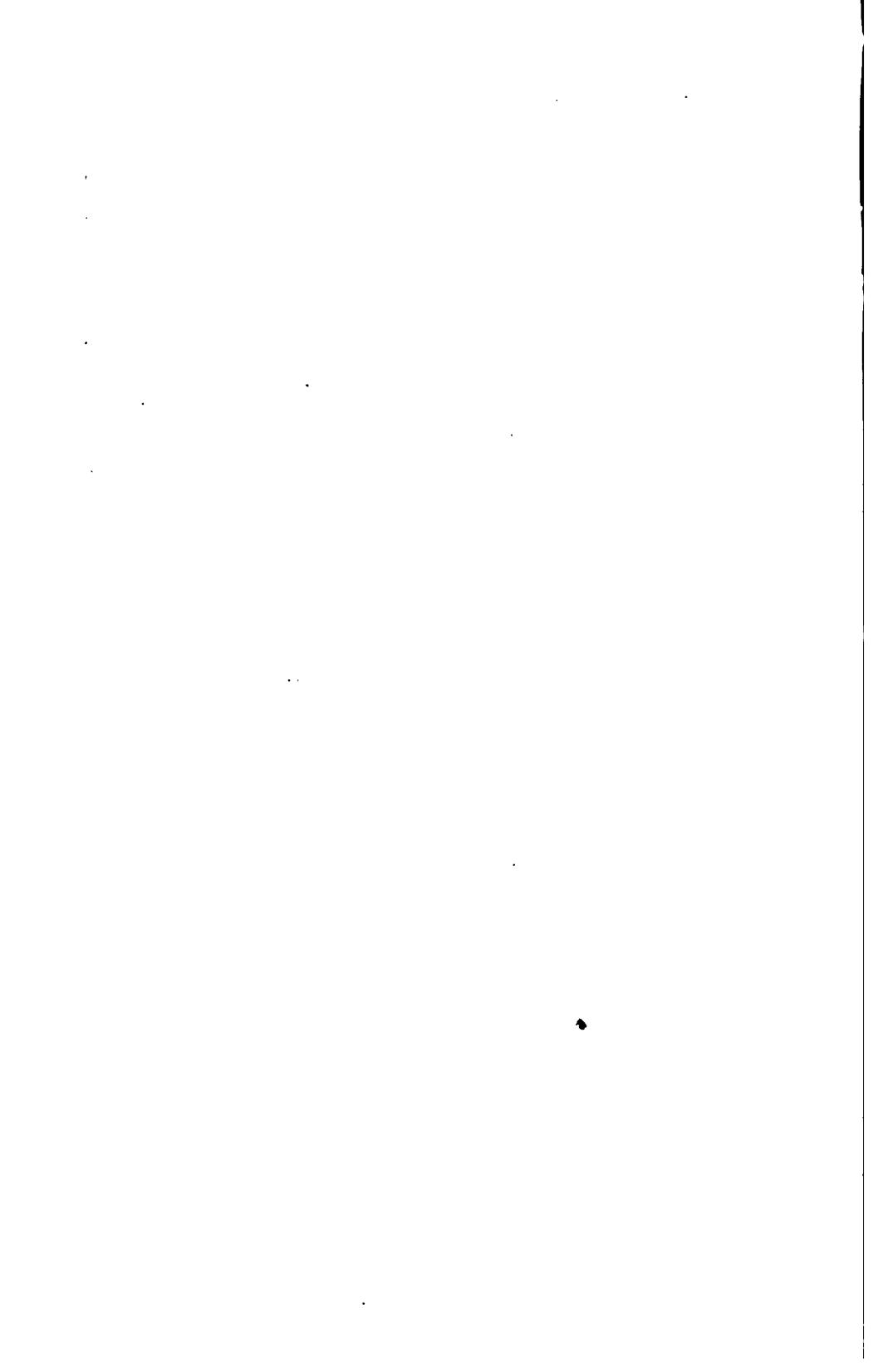


PLATE 15.

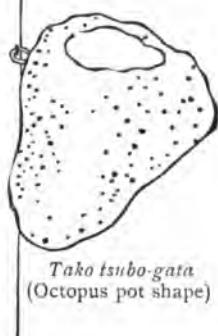


*Tessa-bei-gata*  
(Iron pot shape)

*Hera-zutsu-gata*  
(Paste pot shape)



*Naga-fukube* (Long gourd)



*Tako tsubo-gata*  
(Octopus pot shape)



*Bonzan* (Tray mountain)



*Ebi no kago* (Lobster basket)

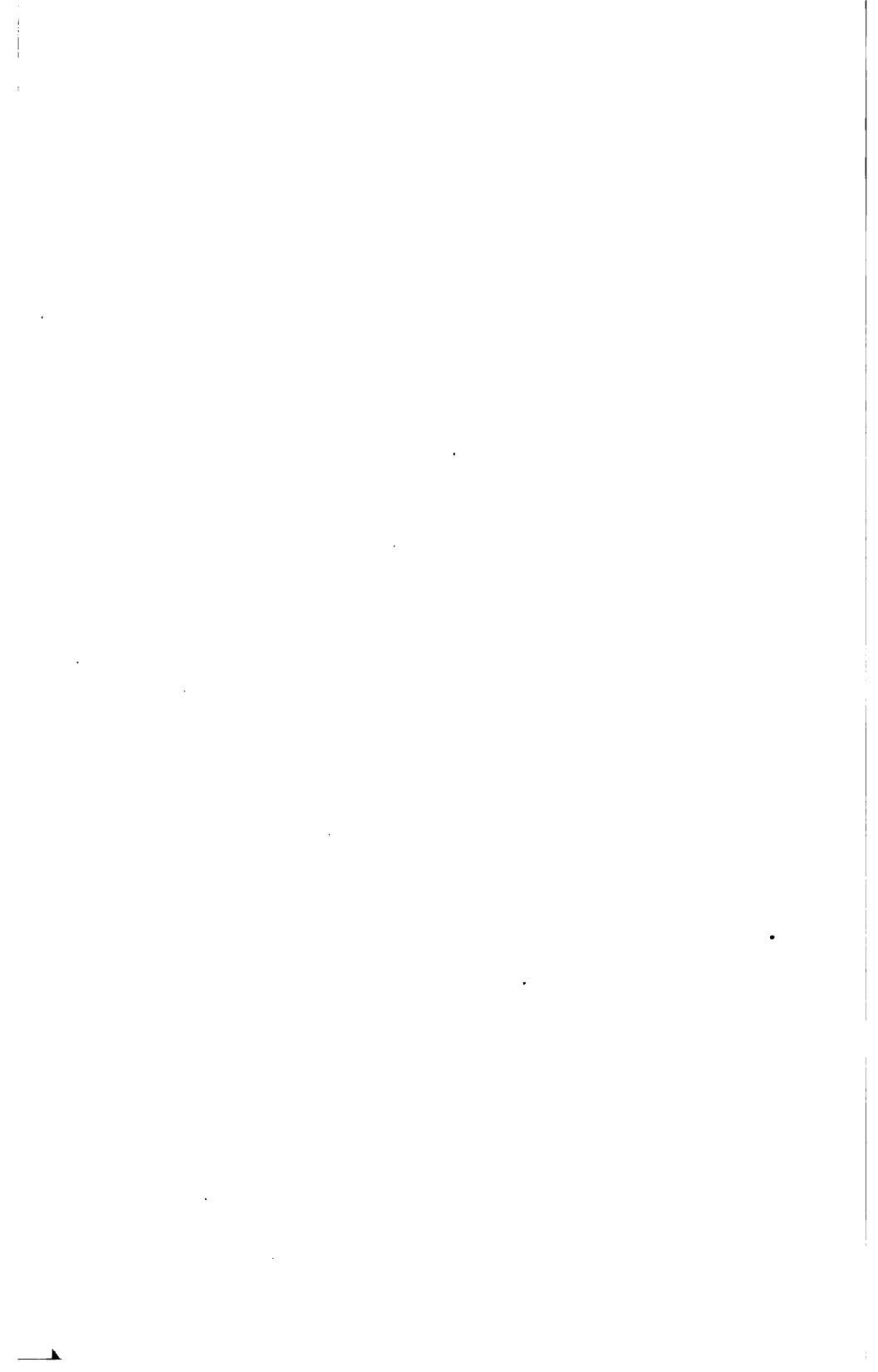
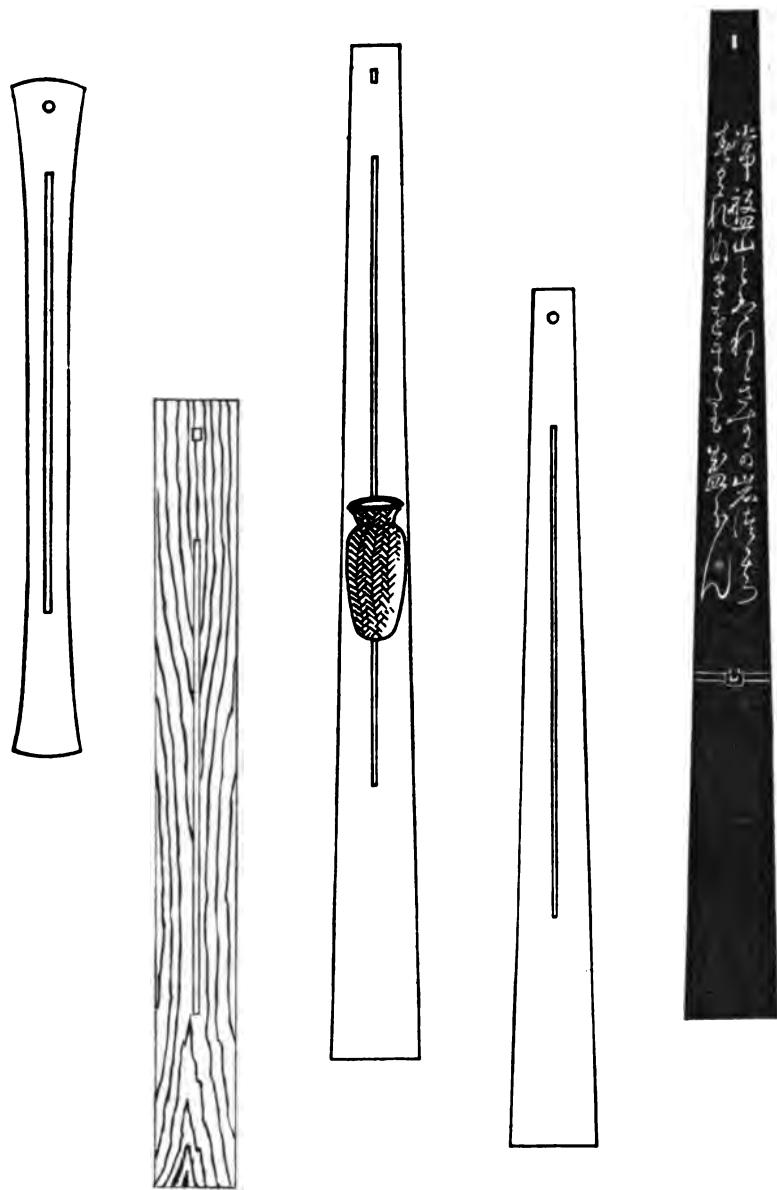


PLATE 16.



Pillar Tablets for hanging behind flower vessels.



14.) There are also other kinds made from the irregular root of the bamboo of various shape and named after their supposed resemblance to a conch shell, a cap, a Japanese top &c. The native names of some of these are given in the above list. Other quaint and irregular forms are used, such as the *Tako tsubo*—so called from its resemblance to a coarse earthenware pot employed by fisherman for holding the octopus; the *Hiyōtan* or gourd; and the *Tessa bei* a rough irregularly shaped iron pot, (see Plate 14). The above and other abnormal shapes are employed mostly in the flower arrangements destined for tea rooms where a severe and rustic style of composition is preferred. Even hollowed out pieces of decayed wood and old baskets are frequently employed on such occasions.

As a back ground and additional ornament to the *Kake banaike*, narrow oblong tablets of wood are often hung between the vase and the pillar to which it is attached. These are called *Suika*, and in the form first introduced by Yoshimasa were lacquered black and had a poem inscribed on the surface in gold. Some are simple oblong tablets about four inches broad and three or four feet long, others have a shape tapering towards the top, and others have curved sides (see Plate 16).

Pillar tablets.

Vessels suspended by cords or chains from a ceiling or lintel are distinguished by the name of *Tsuri banaike* (see Plate 17). Belonging to this class is a crescent shaped vessel of pottery or bronze called *Tsuki gata* or *Gekkō gata* which is suspended from the centre of the crescent horns by a single chain. The other kinds being of more elongated forms are hung by double chains or cords. The simplest of this kind are formed of bamboo tubes splayed off at the ends

Suspended vessels.

Moon shaped vessels.

Boat shaped vessels of bamboo. so as to give them a resemblance to a boat or punt. There are a variety of forms distinguished by such names as *Wasen*, *Ōsutsu*, *Tōsen*, *Higaki*, *Tabune* (Punt) *Natamame*, *Tsutsunori*, *Ikada* (Raft) *Akatori*, *Kutsu bune*, and *Yoko bune* (see Plate 19).

Special rules exist for the arrangement of flowers in such vessels with a view to suggesting by the lines of the flower stems the mast, sails, oars, rudder, and general motion of a junk.

Thus we have for the combined arrangement of vessel and flowers the following distinguishing names. (See also Plates 20 and 21).

*Iri fune* (Homeward bound ship) an arrangement appropriate when guests are expected.

*De fune* (Outward bound ship) suited for use at farewell gatherings.

*Tomari bune* (Ship stationary in port) used when guests are putting up at the house.

*Kasumi bune* (Ship in mist).

*Hashiri bune* (Ship swiftly sailing).

*Oki yuku fune* (Ship coasting).

*Hason bune* (Stationary ship).

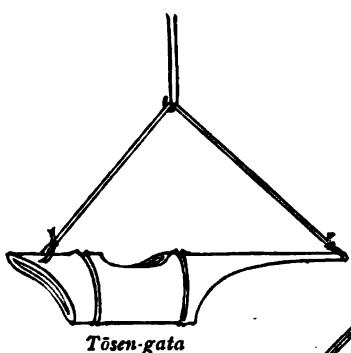
*Shiba fune*

*Minato ire fune* (Ship entering port).

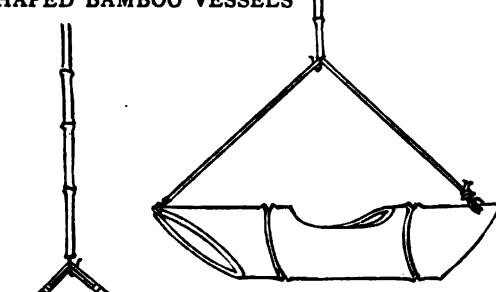
The suggestion of the above named forms is conveyed, firstly, by the position of the bow and stern of the vessel, and secondly, by the direction of the different lines of the flower composition. Even the length of the suspending chain and the distance or proximity of the arrangement from the observer is governed by the style adopted. According to the principle of lineal distribution in all hanging flower designs, the *Nagashi* or *streamer* holds an important place in the above examples. This *streamer* is in such cases supposed to represent the long bent oar which in Japanese boats slopes back towards the stern.

PLATE 19.

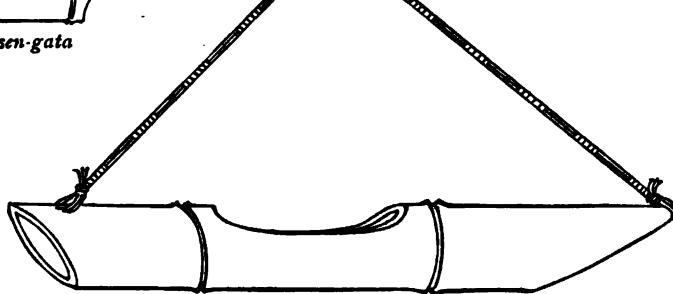
BOAT SHAPED BAMBOO VESSELS



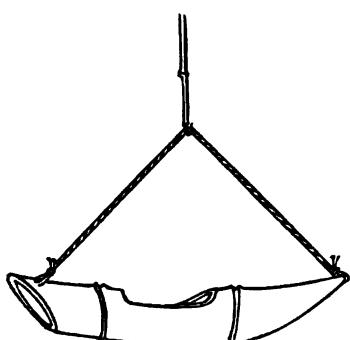
Tōsen-gata



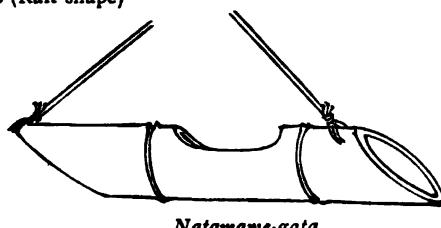
Wasen-gata



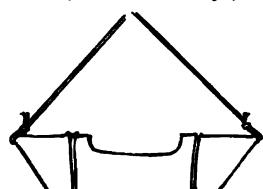
Ikada-gata (Raft shape)



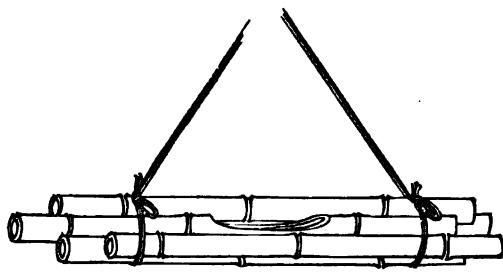
Tabune-gata  
(Canal boat shape)



Natamame-gata



Kutsu bune-gata

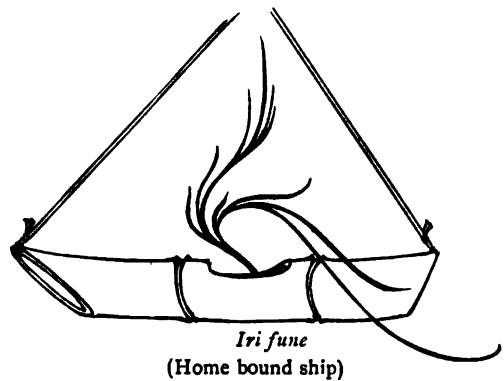


Ikada-gata (Raft shape)

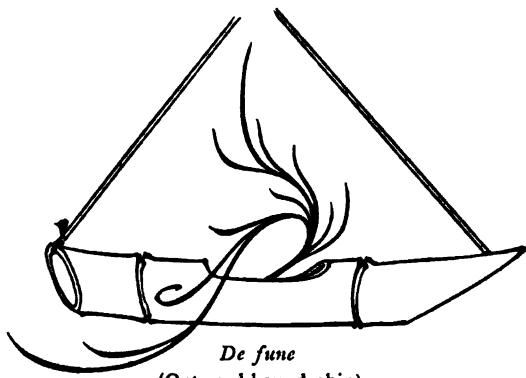


PLATE 20.

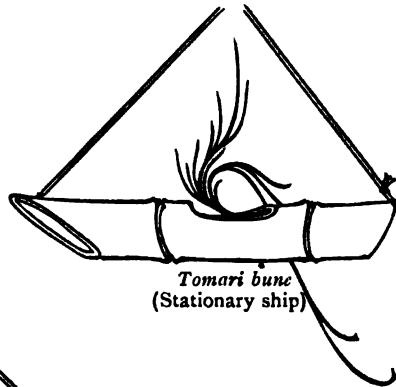
Boat shaped vessels with flowers



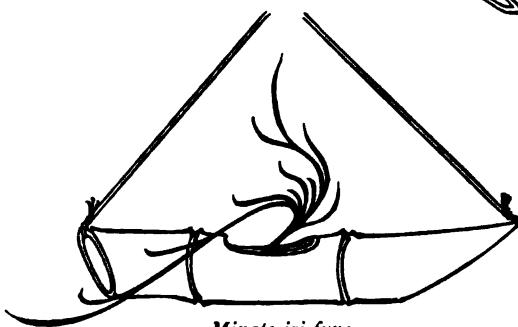
*Iri fune*  
(Home bound ship)



*De fune*  
(Outward bound ship)



*Tomari bune*  
(Stationary ship)

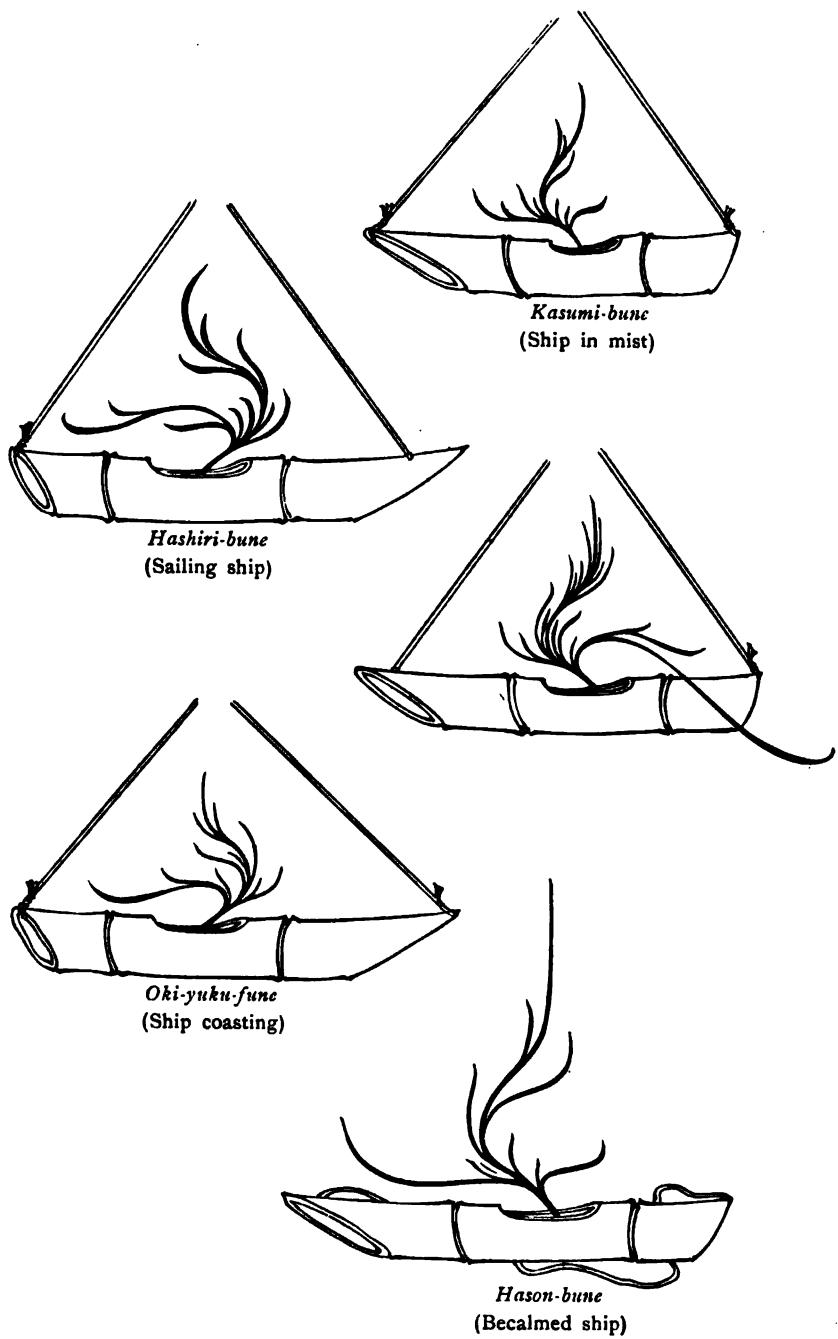


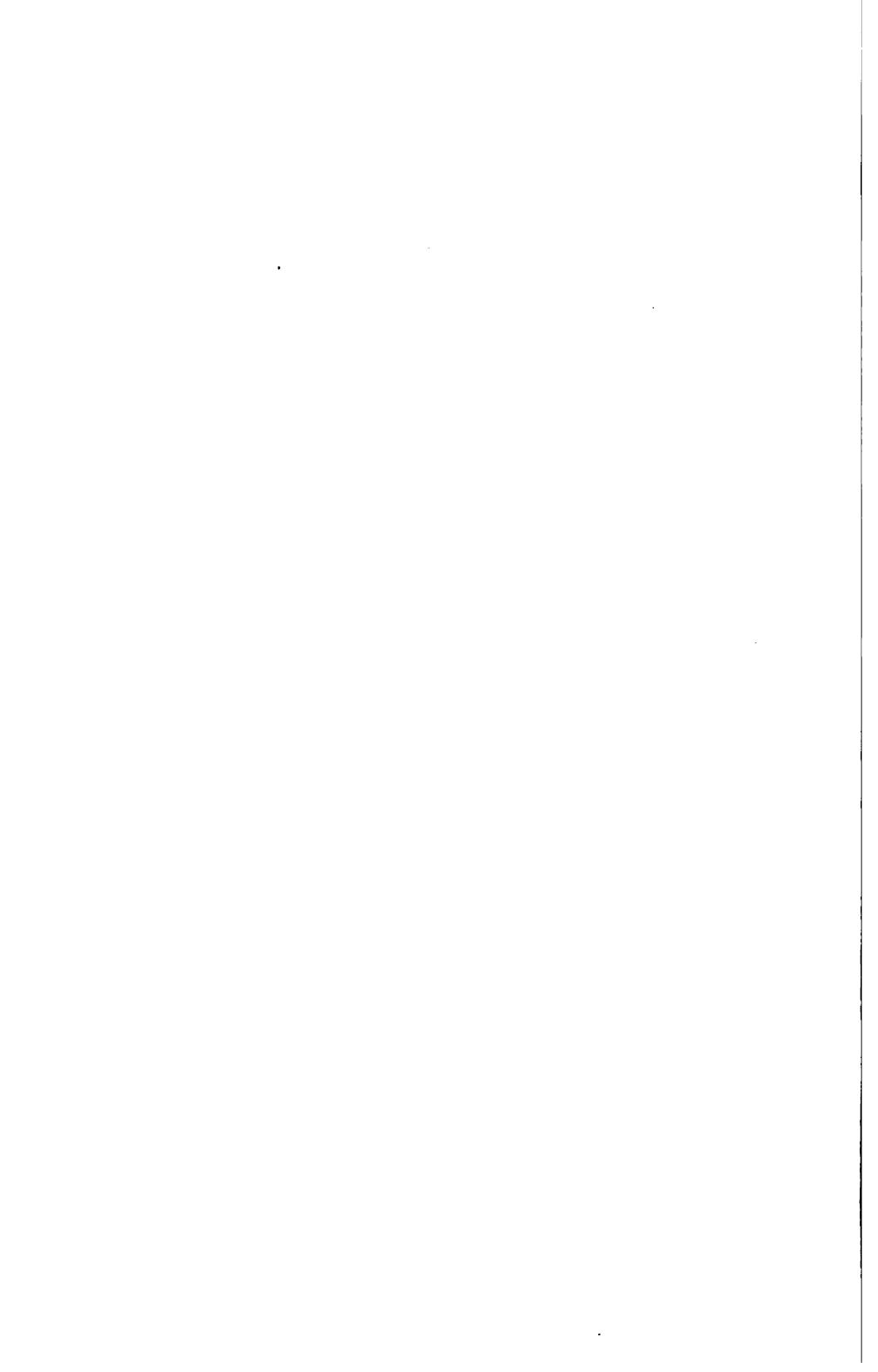
*Minato iri fune*  
(Ship entering port)



PLATE 21.

Boat shaped vessels with floweres





The *Shin* represents the single mast of a junk, and the other lines indicate the fullness or otherwise of the sails.

In the *Iri fune* style the prow of the vessel is turned to the left and the *streamer* hangs over the front side sloping to the stern on the right. In the *De fune* the opposite arrangement is used. In the *Tomari bune* style the arrangement of the lines is more compact and the *streamer* hangs over on the further side. For the *Hashiri bune* no *streamer* is used, but the rest of the arrangement is full, the idea being that of a vessel before the wind, in full sail. In the *Kasumi bune* arrangement the whole is suspended at considerable height by short chains, and the flower arrangement is small with short lines and no *streamer*; the idea intended to be conveyed is distance and indistinctness.

The differences of arrangement of some of the other styles are so slight as to be almost unrecognizable.

To return to the subject of flower vessels which we are now considering, there are also bronze *Tsuri banaike* in the shape of boats called *Tsuri fune* (see Plate 17). Another form of hanging receptacle is made of a row of narrow bamboo tubes connected in a raft-shaped form sufficiently hollowed out to hold a shallow water basin for receiving stems of the flowers.

Bronze boat-shaped vessels.

Hanging vessels called *Tsurube* (well buckets) are sometimes used in pairs. These consist of two bucket-shaped vessels of wood or porcelain, square or circular in plan, suspended over a pulley by a thick silk cord. One of the buckets rests on the floor and the other is suspended in the air. A similar pair of buckets are sometimes used without the well pulley and rope

Well bucket-shaped vessels.

arrangement, but placed standing, one balanced on the top edge of the other so as to leave only a portion of the lower one open for the insertion of flowers. Such buckets are invariably square in plan to ensure stability (see Plates 17 and 18).

All standing flower vases with the exception of the *Kago* are placed upon a flat tray of polished or lacquered wood called the *Hana bon*, interposed between the vessel and the floor of the recess or shelf upon which they are placed. Sometimes this flat tray is replaced by an ornamental stand or small table. Of these there are numerous fancy designs, but as the style adopted is irrespective of the flower arrangement, and governed only by taste and a suitable proportion with reference to the flower vase, the subject is not included in the present paper.

Harmony between flowers and the kind of vessel employed.

In the case of flower vessels themselves the form and character of their design and decoration is carefully selected with reference to the nature of the flower composition. As an illustration of the importance attached to a judicious combination of flower and vase may be given the following artistic virtues, said to have been pointed out by Yoshimasa in particular designs.

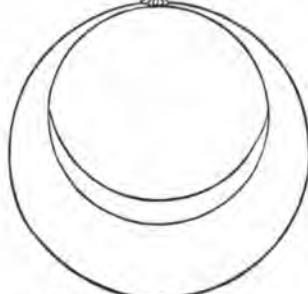
*Yūgen-tei.* Character of quiet simplicity, expressed by Rushes and Iris in a double staged bamboo vase.

*Chōkō-tei.* Character of aspiration. Expressed by a vessel of decayed timber containing a twining creeper.

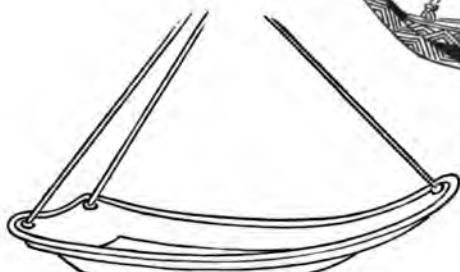
*Yūshin-tei.* Character of affectionate attachment. Expressed by a bronze *Suna bachi* containing a Pine branch entwined by a Wisteria.

*Uraraka-tei.* Character of serenity. Expressed by a hanging boat-shaped vessel of bronze containing white Chrysanthemums, supposed to suggest a loaded ship stationary in port.

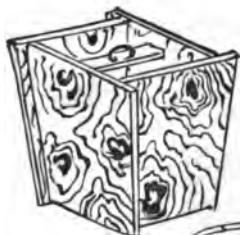
PLATE 17.



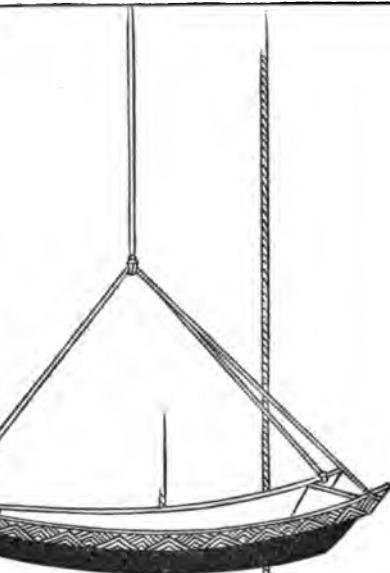
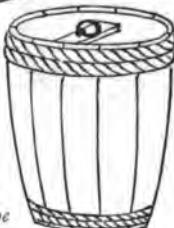
*Tsuki gata* or *Gekkō gata*  
(Moon or crescent shape)



*Tsuri-fune* (Hanging boat)



Varieties of *Tsurube*



*Tsuri-fune*  
(Hanging boat)



*Tsurube* (Hanging buckets)

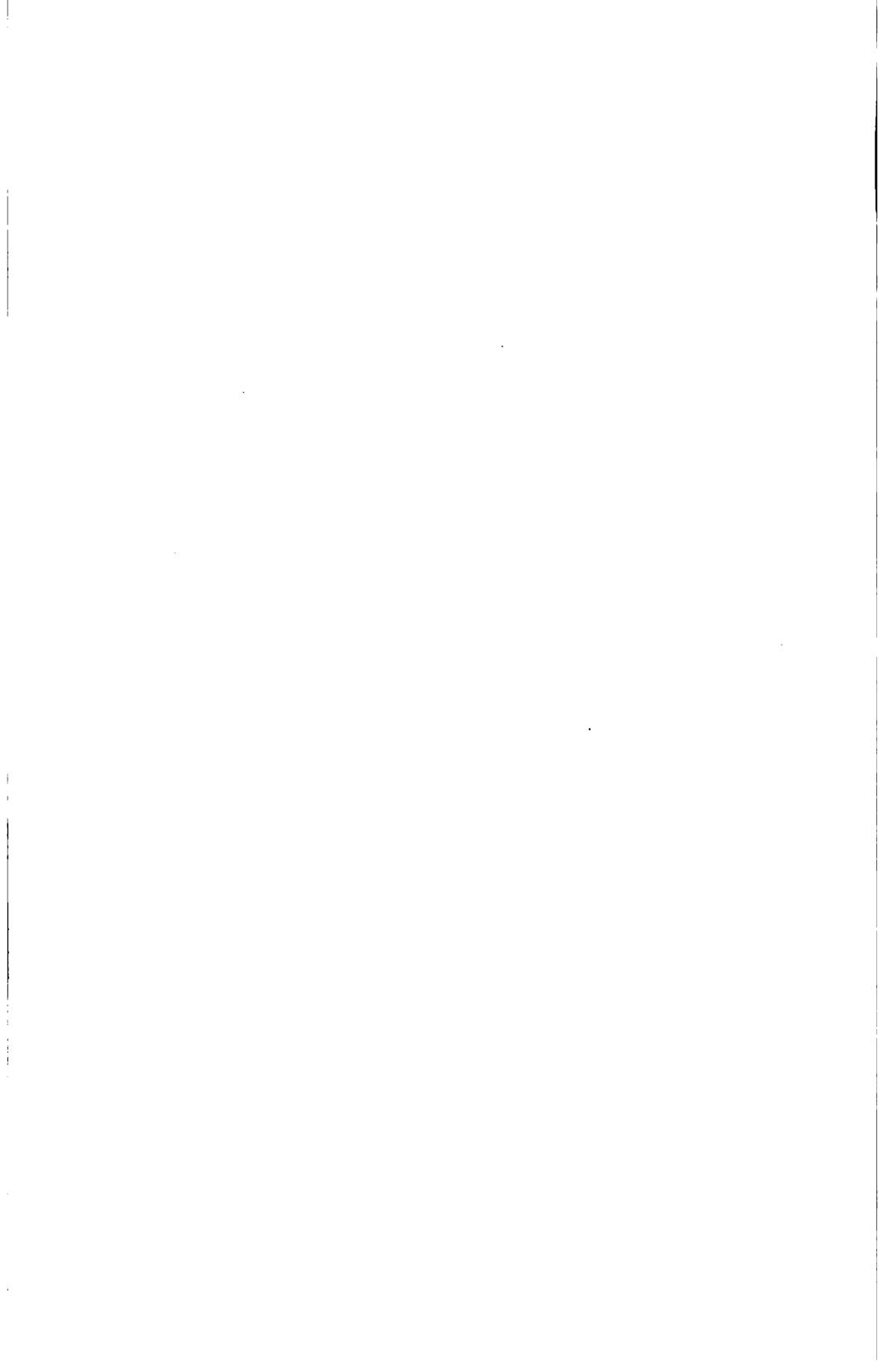
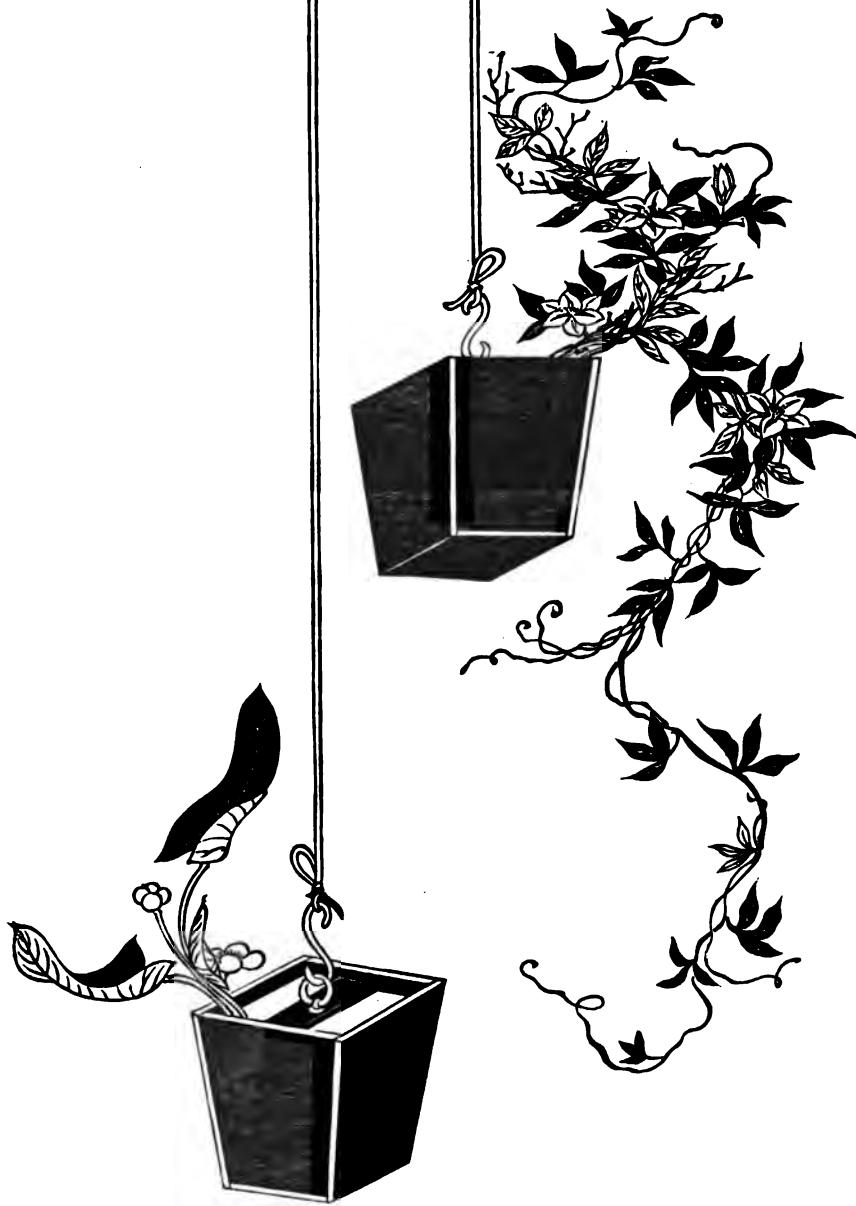


PLATE 18.



Double Bucket arrangement with flowers (*Kazaguruma* and *Kōhone*)



*Kotoshikarubeki-tei.* Character of severity. Expressed by the use of Suzuki (Eularia Japonica) and Ominaeshi (Patrinia scabiosæfolia) arranged in a small bronze vase called *Nosame*.

*Omoshiroki-tei.* Character of quaintness. Expressed by a hanging gourd-shaped vessel containing small Chrysanthemums.

*Tsuyayaka-tei.* Character of clearness. Expressed by the use of Hagi (Lespedeza) flowers placed in a bronze vase which is engraved with a design of wild geese flying across the full moon.

*Miyō-tei.* Character of chastity. Expressed by a Maple branch placed in a bronze vase engraved with the design of falling rain.

*Hitofushi aru-tei.* Character of security. Expressed by some water plant placed in a bronze vase engraved with a spider's web design.

*Iki-tei.* Character of veneration. Expressed by a Pine or other evergreen placed in a bronze vase engraved with a stork. (The stork and pine are both associated with the idea of a venerable old age).

The above are fancy combinations serving as examples of harmony of character between flower arrangement and vessel. The general principle of suiting one to the other must never be lost sight of, receptacles, however rare and valuable they may be, if intended for other uses must not be employed as flower vases. This rule is sometimes apparently violated for we find such forms as *Ba darai* (Horse tub), and *Tsurube* (Well bucket) used; such names however refer to the suggested form and not to the actual use or original purpose of such vessels. In the *Naga ire* or rustic style of flower arrangements used in the Tea ceremonical, curious vessels of all kinds are pressed into use (see Plate 15).

A few general directions are laid down as to the special kind of receptacle suited to particular flowers.

For large flowers of full blossom, like the *Botan* (Peony), the *Kago* or Chinese basket is preferred.

For a water plant a low large mouthed vessel is best suited. For the *Suisen* (Narcissus) a narrow necked vase is used. For low plants a tub shaped vessel is chosen. And for the *Fuji* (Wisteria), *Hagi* (Lespedeza), and *Yamabuki* (Kerria Japonica), some kind of hanging vase is best.

The following special rules are given as to the method of arrangement to be adopted in certain vessels.

*Kake bana ike sashikata.* [Arrangement for hanging (hooked) vases]. The flower composition should be suggestive of vegetation hanging over a cliff or precipice.

*Shishi guchi sashikata.* (Arrangement for bamboo vase with side opening, called lion's mouth). The composition in such a vase must be placed side ways and none of the branches must touch the edge of the mouth.

*Ichi jū giri sashikata.* (Arrangement for one-stage-opening bamboo vase). This kind of vase must not be hung up, and the arrangement of flowers is made to cross one edge of the opening.

*Ni jū giri sashikata* [Arrangement for bamboo vase of two side openings (two storied)]. In such a vase the upper opening should have the branch of a *tree* and the lower some *plant*\*.

*Tsurube sashikata.* (Arrangement for well buckets). The upper vessel should have a *tree* and the lower one a *plant*.

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\* The distinction between tree branches, whether blossom bearing or otherwise, technically called *ki*, and plants which are called *kusa* is very strictly kept.

*Rangui sashikata.* (Arrangement for row-of-piles vases). The highest vessel should have a land *plant* and the lowest vessel a water *plant*.

*Hashi gui sashikata.* (Arrangement for bridge post vases). This kind of vase is roughly cylindrical, open at the top, and with a square hole in the side. The top opening should have a thick stump or heavy arrangement of tree branches, and the side hole some simple plant quietly arranged.

*Kago sashikata.* (Arrangement for flower basket) That kind of flower basket which has a handle is placed standing, but the handleless ones are hung up. In the former the flower arrangement must be kept within the line of the handle, in the latter the *Kake banaike* arrangement is followed.

*Suna bachi sashikata.* (Arrangement for sand basin). In such receptacles if a *tree* is used it must be "supported" by a *plant* of some kind. Plants alone may be used but the composition must be full and strong.

*Ba darai sashikata.* (Arrangement for "horse tub" vessel) For such vessels *tree* branches are prohibited. *Plants* should be used of one or two kinds. In arranging plants in the *Ba darai* and *Suna bachi* there are two styles of composition, one called *Gio dō* (Fish travelling), when the plants are arranged side by side, and the other called *Gio yū* (Fish sporting) in which the plants are arranged one lower than the other. By a curious fancy an analogy is drawn between the relative position of the plants in such water vessels and the relative position of fish swimming in a lake.

*Tsui hei sashikata.* (Arrangement for a pair of similar vessels). When a pair of vessels are used the flower arrangement in one should be

nearly the reverse of that in the other, but the colours should be varied. For example one may contain a red flower and the other a white one.

Combination  
of different  
flowers.

Upon the general lines of composition already indicated, flower arrangements are made sometimes with one species of tree or plant alone, and sometimes by means of a combination of two or more species. The use of many different kinds of flowers in one composition though followed in the earlier styles of *Rikkwa* and *Shin-no-hana* is opposed to the principles of the purer styles which we are now considering. Combinations of two or three different species are however very common, and especially in the case of vessels having two or three mouths. In all compositions, single or combined, the special nature and character of the different materials employed are carefully kept in mind and anything at all suggestive of the inappropriate most scrupulously avoided. An important distinction is made between trees and plants, and another distinction is made between land and water plants. The locality of production whether mountain, moor, or river, considerably influences the arrangement in composition. Each flower has its proper season or month, and many flowers which continue throughout several seasons have special characteristics peculiar to the different seasons. Such different characteristics are carefully observed and followed in the artificial arrangements, subject of course to the general rules of the art.

Terms of approbrium such as *Zankwa* meaning *Past flowers*, and *Shikwa* meaning *Dead flowers*, are applied to flowers employed respectively after their proper month or entirely out of season. As an example of *Shikwa* may be mentioned a late kind of *Momo* (Peach) which

blooms in the summer, the Peach blossom being specially a flower of the spring time.

In contradistinction to the above, the term *Shōkwa* meaning *Living flowers* is applied to those flowers which are used in the natural season of their growth. Under this head are also included certain early flowerings called *Hayazaki* which are permitted for felicitous occasions, as being choice and rare.

In combining several species in one composition it is laid down as an important law that the branches of a tree, technically called *Ki*, should never be "supported" on both sides by a plant, technically called *Kusa*, nor should *Kusa* be "supported" on both sides by *Ki*, (see Plate 22). In case of a treble arrangement two *Ki* may be combined with one *Kusa* but the *Kusa* must not be in the centre of the composition (see Plate 23). As an example of defective arrangement may be taken a composition with an Iris (*Kusa*) in the centre, and branches of Azalia and Camellia (*Ki*) on either side. A correct composition would be that of the Pine (*Ki*), Plum (*Ki*), and Bamboo (*Kusa*), with the Pine in the centre and the Plum and Bamboo on either side. The Plum might equally well be placed in the centre and the Pine and Bamboo on either side.

Combination  
of  
different  
species.

Some schools allow upon occasion the violation of the above rule and permit the supporting of a *Ki* on either side by *Kusa* provided that the following distinction of growth be kept. The *Ki* must be a mountain tree and the *Kusa* in one case a land, and in the other a valley plant.

The above rules were no doubt made principally to prevent the weak and insipid arrangements likely to be produced in their careless violation especially by the inexperienced. Like other

arbitrary rules they were often departed from by the more advanced professors of the art.

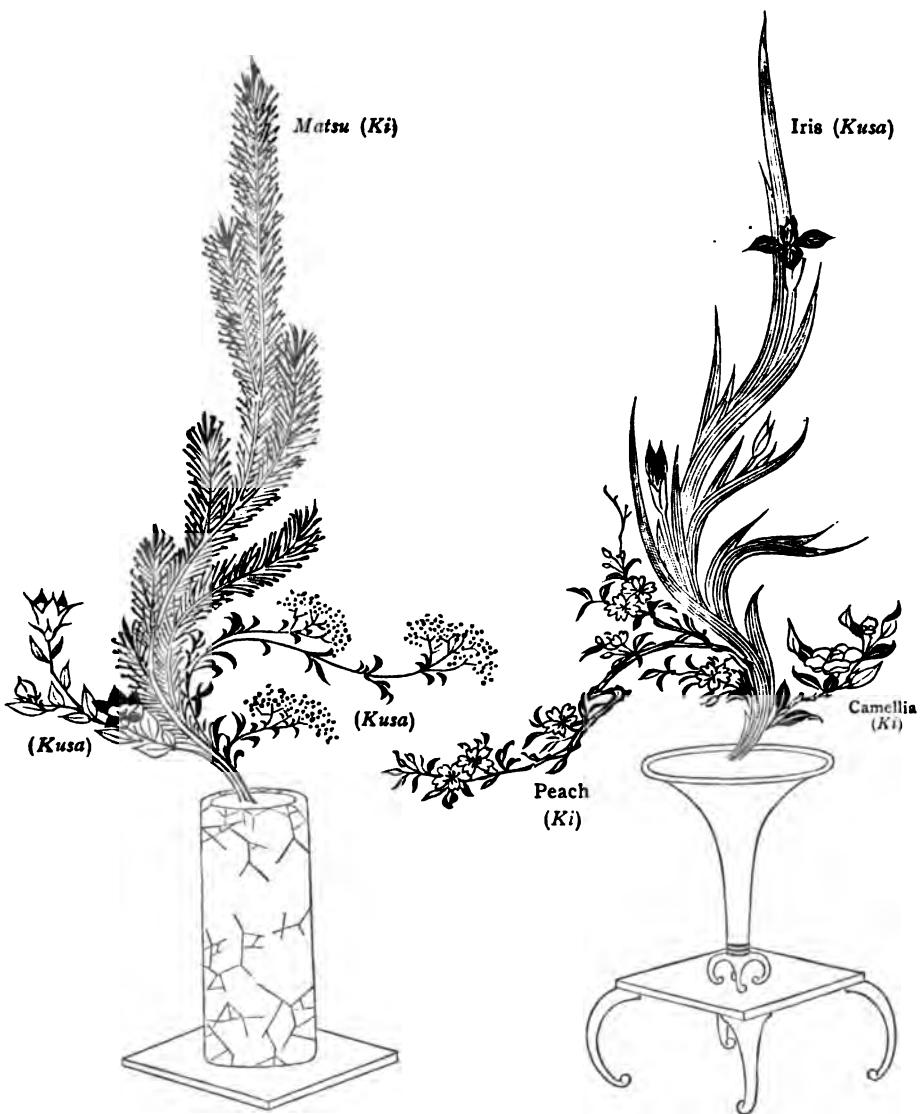
As previously stated the foliage of evergreens and other trees and plants is much used in *floral* compositions the arrangement often being without a single blossom. It is laid down however as a general rule that no flower-bearing plant is to be used with leaves only, nor must plants or trees which bear leaves at blossom time be used with flowers only. The following are exceptions to this rule. The large leaved Chinese orchid called *Ran* has a flower, but it is very insignificant, and springs from the soil: this plant is therefore treated as a flowerless one. The *Shaga* (*Iris Japonica*) is sometimes used for its leaves only during the season before the flower appears, it is then called the *Kōchōke*. The Summer *Suisen* (*Narcissus*) sometimes called by the fancy name of *Kintō sō* (Golden pillar plant) produces its leaves in February which decay in May, the flowers appearing in July and August. If used during the flowering season the leaves, which are at this time withered, may be discarded.

All flower compositions must partake as much as possible of the character of the seasons in which they are used. Spring arrangements should be simple and powerful in line and feeling, like the growth of young and early vegetation. Summer arrangements must be full and spreading, while autumn arrangements should be spare and lean, and those of winter withered and dreary.

Idea of sex  
in flower com-  
positions.

It has been a common fancy of the Japanese to apply distinctions of sex to inanimate nature. In landscape and also in landscape gardening they distinguish between male and female water falls, male and female rocks and stones,

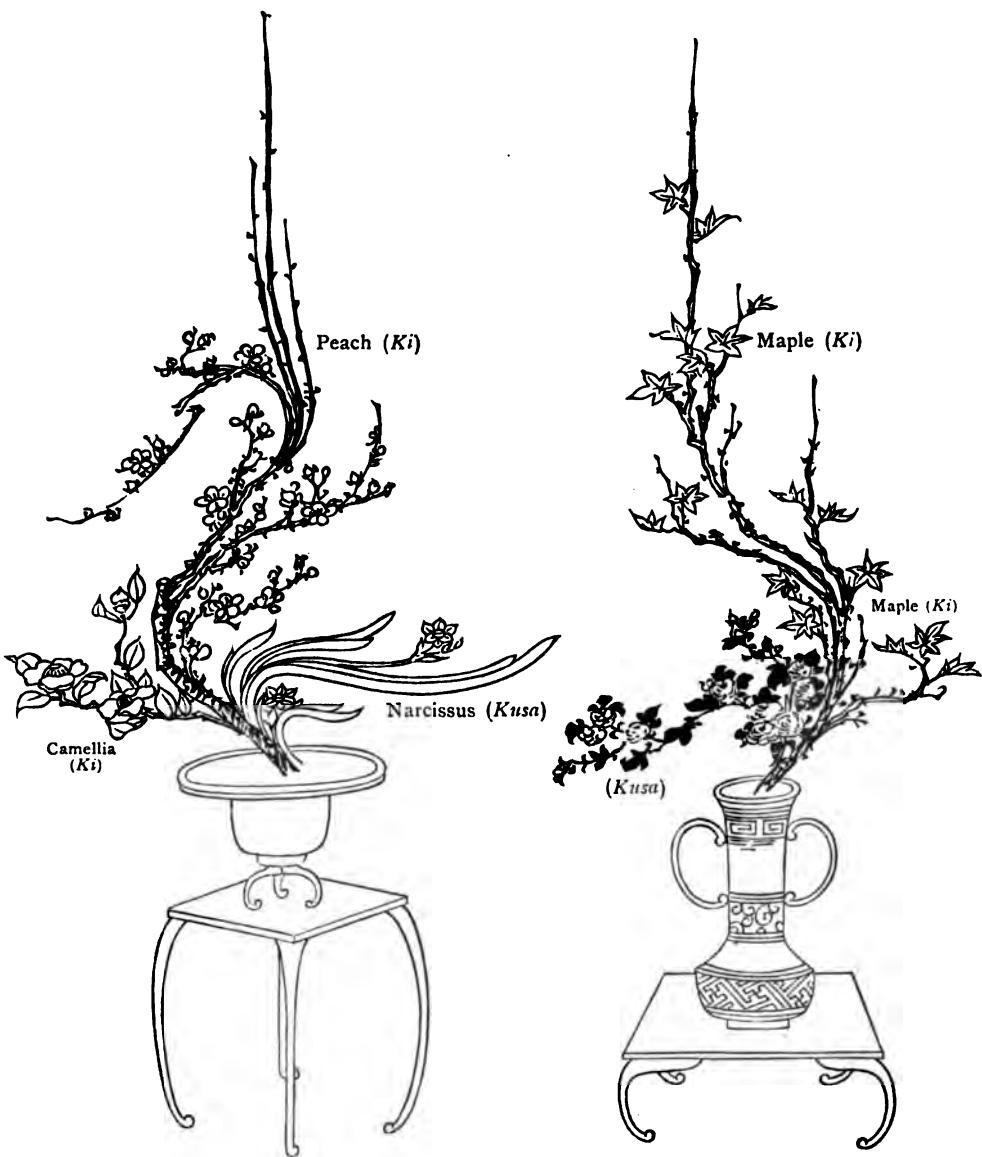
PLATE 22.



Improper combination of species (*Ki-basami* and *Kusa-basami*).



PLATE 23.



Proper combination of species.



as well as male and female plants and trees. The distinction is not so much one of individual form as of forms in combination or contrast, considered as male and female with respect to one another. Thus the main torrent of a waterfall receives the name *O daki* (male cascade) and a lower fall in proximity will be called *Me daki* (female cascade). In the same manner rocks used singly in gardening have no sex, but with stones of different character placed side by side one will be called *O ishi* (male stone), and the other *Me ishi* (female stone). Such fancies, apart from their poetical interest, are of great value in the arts of design, as their observance helps to produce that harmony of well balanced contrasts which should pervade all compositions.

In the Flower Art the same distinction of sex is applied in several ways both to leaves and flowers.

The contrast between the front and back of a large leaf, which is principally a contrast of colour, is always observed, and the front is technically regarded as male and the back as female. The object is to present both surfaces of important leaves in well balanced masses, and especially is this necessary in the case of such plants as the *Kakitsubata* (Iris) *Hasu* (Lotus) *Kōhone* (Nuphar Japonica) and *Omoto* (Rhodea Japonica) having large and imposing leaf surfaces which play an important part in the compositions. A considerable part of the art of arranging such plants consists in twisting and turning the leaves so that their front and back surfaces are alternately displayed.

The idea of sex is also applied to the form of flowers. Buds are regarded as female, full flowers as male, but over blown blossoms again are classed as female. In fact the time of

Sex in leaves.

Sex in flowers.

full vigour receives the male, and the periods of young or later weakness the female character. Rules based upon these apparently capricious distinctions help towards producing that fresh variety which is one of the charms of Japanese flower compositions. Buds and blossoms must be "wedded" in graceful combinations, strong colours too must be divided by other softer colours. As with leaves so with flowers, in any individual flower the front is male and the back is female.

Rank in flowers according to colour.

The colours of flowers have both respective rank and sex. The idea of respective rank is applied principally to coloured flowers of the same species. In most cases the white flower of every species takes highest rank, but there are exceptions to this. Among Chrysanthmums the yellow kind ranks first, of Peach blossoms the pale pink, of the *Yamabuki* (*Kerria Japonica*) yellow, (although a white species exists,) of the Iris purple, of the *Camellia* red, of the *Wisteria* pale purple in preference to white, of the Tree-Peony red, of the *Kikiyō* (*Platycodon Grandiflora*) light purple, of the *Shakuyaku* (*Peonia Albiflora*) light red, of the Valerian yellow, of the *Lespedeza* red, of the *Convolvulus* dark blue, and of the *Cherry-blossom* pale pink, take respectively first rank.

Among colours Red, Purple, Pink and Variegated colours are male, and Blue, Yellow and White are female. Colours which do not harmonize are separated by green leaves or white flowers. Among leaf colours a rich deep green ranks first.

The idea of sex is even applied to the direction of the branches in a flower composition. The right hand of the arrangement is East, left is West, front is South, and back is North. The

East and South directions are regarded as male, and West and North as female. A stem on the left side of a composition turned to the front or back to the right is said to have male character, whilst a stem on the right bent back to the left or to the further side is said to have female character.

We here give a list of the principal flowers employed in Japanese floral compositions arranged according to their particular months. It must be remembered however that according to the old calendar the commencement of the first month, which was at the same time the beginning of Spring (Haru), was thirty days later than the present first of January. The change of the calendar has therefore rendered it impossible to conform strictly at the present day to all the rules laid down for the selection of flowers for special occasions. Such of the old fête days as are observed being pushed on by one month in time, the flowers originally fixed as appropriate for their celebration, are often late in season. The following lists are given according to the old calendar.

## FLOWERS ACCORDING TO THEIR MONTHS

(*OLD CALENDAR*)

### 1st MONTH (PRESENT FEBRUARY)

<i>Japanese Name.</i>	<i>Botanical Name.</i>	<i>English popular Name.</i>
*Fukuju-sō	Adonis Amurensis	
§Suisen	Narcissus Tazetta	Narcissus
*Uguisu-sō	Lithospermum Zollingeri, D. C.	
*Hakubai	Prunus mume	White Plum
§Yanagi	Salix	Willow
*Geishunkwa	Jasminum Sieboldianum	
§Kan-giku	Pyrethrum sinense	Winter Chrysanthemum
*Yabu-kōji	Ardisia Japonica	
*Kwachō-sō		
*Rengiō	Forsythia suspensa	
Tsubaki	Camellia Japonica	Camellia
*Murozaki-Momo		Hot-house Peach
*Ōbai	Jasminum Sieboldianum	
*Kinsenkwa	Calendula officinalis	
*Chōshun	Rosa indica	
*Sansei		
*Mansaku	Hamamelis Japonica	
§Rōbai	Chimonanthus fragrans	Chinese Plum

\* The botanical nomenclature of most of the following Japanese flowers has been taken from Professor Yatabe's botanical works, and the author of this paper is also indebted to the same scientist for the classification of other plants. Some of the names of flowers are apparently fancy names and as such not easily identified.

2nd MONTH (PRESENT MARCH)

†Hakubai	Prunus Mume	White Plum
†Hi-tō		Red Peach
†Ōbai	Prunus Mume	
*Kō-bai	Prunus Mume	Red Plum
*Higan-zakura	Prunus subhirtella	
*Usu-tō		Pale Peach
*Niwatoko	Sambucus racemosa	
*Keman-sō	Dicentra spectabilis	
†Azuma-giku	Erigeron Thunbergii	
†Kinsenkwa	Calendula officinalis	
†Haru-giku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	Spring Chrysanthemum
*Hotei-sō		
*Tennan-shō	Arisæma Japonicum	
†Oka-kōhone	Naphar Japonicum	
*Rengiō	Forsythia suspensa	
*Anzu	Prunus Armeniaca	
†Hitoye-zakura	Prunus pseudo-cerasus	Single cherry
†Yamabuki	Kerria Japonica	
*Hitsuji-sō	Nymphaea Tetragona	
*Niwa-ume	Prunus Japonica	Garden plum
*Wase-zakura	Prunus Japonica	Early Cherry
*Niwa-zakura	Prunus Japonica	Garden Cherry
†Enishida	Cytisus Scoporius	
†Moku-renge	Magnolia	Magnolia
†Suwō	Cœsalpinia Appan	
†Yōbai-kwa	Myrica rubra	
*Shakunage	Rhododendron Metternichii	Azalia
†Tsutsuji	Rhododendron indicum	Azalia
†Kaidō	Pyrus Spectabilis	
†Ōbai	Jasminum Sieboldianum	
*Baran	Aspidistra Lurida	
*Bijin-sō	Papaver Rhœas L.	
*Shichi-hō-sō		
†Uguisu-sō	Lithospermum Zollingeri. D. C.	
*Yuki-wari-sō	Anemone Hepatica	
*Kara-omodaka	Alisma plantago	
*Shun-ran	Cymbidium vireus	
*Kobushi	Magnolia Kobus	Magnolia
§Tsubaki	Camellia Japonica	Camellia
†Nashi	Pyrus Ussuriensis	Pear

*Sumomo	Pyrus Triflora	
*Ringo	Pyrus Malus	Apple
*Asebo	Andromeda Japonica	
*Sendai-hagi	Thermopsis Fabacea	
*Kōrai-giku	Chrysanthemum-coronarium.	Corean Chrysanthemum
†Boke	Pyrus Japonica	
†Mansaku	Hamamelis Japonica	
†Sansei		
*Chōshun	Rosa Indica	
*Wasure-gusa	Hemerocallis flava	
*Ita-dori	Polygonum cuspidatum	
*Sumire	Viola Patrinii	
*Uikiō	Foeniculum vulgare	

3rd MONTH (PRESENT APRIL)

*Haku-tō	Prunus Persica flore alba	White Peach
*Usu-tō		Light colour Peach
*Nojiro-momo		
*Hi-tō	Prunus Persica	Red Peach
*Nora-momo		
*Hosumomo		
*Kō-tō	Prunus Persica flore rosa	Red Peach
*Gempei-momo		Red and White Peach
†Ritō	Prunus triflora	
*Nashi	Pyrus Ussuriensis	Pear
*Ringo	Pyrus Malus	Apple
*Yamabuki	Kerria Japonica	
†Rengiō	Forsythia Suspensa	
Kobushi	Magnolia Kobus	Magnolia
Sankwa-dō		
Anzu	Prunus armeniaca	
Haru-giku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	
Jinchōke	Daphne odora	
Ebine-sō	Calanthe discolor	Orchid
Kome-zakura	Spiraea Thunbergii	
Niwa-zakura	Prunus Japonica	Garden Cherry
Suwō	Cœsarpina appan, L	
Wase-zakura	Prunus Japonica	Early Cherry
Kōrai-giku	Chrysanthemum coronarium.	Corean Chrysanthemum

Mokuren	Magnolia	Magnolia
Shakunage	Rhododendron Metternichii	
Yamamomo	Myrica rubra	
Asebo	Andromeda Japonica	
Sendai-hagi	Thermopsis fabacea	
†Hotei-sō		
*Fuji-kazura	Wistaria chinensis	
†Shakuyaku	Paeonia abbiflora	
†Kakitsubata	Iris lœvigata	
*Azami	Argemone mexicana	
*Ayame	Iris sibirica	Iris
*Karamatsu-sō	Thalictrum aquilegifolium	
†Tessen	Clematis florida	Clematis
†Wasure-gusa	Hermerocallis flava	
*Tōgiri	Clerodendron squamatum	
*Keshi	Papaver somniferum	
†Ko-demari	Spiraea cantoniensis	
*Ippatsu	Iris tectorum	Iris
*Shaga	Iris Japonica	Iris
†Botan	Paeonia Moutan	
*Awamori-sō	Astilbe Japonica	
*Kaza-guruma	Clematis patens	Clematis
*Shiran	Bletia Hyacinthina	
*Chōshun	Rosa Indica	
*Suzuran	Convallaria majalis	
*Tsurigane-sō	Campanula punctata	Bluebell
Konniaku	Conophallus Konjak	
Enishida	Cytisus scoparius	
Ki-fuji	Wistaria chinensis	Yellow wisteria
Fuji-matsu	Larix leptolepis	
Tampopo	Taraxacum officinale	
Sumire	Viola Patrinii	

4th MONTH (PRESENT MAY)

Kiku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	Chrysanthemum
Kuchi-nashi	Gardenia florida	
Sakaki	Cleyera Japonica	
Azami	Cnicus	
Tochi-sō	Clintonia udensis	
Akaza	Chenopodium album	
*Kakitsubata	Iris lœvigata	Iris
*Botan	Paeonia Moutan	Tree peony
*Ayame	Iris sibirica	Iris

§Ippatsu	Iris tectorum	Iris
*Omoto	Rhodea Japonica	
*Kusa-aoi	Althæa rosea	
*Shakuyaku	Pæonia albiflora	Peony
Utsugi	Deutzia Sieboldiana	
*Yuri	Lilium	Lily
†Zakuro	Punica Granatum	
*Sendan	Melia azedarach	
Tsutsuji	Rhododendron indicum	
*Hana-nanten	Nandina Domeslica	Azalia
*Kirishima	Rhododendron obtusum	
§Kinsenkwa	Calendula officinalis	
†Kōhone	Nuphar Japonicum. D.C.	
*Tessen	Clematis florida	Clematis
*Natsu-yuki	Dentzia Sieboldiana	
†Kirin-sō	Sedum kamtschaticum	
*Bijin-sō	Papaver-Rhæas	
†Futo-i	Scirpus lacustris	
†Enishida	Cytisus scoparius	
†Hama-nadeshiko	Dianthus Japonicus	
†Tsurigane-sō	Campanula punctata	Bluebell
*Biyō-riu	Hypericum Chinense	
†Ko-demari	Spiræa cantoniensis	•
†Suwō	Cœsalpinia appan	
§Kobushi	Magnolia Kobus	Magnolia
†Shaga	Iris Japonica	Iris
†Mokuren	Magnolia conspicua	Magnolia
*Shimotsuke	Spiræa Japonica	
*Sendai-hagi	Thermopsis fabacea	
†Shiran	Bletia hyacinthina	
*Teppō-yuri	Lilium longiflorum	Lily
*Sasa-yuri	Lilium Japonicum	Lily
*Hime-yuri	Lilium concolor	Lily
§Suzu-ran	Convallaria majalis	
*Hankwai-sō	Senecis Japonicus	
*Gibōshi	Funkia ovata	
*Kumagae-sō	Cypripedium Japonicum	
Atsumori-sō	Cypripedium macanthrum	
*Benkei-sō	Sedum erythrostictum	
*Hana-yu	Citrus aurantium	
*Kikoku	Citrus fusca	
*Shuro	Trachyarpus excelsa	
*Kōboku	Magnolia hypoleuca	
*Tampopo	Taraxacum officinale	
*Fuji-kazura	Wistaria chinensis	

5th MONTH (PRESENT JUNE)

*Kiku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	Chrysanthemum
*Gibōshi	Funkia ovata	
†Shiran	Bletia hyacinthina	
*Kuchinashi	Gardenia florida	
*Uki-kusa	Lemna minor	
*Ajisai	Hydrangea hortensis	
*Tōchi-sō	Clintonia udensis	
*Shimotsuke	Spiraea Japonica	
*Natsu-yuki	Dentzia Sieboldiana	
*Mokkō-kwa	Rosa Banksiae	
†Hime-yuri	Lilium concolor	Lily
*Sen-nō	Lychnia Senno	
*Matatabi	Actinidia polygama	
*Zakuro	Punica granatum	
†Biyō-riu	Hypericum chinense	
†Hana-nanten	Nandina domestica	
†Tessen	Clematis florida	Clematis
†Kiri-shima	Rhododendron obtusum	Azalia
*Satsuki	Rhododendron macranthum	Azalia
*Kirin-sō	Sedum kamtschaticum	
*Natsu-zukashi	Lilium Thunbergianum	Lily
*Kingin-kwa	Goodyera parviflora	
*Nadeshiko	Dianthus superbus	
*Kawara-nadeshiko	Dianthus superbus	
†Teppō-yuri	Lilium longiflorum	Lily
†Sasa-yuri	Lilium Japonicum	Lily
†Hankwai-sō	Senecio Japonicus	
†Benkei-sō	Sedum erythrostictum	
*Kuma-yanagi	Berchemia racemosa	
*Kōhone	Nuphar Japonicum	
*Sakaki	Cleyera Jadonica	
*Ko-demari	Spiraea cantoniensis	
*Kwaku-sō	Phaius grandiflorus	
*Futo-i	Scirpus lacustris	
*Hoso-i	Juncus communis	
*Sankaku-i	Scirpus lacustris	
*Kayatsuri-gusa	Cyperus Iria	
*Sendan	Melia azedarach	
*Hana-shōbu	Iris lœvigata	
*Kusa-ayame	Iris sibirica	Wild iris
*Mankeishi		
*Nichi-nichi-sō	Vinca rosea	
*Kokwa	Carthamus tinctorius	

†Omoto	Rhodea Japonica	
†Kakitsubata	Iris lœvigata	Iris
*Hakuchō-ke	Serissa foetida	
*Kwannon-sō		
*Ibara-bana		
*Kurumi	Juglans regia	
*Ōchi	Melia Japonica	
†Kōboku	Magnolia hypoleuca	

6th MONTH (PRESENT JULY)

†Kiku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	Chrysanthemum
†Hana-nanten	Nandina domestica	
†Omoto	Rhodea Japonica	
*Ran		Orchid
†Oshiroi-bana	Mirabilis jalaba	
*Seki-chiku	Dianthus Chinensis	Kind of Bamboo
*Hishi	Trapa vispina	
†Hakuchō-ke	Serissa foetida	
*Nadeshiko	Diathus superbus	
*Hasu	Nelumbium speciosum	
†Hi-ogi	Pardauthus chinensis	
†Gibōshi	Funkia ovata	
*Kuzu	Pueraria Thunbergiana	
*Tora-no-o	Lysimachia clethroides	
*Kikiō	Platycodon grandiflorum	
*Tsuta	Vitis inconstans	Ivy
*Gampi	Lychnis grandiflora	
†Sennō	Lychnis senno	
*Kaza-guruma	Clematis patens	Clematis
*Sakaki	Cleyera japonica	
*Mizu-aoi	Monochoria vaginalis	
*Oguruma	Inula britanica	
*Mokuge	Hibiscus syriacus	
*Nōzen-kwa	Tecoma grandiflora	
†Kirin-sō	Sedum kamtschaticum	
†Benkei-sō	Sedum erythrostictum	
†Medo-hagi	Lespedeza sericea	
*Asa-gao	Ipomoea hederacea	Morning Glory
*Hiru-gao	Convolvulus Japonicus	Convolvulus
*Yū-gao	Nuphar Japonicum	
*Kōhone		
†Kakitsubata	Iris lœvigata	Iris

*Kawara-nadeshiko	<i>Dianthus superbus</i>	
†Futo-i	<i>Scirpus lacustris</i>	
†Hoso-i	<i>Juncus communis</i>	
†Sankaku-i	<i>Scirpus lacustris</i>	
*Tatsuta		Lily
*Anja	<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i>	
†Shiu-kaidō	<i>Begonia Evansiana</i>	
†Otogiri-sō	<i>Hypericum erectum</i>	
†Omodaka	<i>Alisma plantago</i>	
†Zakuro	<i>Punica granatum</i>	
†Sanzashi	<i>Crataegus cuneata</i>	
*Manjusake	<i>Nerine japonica</i>	
*Sendan	<i>Melia azedarach</i>	
*Mankeishi		
†Kwannon-sō		
*Natsu-tsubaki	<i>Stuartia pseudo camellia</i>	
*O-yuri	<i>Lilium</i>	Lily
†Sasa-yuri	<i>Lilium Japonicum</i>	Lily
†Teppō-yuri	<i>Lilium longiflorum</i>	Lily
†Hime-yuri	<i>Lilium concolor</i>	Lily
†Natsu-zukashi	<i>Lilium Thunbergianum</i>	Lily
*Itadori	<i>Polygonum cuspidatum</i>	

7th MONTH (PRESENT AUGUST)

†Kiku	<i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i>	<i>Chrysanthenum</i>
*Kikō	<i>Platycodon grandiflorum</i>	
†Tatsuta		Lily
†Ran		Orchid
*Gampi	<i>Lychnis grandiflora</i>	
†Mokuge	<i>Hibiscus syriacus</i>	
†Tsuta	<i>Vitis inconstans</i>	Ivy
*Sennichi-sō	<i>Gomphrena globosa</i>	
*Medo-hagi	<i>Lespedeza sericea</i>	
†Hasu	<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i>	Lotus
†Oguruma	<i>Inula britanica</i>	
*Senriō	<i>Chloranthus brachystachys</i>	
*Kuzu	<i>Pueraria Thunbergiana</i>	
*Ominaeshi	<i>Patrinia scabiosæfolia</i>	
†Asa-gao	<i>Ipomoea hederacea</i>	
*Hishi	<i>Trapa bispinosa</i>	
†Yū-gao		

†Hiru-gao	<i>Convolvulus japonicus</i>	<b>Convolvulus</b>
*Hagi	<i>Lespedeza bicolor</i>	
†Shiu-kaidō	<i>Begonia Evansiana</i>	
†Kōhone	<i>Nuphar Japonicum</i>	
†Futo-i	<i>Scirpus lacustris</i>	
†Hoso-i	<i>Juncus communis</i>	
†Sankaku-i	<i>Scirpus lacustris</i>	
†Mizu-aoi	<i>Monochoria vaginalis</i>	
†Omodaka	<i>Alisma plantago</i>	
†Otogiri-sō	<i>Hypericum erectum</i>	
*Shion	<i>Aster tataricus</i>	<b>Aster</b>
*Kei-tō	<i>Celosia argentea</i>	
†Sawa-gikidō	<i>Lobelia sessilifolia</i>	
*Hōsen-kwa	<i>Impatiens Balsamina</i>	
*Fuyō	<i>Hibiscus mutabilis</i>	
*Ha-gei-tō	<i>Amarantus meloncolichus</i>	
†Dandoku	<i>Canna indica</i>	
†Hi-ōgi	<i>Pardanthus chinensis</i>	
*Ukon	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	
*Kichijō-sō	<i>Renneckia carnea</i>	
*Kushide	<i>Rhus semi-alata</i>	
†Kakitsubata	<i>Iris laevigata</i>	<b>Iris</b>
*Tori-kabuto	<i>Aconitum Fischeri</i>	
†Manjusake	<i>Lycoris radiata. Herb.</i>	
†Mankeishi		
†Benkei-sō	<i>Sedum erythrostictum</i>	<b>Chrysanthemum</b>
†Hakuchōke	<i>Serissa foetida</i>	
†Kwannon-sō		
*Riukiu-gikū		
†Aoi	<i>Althaea rosea</i>	
*Tsuru-modoki	<i>Celastrus articulatus</i>	
†Anja	<i>Dianthus caryophyllus</i>	
†Nadeshiko	<i>Dianthus superbus</i>	
Kawara-nadeshiko	<i>Dianthus superbus</i>	

8th MONTH (PRESENT SEPTEMBER)

†Kiku	<i>Chrysanthemum coronarium</i>	<b>Chrysanthemum</b>
†Susuki	<i>Eularia Japonica</i>	
†Hasu	<i>Nelumbium speciosum</i>	
†Tsuta	<i>Vitis inconstans</i>	<b>Ivy</b>
*Hagi	<i>Lespedeza bicolor</i>	

*Ogi		Kind of reed
†Kakitsubata	<i>Iris laevigata</i>	Iris
*Shion	<i>Aster tataricus</i>	Aster
†Yukinoshita	<i>Saxifraga sarmentosa</i>	
*Fujibakama	<i>Eupatorium chinense</i>	
*No-giku		Wild Chrysanthemum
†Hōsen-kwa	<i>Impatiens Balsamina</i>	
†Fuyō	<i>Hibiscus mutabilis</i>	
*Hi-mawari	<i>Helianthus annuus</i>	
†Kei-tō	<i>Celosia argentea</i>	
†Ominaeshi	<i>Patrinia scabiosæfolia</i>	
*Otokoeshi	<i>Patrinia scabiosæfolia alba</i>	
*Tori-kabuto	<i>Aconitum Fischeri</i>	
†Tsuru-modoki	<i>Celastrus articulatus</i>	
*Ume-modoki	<i>Ilex Sieboldi</i>	
†Mokuge	<i>Hibiscus syriacus</i>	
*Gan-rai-kō	<i>Amaraanthus melancholicus</i>	
*Karu-kaya	<i>Anthistiria arguens</i>	
*Rindō	<i>Gentiana scabra</i>	
*Kongō-sō		
*Uzura-gusa		
*Hassaku-bai		Autumn Plum
*Usumomiji	<i>Acer palmatum</i>	Kind of Maple
†Sanzashi	<i>Crataegus cuneata</i>	
*Hama-giku	<i>Chrysanthemum Nipponicum</i>	
*Ware-mokō	<i>Poterium officinale</i>	
*Okina-gusa	<i>Anenome ceruna</i>	
*Medo-hagi	<i>Lespedeza sericea</i>	
†Sawa-gikiō	<i>Lobelia sessilifolia</i>	
*Sennichi-sō	<i>Gomphrena globosa</i>	
†Tatsuta		Lily
†Mizu-aoi	<i>Monochoria vaginalis</i>	
†Kohone	<i>Nuphar Japonicum</i>	
*Nishiki-bana	<i>Euonymus alatus</i>	
†Benkei-sō	<i>Sedum erythrostictum</i>	
†Kwannon-sō		
†Ukon	<i>Curcuma longa</i>	
†Kichijo-sō	<i>Renneckia carnea</i>	
*Kushide	<i>Rhus semi-alata</i>	
†Riukiu-giku		Chrysanthemum
†Kakitsubata	<i>Iris laevigata</i>	Iris
†Nishikigi	<i>Euonymus alatus</i>	

9th MONTH (PRESENT OCTOBER)

*Kiku	Chrysanthemum coronarium	Chrysanthemum
*Nanten	Nandina domestica	
*Omoto	Rhodea japonica	
†Hagi	Lespedeza bicolor	
†Ume-modoki	Ilex Sieboldii	
*Tsuru-modoki	Celastrus articulatus	
†Ogi		Kind of reed
†Rindō	Gentiana scabra	
†Suisen	Narcissus Tazetta	Narcissus
*Susuki	Eularia Japonica	
†Sawa-gikiō	Lobelia sessilifolia	
*Tsuwa-buki	Senecio Koempferi	
*Cha-no-bana	Camellia theifera	Tea plant
*Yatsu-de	Fatsia Japonica	
*Sazankwa	Camellia Sasanqua	Camellia
*Tsuta	Vitis inconstans.	Ivy
*Biwa	Photinia japonica	
*Shion	Aster tataricus	
*Kakitsubata	Iris lœvigata	
†Karu-kaya	Anthistiria arguens	
†Hama-giku	Chrysanthemum Nipponica	Chrysanthemum
*Sanzashi	Crataegus cuneata	
†Ominaeshi	Patrinia scabiosæfolia	
†Otokoeshi	Patrinia scabiosæfolia alba	
*Kōchō-ke		
*Shikizaki	General term for flowers blooming in four seasons	
*Kabuto-giku	Aconitum Fischeri	
*Mizuhiki	Polygonum filiforme	
†Fuji-bakama	Eupatorium Chinense	
*Yuki-no-shita	Saxifraga sarmentosa	
*Ware-mokō	Poterium officinale	
†Medo-hagi	Lespedeza sericea	
*No-giku		Wild Chrysanthemum
*Uzura-gusa		
†Riukiu-giku		Chrysanthemum
†Kōhone	Nuphar Japonicum	
†Kōyō-mono	General term for trees whose leaves reddens in the Autumn	
†Yanagi-no-rui	Trees of the Willow kind.	
*Nishikigi	Euonymus alatus	

10th MONTH (PRESENT NOVEMBER)

§Zan-giku		Late Chrysanthemum
*Suisen	<i>Narcissus Tazetta</i>	<i>Narcissus</i>
*Kan-giku	<i>Pyrethrum sinense</i>	Winter Chrysanthemum
§Sanzaishi	<i>Crataegus cuneata</i>	
*Cha-no-hana	<i>Camellia theifera</i>	
*Biwa	<i>Photinia Japonica</i>	
§Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>	
*Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>	
*Neko-yanagi	<i>Salix brachystechys</i>	Kind of Willow
§Tsuwa-buki	<i>Senecio Kämpferi</i>	
*Kōchō-ke		
*Shikizaki	General term for flowers blooming in all four seasons	
*Kōyō-mono	General term for trees turning red in the Autumn	
*Nebuka-sō	<i>Allium fistulosum</i>	
*Yuki-no-shita	<i>Saxifraga sarmentosa</i>	
*Yatsu-de	<i>Fatsia Japonica</i>	
*Karu-kaya	<i>Anthiaria arguens</i>	
‡Rindō	<i>Gentiana scabra</i>	
†Hayasaki-Tsubaki	<i>Camellia Japonica</i>	Early Camellia
†Tōji-bai	<i>Prunus mume</i>	Chinese plum
*Jiugwatsu zakura	<i>Prunus pseudo-cerasus</i>	Tenth month Cherry

11th MONTH (PRESENT DECEMBER)

*Kan-giku		Winter Chrysanthemum
*Suisen	<i>Narcissus Tazetta</i>	<i>Narcissus</i>
*Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>	
§Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>	
‡Neko-yanagi	<i>Salix brachystechys</i>	
†Tōji-bai	<i>Prunus mume</i>	Plum of the winter solstice
‡Jiugwatsu zakura	<i>Prunus pseudo-cerasus</i>	Tenth month Cherry
‡Biwa	<i>Photinia Japonica</i>	
*Kōyō-mono	General term for trees turning red in the Autumn	
‡Kōchō-ke		
‡Kan-botan	<i>Paeonia Moutan</i>	Winter Peony
‡Sazankwa	<i>Camellia Sasanqua</i>	Camellia
‡Yatsu-de	<i>Fatsia Japonica</i>	
†Tsubaki	<i>Camellia Japonica</i>	
*Shikizaki	General term for flowers blooming in all four seasons	

12th MONTH (PRESENT JANUARY)

† Kan-giku		Winter Chrysanthemum
‡ Suisen	Narcissus Tazetta	Narcissus
* Kan-botan	Paeonia Moutan	Winter Peony
‡ Nanten	Nandina domestica	
‡ Omoto	Rhodea Japonica	
† Murozaki momo		Forced peach
† Haku-bai	Prunus Mume	
* Tsubaki	Camellia Japonica	Camellia
‡ Yanagi-no-rui	Various kinds of willows	
* Rō-bai	Chimonanthus fragrans	
† Kinsenkwa	Calendula officinalis	
† Kōchō-ke		
‡ Kōyō-no-rui	Various trees the leaves of which redden in the Autumn	
‡ Shikizaki	Flowers blooming in all four seasons	
† Rengiō	Forsythia suspensa	

Classification of flowers according to their season. In the above list (\*) indicates trees and plants classed as *Shō-kwa* (Living Flowers). Such are specially appropriate for felicitous occasions.

(†) Indicates the *Hayasaki* or (Early Flowerings), such flowers being in advance of their proper season in the month under which they are placed.

(‡) Indicates the *Zan-kwa* or (Passed Flowers), and (§) indicates *Shi-kwa* (Dead Flowers). The two latter terms refer respectively to flowers passed in month or season. Their use should be avoided for ceremonial occasions.

Another term *Zō-kwa* (Common Flowers) is applied to wild plants and plants of very common character such as possess no fancy names. Their use is not permitted, except in the hands of the most experienced professors of the art. *Gokoku* meaning cereals, are also to be avoided.

Poisonous plants prohibited. The following flowers and plants should not be employed for flower arrangements as they possess poisonous properties and their use is therefore said to be ominous.

Mochi-tsutsuji	Rhododendron ledifolium	The white flower species is not poisonous
Yaye-kwanzō	Hemerocallis flava	Single flower species not poisonous
Manjusake	Nerine Japonica	Leaves are poisonous
Hana-sawari		Flower poisonous
Koshi-kwa	Convolvulus Japonicus	Highly poisonous
Nōzen-kazura	Tecoma grandiflora	Tendrils poisonous
Yama-ajisai	Hydrangea liorta	Root poisonous
Hōsen-kwa	Impatiens Balsamina	Leaves poisonous
Miyama-shikimi	Skimmia Japonica	Leaves poisonous
Hito-keshi		Strongly poisonous
Yatsu-de	Fatsia Japonica	Root poisonous
Asebo	Andromeda Japonica	Stem poisonous
Yama-gobō	Rhaponticum atriplicifolium	Red kind poisonous
Tori-kabuto	Anconitum Fischeri	Root poisonous
Karasu-ōgi	Rumex aquaticus	Stem said to be poisonous
Inu-kusu	Machilus Thumbergii	Root poisonous
Tachimachi-gusa		Very poisonous
Gibōshi	Funkia ovata	Flower poisonous
Yama-nasubi		Very poisonous
Konniku	Arisema Japonica	Root poisonous
Kusagi	Clerodendron trichotornum	Leaves poisonous

In addition to the above, all flowers having a strong odour are considered unsuitable for putting before guests.

Flowers of strong odour prohibited.

Among the flowers peculiar to the different months, as enumerated above, some are considered specially appropriate for displaying upon felicitous occasions whilst others are interdicted for such occasions

#### FLOWERS SUITABLE FOR FELICITOUS OCCASIONS.

1st MONTH (PRESENT FEBRUARY)

Fukuju-sō	<i>Adonis Amurensis</i>
Yabu-kōji	<i>Ardisia Japonica</i>
Haku-bai	White Plum
Yanagi	Willow

Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Shō-chiku-bai	Combination of Pine. Bamboo and Plum.

**2nd MONTH (PRESENT MARCH)**

Momo	Peach
Yanagi	Willow
Kō-bai	Red plum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Haru-giku	Spring chrysanthemum
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>

**3rd MONTH (PRESENT APRIL)**

Sakura	Cherry
Momo	Peach
Haru-giku	Spring chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>

**4th MONTH (PRESENT MAY)**

Botan	Tree peony
Shakuyaku	Iris
Mōsō-chiku	Bamboo
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Kiku	Chrysanthemum

**5th MONTH (PRESENT JUNE)**

Kiku	Chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Mōsō-chiku	Bamboo
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>

**6th MONTH (PRESENT JULY)**

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Kiku	Chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>

**7th MONTH (PRESENT AUGUST)**

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Kiku	Chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>

**8th MONTH (PRESENT SEPTEMBER)**

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Kiku	Chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Hassaku-bai	Autumn Plum
Nanten	● <i>Nandina domestica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>

**9th MONTH (PRESENT OCTOBER)**

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Kiku	Chrysanthemum
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Suisen	Narcissus
Yanagi	Willow

**10th MONTH (PRESENT NOVEMBER)**

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Zan-giku	<i>Pyrethrum sinense</i>
Suisen	Narcissus
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Yanagi	Willow

11th MONTH (PRESENT DECEMBER)

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Suisen	Narcissus
Kan-giku	<i>Pyrethrum sinense</i>
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Yanagi	Willow
Nanten	<i>Nandina domestica</i>
Tōji-bai	Early plum
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Yaye-tsubaki	Early camellia

12th MONTH (PRESENT JANUARY)

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Suisen	Narcissus
Kan-giku	Winter chrysanthemum
Yanagi	Willow
Omoto	<i>Rhodea Japonica</i>
Haku-bai	White plum
Murozaki-momo	Forced peach
Chōshun	<i>Rosa Indica</i>
Tsubaki	Camellia

FLOWERS PROHIBITED FOR FELICITOUS OCCASIONS.

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Ito zusuki	<i>Eularia Japonica</i>
Shion	Aster
Niga-dake	
Bashō	<i>Musa Basjoo</i>
Shinobu	<i>Davallia bullata</i>
Kawara-nadeshiko	<i>Dianthus superbus</i>
Ogi	Kind of reed
Hagi	<i>Lespedeza bicolor</i>
Fujibakama	<i>Eupatorium chinense</i>
Tsutsuji	Azalia
Niwatoko	<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>
Miyama-shikimi	<i>Skimmia Japonica</i>
Himuro	Thuya squarrosa
Karatake	Chinese bamboo
Keitō	<i>Celosia argentea</i>
Hiro-gashiwa	Large leafed oak

Karukaya	<i>Anthistiria arguens</i>
Jinchō-ke	<i>Daphne odora</i>
Hashibami	<i>Corylus heterophylla</i>
Hiaku-jikkō	<i>Lagerstræmia Indica</i>
Zakuro	<i>Punica Granatum</i>
Mokuge	<i>Hibiscus syriatus</i>
Mitsu-mata	<i>Edgeworthia papyrifera</i>
Hōsen-kwa	<i>Impatiens Balsamina</i>
Kokwa	<i>Carthamus tinctorius</i>
Keshi	<i>Papaver somniferum</i>
Nashi	<i>Pyrus ussuriensis</i>
Kanzō	<i>Hemococallis flava</i>
Fuyō	<i>Hibiscus mutabilis</i>
Renge	<i>Lotus</i>
Hototogisu-sō	<i>Tricyrtis Japonica</i>
Mokuren	<i>Magnolia</i>
Cha-no-hana	<i>Camellia theifera</i>
Ran	Orchid
Dandoku	<i>Cauna indica</i>
Rengiō	<i>Forsythia suspensa</i>
Yoshi	<i>Phragmites communis</i>
Ashi	<i>Phragmites communis</i>
Rindō	<i>Gentiana scabra</i>
Awayuki	<i>Grapkalium Sieboldianum</i>
Shakunage	<i>Rhododendron</i>
Kuchi-nashi	<i>Gardenia florida</i>
Asa-gao	<i>Ipomoea hederacea</i>
Giboshi	<i>Funkia ovata</i>
Hi-ogi	<i>Pardanthus chinensis</i>
Ume-modoki	<i>Ilex Sieboldii</i>
Yama-nashi	<i>Smilax biflora</i>
Kōhone	<i>Nuphar Japonicum</i>
Hinoki	<i>Thuya obtusa</i>
Yatsu-de	<i>Eatsia Japonica</i>
Ajisai	<i>Hydrangea hortensis</i>

Ranking highest among the above the following seven flowers are considered as *par excellence* those for ceremonies and congratulatory occasions.

The *Kiku* or Chrysanthemum to which is given the fancy name *Chōju-sō*, meaning *Long lasting plant*, on account of its growing through all the four seasons.

Flowers held  
in special hon-  
or.

Chrysanthemum.

**Narcissus.** The *Suisen* or *Narcissus*, called by the fancy name of *Inyō-sō*, or *Plant of the two sexes*, because it comes in the winter and lasts till the spring of the following year.

**Maple.** The *Momiji* or *Maple* fancifully called *Dokuge-sō* or *Poison-dispelling plant*. There is an idea that the maple absorbs all poison and infection from the air.

**Cherry.** The *Sakura* or *Cherry*, said to be the king flowers in Japan.

**Peony.** The *Botan* or *Tree Peony*, fancifully named *Fuki-gusa*, meaning *Plant of wealth and high rank*. This is said to be the king of flowers in China.

*Rhodea Japonica.* The *Omoto* or *Rhodea Japonica*, much honoured because, unaffected by heat or cold, its leaf is strong and green throughout the year.

**Wistaria.** The *Fuji* or *Wistaria*, fancifully called *Nikisō*, meaning *Plant of the two seasons*, because appearing between the third and fourth months it belongs both to spring and summer. Though much honoured and used for felicitous occasions the *Fuji* must not be employed at weddings on account of its purple colour.

**Iris.** In addition to the above seven flowers the *Kakitsubata* (*Iris laevigata*) also takes high rank, but on account of its purple colour is prohibited for wedding ceremonies.

There are certain combinations of flowers which are considered appropriate and certain combinations which are regarded as inappropriate.

#### APPROPRIATE COMBINATIONS.

*Matsu* (Pine)

with *Chōshun* (*Rosa indica*)

*Matsu* (Pine)

with *Kiku* (*Chrysanthemum*)

*Yanagi* (Willow)

with *Suisen* (*Narcissus*)

*Momiji* (Maple)

with *Kiku* (*Chrysanthemum*, white or yellow)

<i>Tsubaki</i> (Camellia)	with <i>Suisen</i> (Narcissus)
<i>Ume-modoki</i> (Ilex Sieboldi)	with <i>Suisen</i> (Narcissus)
<i>Haran</i> (Orchid)	with <i>Nadeshiko</i> (Dianthus superbus)
<i>Tokusa</i> (Equisetum hyemale)	with <i>Sennō</i> (Lychius Senno)
<i>Haku-bai</i> (white Plum)	with <i>Kinsenkwa</i> (Calendula officinalis)
<i>Momo</i> (Peach)	with <i>Yamabuki</i> (Kerria Japonica)
<i>Futo-i</i> (Scirpus lacustris)	with <i>Kakitsubata</i> (Iris laevigata)
<i>Kōhone</i> (Nuphar Japonicum)	
or	
<i>Take</i> —Bamboo	with <i>Asa-gao</i> (Morning Glory)
<i>Nanten</i> (Nandina domestica)	with <i>Shira-giku</i> (white Chrysanthemum) or <i>Suisen</i> (Narcissus)

OBJECTIONABLE COMBINATIONS.

<i>Kashiwa</i> (Oak)	with <i>Shion</i> (Aster)
<i>Take</i> (Bamboo)	with <i>Susuki</i> (Eularia Japonica)
<i>Ume</i> (Plum)	with <i>Yanagi</i> (Willow)
<i>Nanten</i> (Nandina domestica)	with <i>Take</i> (Bamboo)
<i>Enoki</i> (Cellis sinensis)	with <i>Nadeshiko</i> (Dianthus superbus)
<i>Tsubaki</i> (Camellia)	with <i>Kinsenkwa</i> (Calendula officinalis)
<i>Matsu</i> (Pine) ( <i>Podocarpus</i> Macrophylla)	with <i>Zakuro</i> ( <i>Punica granatum</i> ) or <i>Maki</i> (Fir)
<i>Momo</i> (Peach)	with <i>Sakura</i> (Cherry)
<i>Maki</i> ( <i>Podocarpus</i> Macro- phylla)	with <i>Haran</i> (Orchid)
<i>Hinoki</i> ( <i>Thuya obtusa</i> )	with <i>Haran</i> (Orchid)
<i>Shaga</i> ( <i>Iris Japonica</i> )	with <i>Haran</i> (Orchid) <i>Omoto</i> ( <i>Rhodea Japonica</i> ) or <i>Kōhone</i> ( <i>Nuphar Japonicum</i> )

In combined arrangements a land plant should always take precedence of a water plant, that is if the two are used in combination the land plant should occupy the most important position. Sometimes this rule however is violated when tall reeds or high water grasses are employed the character of which necessitates that they should occupy the centre of the composition.

Special rules  
for combina-  
tions of differ-  
ent plants.

In the same way the *Kiku* (Chrysanthemum) and *Nadeshiko* (Dianthus superbus), which are important land plants, are sometimes used in secondary positions as *Shita-kusa* (Lower plants) on account of their easy adaptability to such positions.

*Flowers for  
special fête  
days.*

Above was given a general list of flowers suited for felicitous occasions. The five great festivals of the year, called *Go-sekku* have again special flowers particularly suited to these occasions. viz.

On the 1st day of the 1st month.

*Matsu*(Pine) *Take*(Bamboo) *Ume*(Plum) *Fuku-ju-sō* (Adonis Amurensis) *Yanagi*(Willow) *Yabu-kōji* (Ardisia Japonica) *Omoto* (Rhodea Japonica).

For the 3rd day of the 3rd month.

*Momo* (Peach) *Yanagi* (Willow) *Sakura* (Cherry) *Omoto* (Rhodea Japonica) *Chōshūn* (*Rosa indica*).

For the 5th day of the 5th month.

*Kiku* (Chrysanthemum) *Hana-shōbu* (Iris) *Mōsō-chiku* (A kind of Bamboo).

For the 7th day of the 7th month.

*Kikiō* (Platycodon grandiflorum) *Take* (Bamboo) *Ominaeshi* (*Patrinia scabiosæfolia*).

For the 9th day of the 9th month.

*Kiku* (Chrysanthemum) *Omoto* (Rhodea Japonica) *Nanten* (*Nandina domestica*).

In addition to the above five fête days there is a special festival called *Setsu-ye* on the last day of the tenth month and for this day the most appropriate flower is *Murozaki Momo* (Forced peach flower). The flower must be used in full bloom and without either faded leaves or withered branches.

*Flowers for  
various cere-  
monial occa-  
sions.*

Certain rules are laid down which should govern the character of flower arrangements for different ceremonial occasions. The principal of these are as follows.

(*KONBEI NO HANA*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED FOR WEDDINGS.

With regard to arranging flowers for weddings it must be remembered that amongst colours red is regarded as male and white as female. Hence in the case of a *Muko* (a son-in-law adopted by marriage into the family of the bride) the bridegroom is virtually regarded as the guest of the occasion, and therefore the *Shin* or central line of the floral design should be of the male colour,—red, whilst the *Soye*, or supporting line, is of the female colour,—white. On the other hand when a *Yome* or bride is adopted into the family of her husband the female colour—white, has the central position in the arrangement. In both cases the stems of the flowers used must be closed and firmly connected at the base to signify union, and bound with coloured cords called *Mizuhiki*. Purple flowers are prohibited for weddings as also willow branches and other drooping plants. Hanging vases (*Tsuru no mono*) are also to be avoided.

Sex observed  
in the colours  
of the flowers  
used.

Prohibited  
arrangements.

(*HONO NO HANA*).

FLOWERS OFFERED TO A DEITY

Flowers used for a sacred purpose must be employed as naturally as possible, the withered leaves only being removed.

(*TSUIZEI NO HANA*).

FLOWERS FOR DEATH ANNIVERSARIES

For arrangements from the first to the fifteenth anniversary of a death, flower compositions must be quiet and simple, and those designing them must not attempt to display

Unaffected  
simplicity re-  
quired.

Special branch in token of a religious offering.

skill. White and yellow flowers are used in combination with a special branch called the *Tamuke eda* which signifies a religious offering. It is said to be vulgar and in bad taste to attempt to criticise such arrangements judging them by the ordinary standards. On and after the fifteenth anniversary gayer arrangements and even red flowers may be used, and the *Shin* or centre should be an old moss covered branch, a flower of the season being used for the *Soye*. Flowers the names of which contain the word *Oni* (meaning *demon*) such as the *Oni yuri* (a kind of lily) and the *Oni azami* (a kind of cnicus) are to be avoided.

*(CHUIN NO HAN).*

FLOWERS FOR THE FORTY NINTH ANNIVERSARY  
OF A DEATH

For such an occasion withered branches with white or yellow flowers must be used. Buds are to be avoided and flowers in full bloom and over-blown flowers should be employed. Crossing leaves (*Kasanari ba*), and flowers blooming for the second time in the same year (*Kaeri zaki*) are not allowed. The *Tamuke eda* must be used in front of the *Shin*.

*(GEMBUKU AND HAKAMA-GI  
NO HAN).*

FLOWERS FOR THE FESTIVALS OF COMING OF AGE.

Arrangements expressive of youthful vigour.

The ceremony called *Hakama-gi* was held on the occasion of a boy first assuming the ceremonial trousers (*Hakama*). That of *Gembuku* was held on the occasion of coming of age, when the locks were cut off, with the exception of the cue worn by adults.

For both of the above festivals flower arrangements must be firm and vigorous with a large proportion of buds and young branches. Faded branches and full blown flowers are prohibited.

**(KAMI NO HANA).**

FLOWERS BEFORE A SHINTŌ SHRINE.

Each household in Japan has generally two shrines, one to the *Kami* or household gods of the old Shintō cult, and the other to the *Hotōke* or spirits of deceased relatives, which is Buddhist. For arrangements of flowers before the *Kami* a full and powerful composition is required. All ugly flowers, those of strong odour, or those having thorns are prohibited. A special branch called *Kao muke no eda*, or the *facing* branch, must be used behind the *Shin* or central line.

Differences between Shintō and Buddhist arrangements.

**(HOTOKE NO HANA).**

FLOWERS BEFORE A BUDDHIST SHRINE.

For such arrangements a full and crowded composition must be used and the *Tamuke no eda* must be introduced.

**(HASSAKU NO HANA).**

FLOWERS FOR THE FESTIVAL OF THE FIRST DAY OF  
THE EIGHTH MONTH.

The *Hassaku* was a festival specially honoured by *Iyeyasu*, the first of the Tokugawa Shōguns, to celebrate his entrance into Yedo.

Flowers employed on this occasion should be fruit or berry bearing plants or trees, and all faded branches must be avoided.

(*GENCHO NO HANA*).

FLOWERS FOR THE FESTIVAL OF *Gencho*.

Use of berry bearing plants.

This festival occurs on the first day of the wild boar in the eleventh month. To account for this festival it is related that the Chinese Emperor *Rei*, who had three thousand concubines, being unable to obtain any progeny consulted a sorcerer who divined that if the Emperor celebrated this particular day his wish would be fulfilled. The result was as foretold, and this is said to have led to the *Gencho* being kept as a special festival for barren women.

For such an occasion fruit or berry bearing branches are used in combination with small Chrysanthemums (*Kogiku*).

(*KADODE NO HANA*).

FLOWERS FOR THE OCCASION OF STARTING ON A JOURNEY.

Use of *returning* flowers.

For such an occasion flowers blooming twice in the same year and technically called *Kaeri bana*, which literally means *returning* flowers, are preferred. The idea is to express the wish for a safe return.

For the (*Shutsu-jin*), being the occasion of setting out on a campaign, a similar arrangement is adopted.

(*KOJŌ OR SENCHU NO HANA*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED ON THE OCCASION OF A SIEGE.

Arrangement suggestive of power and resistance.

For such occasions the character of the arrangement should be powerful and the stems of the plants firmly kept together at the base. Bent and cut leaves are to be avoided, as also flowers late in their season, called *Okure-zaki*.

(*BUDOU NO HANA*).

FLOWERS PLACED BEFORE THE SICK.

Flowers arranged at the request of sick persons should be put together in a quick and unlaboured manner. The arrangement should be vigorous. Vigorous arrangement.

(*KITOU NO HANA*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED AT TIME OF PRAYING  
FOR THE SICK.

Flower bearing trees or plants of the particular season are preferred for such arrangements. The composition should be full and gay, and the lines vigorously arranged. The use of *Matsu* (Pine) *Maki* (*Podocarpus Macrophylla*) and *Omoto* (*Rhodea Japonica*) should be avoided. Full and gay arrangement.

(*HOSHI MATSURI NO HANA*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED AT THE TIME OF STAR WORSHIP.

This festival is kept on the seventh day of the seventh month. Seven different flowers are employed, arranged in three vases. The central of the three vases contains three flowers, of which the *Shin* or centre should be the *Sakaki* (*Cleyera Japonica*), and the other two vases hold each two flowers. In all three cases the stems should be tied together with a five coloured silken cord which for this purpose is called the *Negai-no-ito*, or cord of prayer. Astrological arrangement.

(*TSUKI-MI NO HANA*).

FLOWERS FOR THE OCCASION OF MOON GAZING.

Pine branch-  
es used.

Floral arrange-  
ment sugges-  
tive of a moon-  
lit landscape.

This festival is on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. For the occasion *Matsu* (Pine) should be used, and between the *Shin* and *Giō* lines of the composition a special branch should be introduced which is fancifully called *Tsukikage no eda* or the *Moon shadow branch*. Also a hollow gap should be formed between the foliage, bounded by a special branch termed *Enkiri no eda*, or dividing branch. The floral arrangement is placed in the recess of the chamber and has no connection with moon-lit landscape seen from the chamber galleries, but in the flower composition itself the idea of a landscape is expressed, the Pine tree being used, and the gap in the branches as well as the *Moon shadow branch* being intended to suggest both the opening through which the moon can be partially observed and the dark branch which crosses its surface. To fully appreciate the analogy one must have lived in Japan and seen the tall rugged pine trees standing out against the starry heavens.

(*HONSHI-GATA NO HANA*).

FLOWERS FOR THE CEREMONY OF RETIREMENT  
INTO A RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Arrangement  
suggestive of  
the ripeness of  
years.

For this occasion red flowers and overblown flowers are avoided, and berry bearing trees or plants are preferred.

(*MAGI NO HAN'A*).

FLOWERS USED ON THE OCCASION OF PROMOTION  
IN RANK.

Flower arrangements for such occasions should have buds below and open flowers above, to signify ascent in rank; withered leaves and over blown flowers must be avoided.

Ascent in rank suggested.

(*AMAGOI NO HAN'A*).

FLOWERS USED ON THE OCCASION OF  
PRAYER FOR RAIN.

For such occasions the stems of flowers arranged in a vase are given directions representing the points of the compass, the side to the right of the observer being regarded as East. As it is the East wind which brings rain the *Shin* or central line of the composition must be arranged from right to left, in such a manner as to suggest the East wind blowing.

Direction of wind suggested.

(*HIYORI GOI NO HAN'A*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED AT TIME OF PRAYER  
FOR FINE WEATHER.

For such an occasion the cardinal directions of the lines being as above, the *Shin* must have a direction from left to right to express a West wind and fine weather.

(*SHI, KA, BEN PAI SEKI NO HAN'A*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED FOR POETRY  
MEETINGS.

The Enshiu school holds that if a flower subject be chosen for poetical compositions at a

Conflicting theories.

meeting that particular flower should be used for the floral arrangement of the chamber, if in season, and should be displayed in a quiet and simple manner. Some authors however hold a contrary opinion, namely that the particular flower treated as subject for poetical composition should not be displayed at the meeting.

**(SHINTAKU NO HANA).**

FLOWERS ARRANGED ON THE OCCASION OF  
A HOUSE WARMING.

Charms against fire.

Red flowers and leaves, or trees and plants the names of which contain the syllable *Hi*, meaning *fire*, must not be used on such occasions. Such prohibited trees are *Hinoki*, (*Thuya obtusa*) *Hime ogi*, *Gampi* (*Lychius grandiflora*), *Himawari* (*Helianthus*), *Hime yuri* (*Lilium concolor*) &c. The use of the *Hinoki* is specially prohibited as it is the wood anciently employed for striking fire from. By a curious perversion however, some schools approve the use of *Hinoki* branches, the name being phonetically synonymous with the word *Hinoku*, meaning protection from fire. In both cases the leading idea is to invoke protection from the dreaded enemy so destructive to the beautiful wooden buildings of the country.

**(CHA-SEKI NO HANA).**

FLOWERS USED FOR THE TEA CEREMONIAL.

Hanging arrangements preferred.

As the chambers in which tea ceremonies are held are small, the flower arrangements must be small in scale, simple, and unaffected. A hanging arrangement of flowers is much favoured.

Red flowers and those having a strong scent are prohibited. The following flowers are not used, *Sakura* (Cherry), *Oboke*, *Bara* (Rose), *Hachisu* (Lotus), *Azami* (Cnicus), *Kinsenkwa* (*Calendala officinalis*), *Kōhone* (*Nuphar Japonicum*), *Keitō* (*Celosia argentea*), *Shikimi* (Anise, *Illicium religiosum*), *Ran* (Orchid), and all flowers having poisonous properties. The displaying of the flower arrangement has its proper order in the tea ceremonial. First the hanging picture (*Kakemono*) is shewn and the first part of the ceremony takes place, after which the guests retire: the *Kakemono* is then removed and the flower arrangement is prepared before the second admission of the guests. Partly with the object of not keeping the guests waiting outside too long, and partly on account of the severe simplicity of the surroundings, the flower composition is made as simple as possible. If a standing vase be used the *Shin* only is employed, if a *Kake-banaike* the *Sō* only is used, and if a *Tsuri-banaike* the *Giō* only is employed. If three stems are combined they must be kept together in one line. Flowers used on such occasions must be well sprinkled with water to look fresh and dew-covered. For tea ceremonies held at night, flowers are not employed. If such a ceremony takes place in a large room instead of the ordinary miniature tea chamber, then both flower arrangement and *Kakemono* may be displayed together.

Order held  
by the floral  
arrangement  
in the cere-  
monial.

(*KE NO SEKI NO HAJI*).

FLOWERS ARRANGED FOR THE INCENSE BURNING  
CEREMONIAL.

All scented flowers of whatever kind are prohibited for such occasions. The use of such

Scented flow-  
ers prohibited.

flowers as *Ume* (Plum) *Zinchōke* (Daphne odora) *Hama-giku* (Chrysanthemum Nipponicum) *Kabuto-giku* (Aconitum Fischeri) is specially prohibited. As the incense is burnt upon the floor of the recess (*Toko no ma*), when standing flower arrangements are used they must be placed so as not to intrude, but hanging arrangements are preferred.

Position occupied by the floral arrangement in the chamber.

All important rooms in a Japanese house, large or small, are provided with an ornamental alcove or recess called the *Toko no ma*. In the superior class of rooms this recess is of large proportions occupying half of the side wall, and is provided with a raised and lacquered floor and with fine pillars of rare wood. The remainder of the wall space on this side of the room is occupied by a corresponding recess furnished with ornamental shelves and cupboards and called the *Chigai dana*.

The floral composition is placed upon the floor of the *Toko no ma*, unless it be a hanging arrangement, in which case it is hung to the side pillar of this recess. The back wall of the *Toko no ma* is the surface upon which the *Kakemono* or roll pictures are exhibited. These pictures are hung singly, in pairs, in triplets, or occasionally in fours. It is most important that the floral arrangement should not clash with the picture arrangement, and the general rules with this object in view are as follows.

Connection between the position and number of *kakemono* and the floral arrangement.

When two pictures are used a single vase of flowers should be placed opposite to the interval between them. In the case of three pictures, two vases of flowers should be used, one placed opposite to each interval. With four pictures three vases of flowers may be used, disposed in a similar manner opposite to the intervals. Sometimes however instead of three flower ar-

rangements being employed the central space will be occupied by an incense burner (*Kōro*), a vase of flowers being used opposite the intervals on either side.

In the case of a single *Kakemono* its proportion influences the floral arrangement.

In front of a long *Kakemono* the floral design must be kept low, but when a broad low *Kakemono* (called *Yokomono*), is used, the composition may be high and full. If however the flowers be placed to one side of the picture this rule may be disregarded. It is sometimes unavoidable that the flowers cover part of the picture, in which case care must be taken not to hide that portion of the painting bearing the stamp and signature. The centre, ends, and tassel of the ornamental roller forming the bottom border of the picture must also be always visible. If the painting contain figures, the faces of such figures must on no account be hidden by the flowers.

Position of flowers influenced by proportion of *Kakemono*.

It is also important that the flower arrangement should accord with the *character* of the picture in front of which it is placed. Thus if the painting represent a landscape with mountains and water (technically called a *Sansui kakemono*) then it is best to use some water plant for the floral design, which by a stretch of imagination may be supposed actually to exist in the foreground of such a landscape. It is necessary to avoid using in the vase flowers similar to those actually represented in the hanging picture but the evident reason that such a juxtaposition might lead to invidious comparisons. If, for example, a *Kakemono* hung in the *Toko no ma* represent plum blossoms, the use of real plum blossoms in front must be avoided, unless, owing to special circumstances courtesy should neces-

Harmony between the subject of a *kakemono* and the floral composition.

sitate the violation of this rule, in which case the floral arrangement should be as unassuming as possible so as not to detract from the skill of the painter.

If the painting represent flowering *plants* (*Kusa no hana*) then the floral arrangement should be made with branches of blossoming *trees* (*Ki no hana*); and the reverse case also holds good. If the hanging roll be a manuscript of Chinese characters (*Boku seki*) the arrangement of flowers in front must be very quiet and simple, but if the composition of a very famous writer, poet, or painter be exhibited, it is best to have no flower arrangement at all so as not to detract from the importance of the treasure displayed. In ordinary cases if a poem be hung up the floral design should tend to illustrate the poem: thus with a *Kiku no uta* (Chrysanthemum poem) Chrysanthemums should be used, and with a *Matsu no shi* (Pine tree poem) Pine branches should be used.

Associations founded upon tradition.

There are certain other associations to be observed between the picture used and the flower arrangement in front, founded upon traditional fancies. *Tō-em-meī*, a famous painter was known to have a remarkable passion for Chrysanthemum flowers, hence it is customary to use Chrysanthemums when a painting by this artist is displayed. Similarly as the painter *Rin-na-sei* is said to have been very fond of plum blossoms, it is customary to place such flowers before his paintings.

Among Japanese art motives are many double associations from animal and vegetable life, commonly used in paintings, such for example are Sparrows in Bamboos, Lions and Peonies &c. In the arrangement of flowers before certain figure and animal paintings these associations are kept as much as possible.

For example if the picture represent *Hotai sama*, one of the Gods of Fortune, Bamboo branches should be used for the flower arrangement. In the same way a Stag painting requires Maples, a Horse painting needs Wild Flowers, a painting of Lions should have Peonies, Tigers require Bamboos, Dragons require Pine branches, and paintings of Chinese children (*Karako*) require Coloured Flowers to be placed in front.

Some writers go so far as to say that the flower arrangement in a chamber should contrast agreeably with the style of the adjoining garden. If the garden be a *Sansui* garden, that is, one containing hills and water, then the floral arrangement in the adjoining chamber should by preference partake of the character of moorland scenery: and on the other hand if the garden be a level waterless one (*Hira niwa*), then the flowers used in the chamber should be suggestive of a water landscape.

Connection  
between style  
of flower ar-  
rangement and  
style of adjoin-  
ing garden.

In large reception rooms (*Sho in*) the flower arrangement should be large and the *Kakemono* should be a landscape executed by a skilled painter, or a famous piece of caligraphy. The work of a young painter is objected to for such important chambers. In small rooms it is better to have no *Kakemono* when flowers are displayed, but simply a tablet hung to the pillar (*Hashira kakushi*).

Reference was made above to the ornamental group of shelves in a Japanese chamber placed beside the *Toko no ma* and called the *Chigai dana*. Sometimes small floral arrangements are placed upon these shelves, in which case the following rules must be observed. For the top shelf the floral composition should contain the moss covered stump of a tree (*Ko-boku*), the middle shelf should carry an arrangement consisting of young tree branches, or land *plants*, and the lower shelf

Flowers  
arranged on  
shelves in  
stages.

should have some kind of water *plant* for its floral design. If the middle shelf have *tree* branches then a land *plant* may be used for the lowest.

The *Fukuro dana* is a kind of small ornamental cupboard or cabinet which is often constructed in combination with the shelves of the *Chigai dana*. The slides of these cabinets are sometimes painted with flowers and in such a case one must avoid using the same flowers in the vase placed in front.

*Etiquette of arranging flowers.*

There are several points of ceremonial and etiquette insisted on in connection with the art of arranging flowers. Such rules relate both to the conduct of the host and to that of his guests.

*Manner of inspecting to be followed by the guests.*

The proper manner for a visitor to regard a floral composition is to take his seat in the old ceremonial attitude, about three feet distant from the dais on which the flower vase stands, and to place one hand on the knees while the other respectfully touches the mats. It must be remembered that there is always a supposed association between the pictures which adorn the back of the recess and the flower arrangement in front. The guest should therefore first regard the *Kake-mono* and if, as is often the case, there are three of these he should observe first the central, then the left hand, and lastly the right hand one. Having thus bestowed his admiration upon the background of the scene, he may examine the floral composition in the foreground. In doing so he should first observe the *Shin* line of the design and then gradually examine right and left from top to bottom: it is however considered impolite to put the face behind the branches or to peer too closely into the composition. In expressing admiration it must be done in a gentle and quiet manner, as it shews bad taste to use loud

and exaggerated expressions of approval indiscriminately. The colour of the flowers calls for first praise. The term *Kiasha*, perhaps best translated as *elegant*, is suited for white flowers; *Migoto*, meaning *fine* or *splendid*, may be used for blue flowers; for those of a red colour the word *Utsukushii*, meaning *pretty*, may be employed; *Kekkō*, translatable here as *very fine*, may be applied to yellow blossoms; and *Kusumu*, meaning *modest* or *quiet*, may be used in admiring purple flowers. It is improper to hold a fan in the hand when regarding flowers.

Hanging arrangements should not be observed from a sitting but from a standing and stooping posture.

A guest is often invited by the host to make an extemporary arrangement of flowers, for which purpose he is presented with certain suitable stems and branches and all needful utensils and implements. On such occasions the host should provide a vase three quarters filled with water, which should be placed in the centre of the *Toko no ma* upon a board or miniature table spread with a sheet of paper. In addition to this a flower tray with two or three kinds of cut flowers, which must be just as gathered and not trimmed in any way, a pair of scissors, a knife, a flower cloth of white hemp about sixteen inches square, and a small saw must be placed to the left of the *Toko no ma*. Near to these materials must be put a water jug full of water and several forked twigs suitable for holding the ends of the branches when fixed in the vase. These fixtures are technically called *Hana kubari*. Should the host produce a very rare and valuable vessel for the flower arrangement it is polite for the guest invited to make the floral arrangement to shew diffidence, declining to use so precious an article on the

Arrangement  
of flowers by a  
guest.

plea of want of sufficient skill. If pressed however he must attempt a simple and unassuming arrangement. Should the host produce only a small quantity of cut flowers, the guest must do his best with these and on no account ask for more. If not all used the remainder are left on the flower tray and are afterwards removed by the host. In the case of flowers having thorns or bristles the guest must not unceremoniously remove them unless invited to do so. When the arrangement is completed the host and any other visitors present, who have meanwhile remained in the adjoining room, approach in turn the *Toko no ma*, salute and inspect in the manner previously described. The scissors are left near to the flower arrangement as a silent and modest request to correct faults. The designer turns to the host, apologizes for the imperfections and begs that the whole may be removed; the host refuses, saying that the result is everything that could be desired. At such flower gatherings it is particularly recommended that visitors should not attempt bold and ambitious arrangements.

For the entertainment of very superior guests triple arrangements should be used in the *Toko no ma*, namely three *Kakemono*, combined with a statuette (*Oki mono*), an incense burner (*Kōro*), and a flower vase. Such a style is technically called the *Mitsu gusoku*.

Flowers used  
as presents.

In making presents of cut flowers for the purpose of flower arrangements, called *Miage no hana*, they must not be trimmed or they will look as if previously used. The sender must however consider how they are capable of combination into a floral composition and must include *plants* and such materials as are necessary for accessories. The recipient

should also consider carefully how such cuttings will best combine without injury or extensive alteration. If they appear to him quite unsuitable for designing with, it is better to place them in a bunch in the vase without attempting any formal arrangement. Flowers sent as presents should have the bottom of their stems wrapped in paper. There are special forms of paper wrappers used, one for *Ki no hana*, (Tree blossoms) and another of a somewhat simpler design for *Kusa no hana*, (Flowering Plants).

As before observed the different lineal directions imparted to the branches and stems of flowers in a composition are produced by various methods of manipulation such as bending, twisting and crushing, followed by a certain amount of trimming and cutting.

These stems are fixed and held in position at their base by means of small pieces of wood called *Kubari* (see Plate 24) placed across the neck of the flower vessel. The *Kubari* is generally a short cylindrical piece of wood with a long slit in it, wide enough to hold the stems, this kind is technically called *Togi no kubari*. As such branches are given a lean in one or other direction the slit is generally of a wedge shape, narrower below. This variety in width of opening also enables stems of different diameters to be held efficiently in position. For large arrangements with many branches double and even triple *Kubari* are used; in which case a broad piece of wood with two or three slits is employed. The *Kubari* should be fixed just below the surface of the water and should not be visible. In large mouthed vessels or *Kago* the flowers are fixed in bamboo tubes concealed in the vessel: these tubes hold the water and receive the *Kubari*.

Rules of  
technique.

Methods of  
holding stems  
at their base.

Some Schools affect a rustic simplicity by employing a natural forked stem which is called *Mitsu mata kubari*, but most writers agree that the chief point of importance is that the *Kubari* should be effective as it is not meant to be seen.

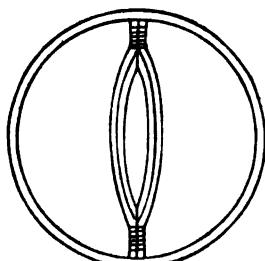
For flowers placed in broad shallow vessels, such as *Suna bachi* and *Ba-darai*, other kinds of *Kubari* are used which are hidden below the pebbles or sand which these vessels contain. One kind called the *Kana ami dome* or *Metal net fastener* consists of a sheet of metal perforated with holes of different diameter to receive the extremities of the different stems or branches (see Plate 24.) Another kind called the *Tsutsu dome* consists of small rings or sections of bamboo of different diameter glued to a wooden board, the different stems finding a lodgment in these, and being partly held in position by the sand or pebbles which cover them (see Plate 24).

Fancy kinds  
of fixtures

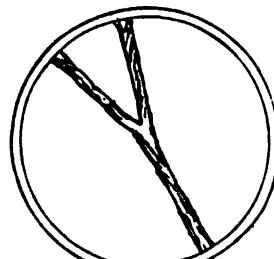
Other kinds of fancy *fixtures* are employed such as *Kutsuwa dome* or Horse's bit fixture, *Kani dome* or Crab fixture, *Hasami dome* or Scissors fixture, *Kogatana dome* or Knife fixture, *Kusari dome* or Chain fixture, and *Jari dome* or Gravel fixture, (see Plates 25 & 26.) These fixtures are chiefly, as their name simply, various metal implements which are used in such shallow vessels in a fanciful manner to assist by their weight in holding the flower stems in position. Unlike the wooden *Kubari* they are intended to be visible and form a capricious combination with the flower design.

In modern times a *Kubari* made of two pieces of wood hollowed out and bound at the two ends is often used. A splayed or wedge-like form is given to the opening.

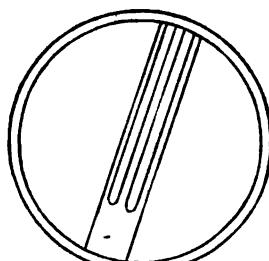
PLATE 24.



*Ima kubari*  
(Present fastener).



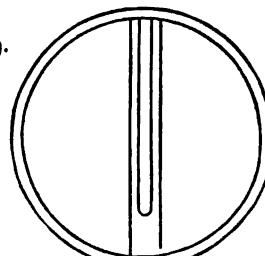
*Mitsu mata no kubari*  
(Forked sprig fastener).



*Futatsu kubari*  
(Double fastener).



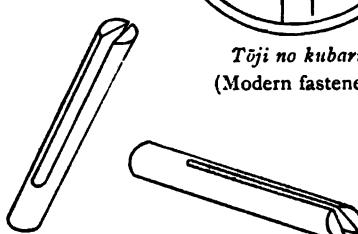
*Kana ami dome*  
(Metal mesh fastener).



*Tōji no kubari*  
(Modern fastener).



*Tsutsu dome*  
(Tube fastener).



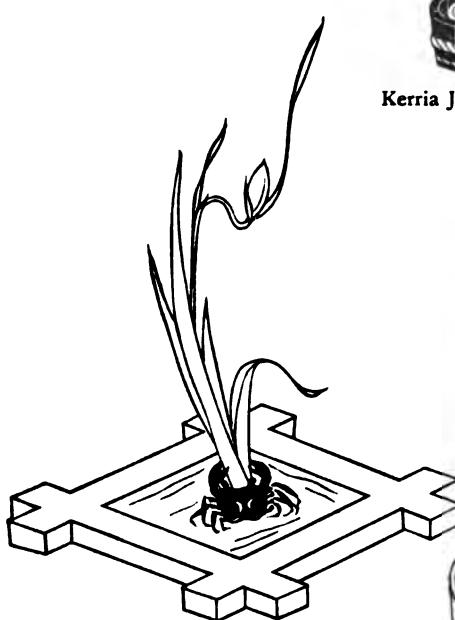
Usual kinds of stem fasteners (*Kubari*).



PLATE 25.



Kerria Japonica arranged with "horse's bit" fastener  
(*Kutsuwa dome*).

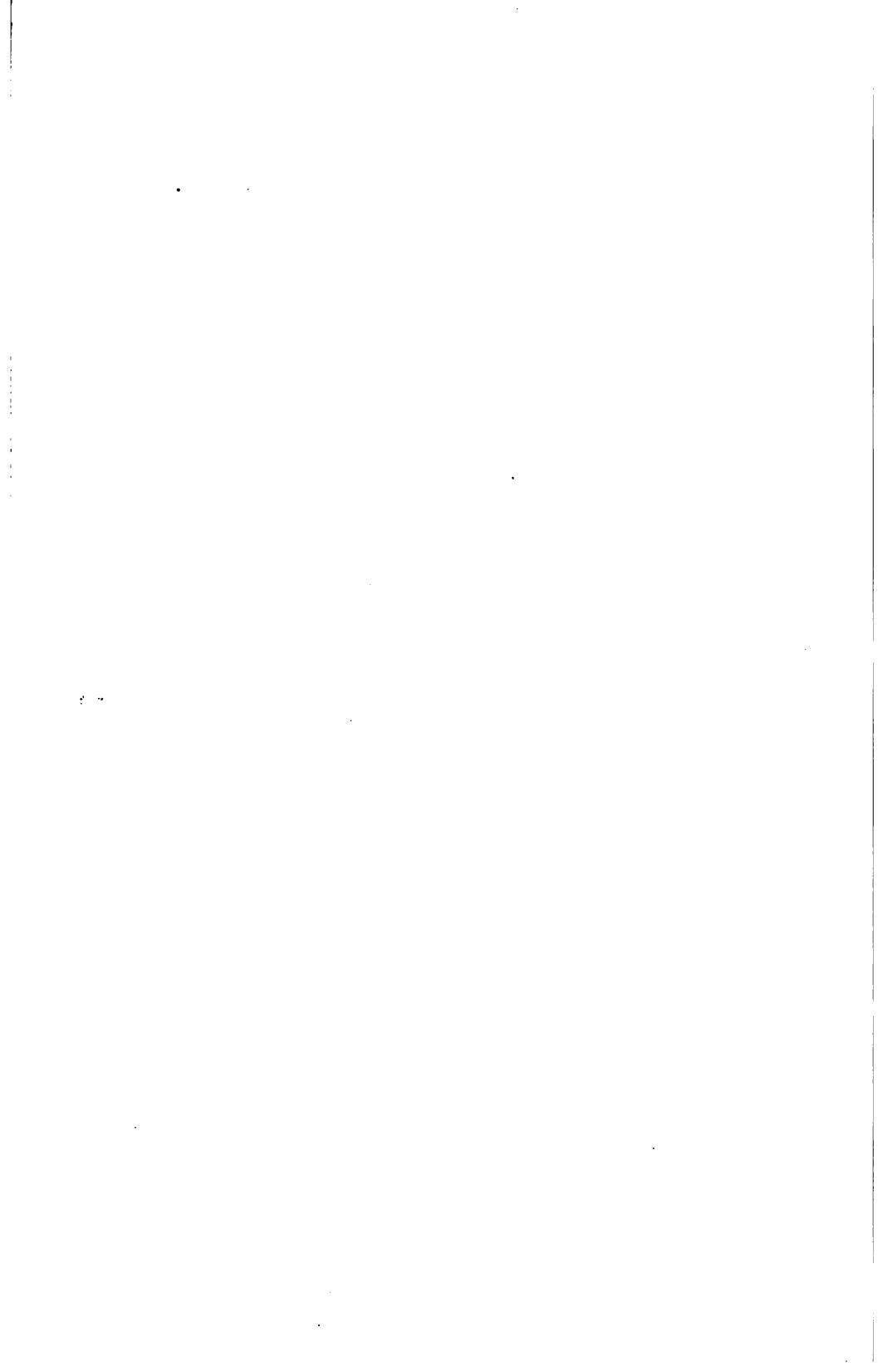


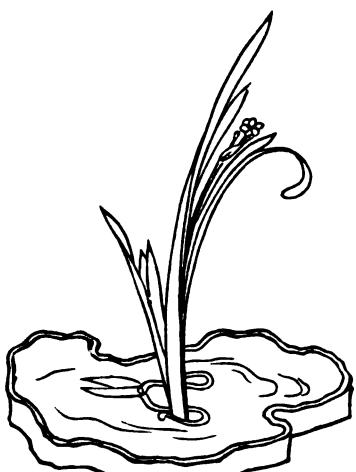
Iris arranged with "metal crab" fastener  
(*Kani dome*).



Rosa rugosa. arranged with "paper-weight" fastener  
(*Kesan dome*).

Fancy kinds of stem fasteners (*Tome*).

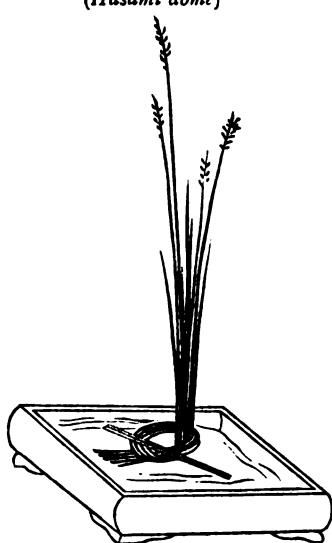




Narcissus arranged with "scissors" fastener  
(*Hasami dome*)



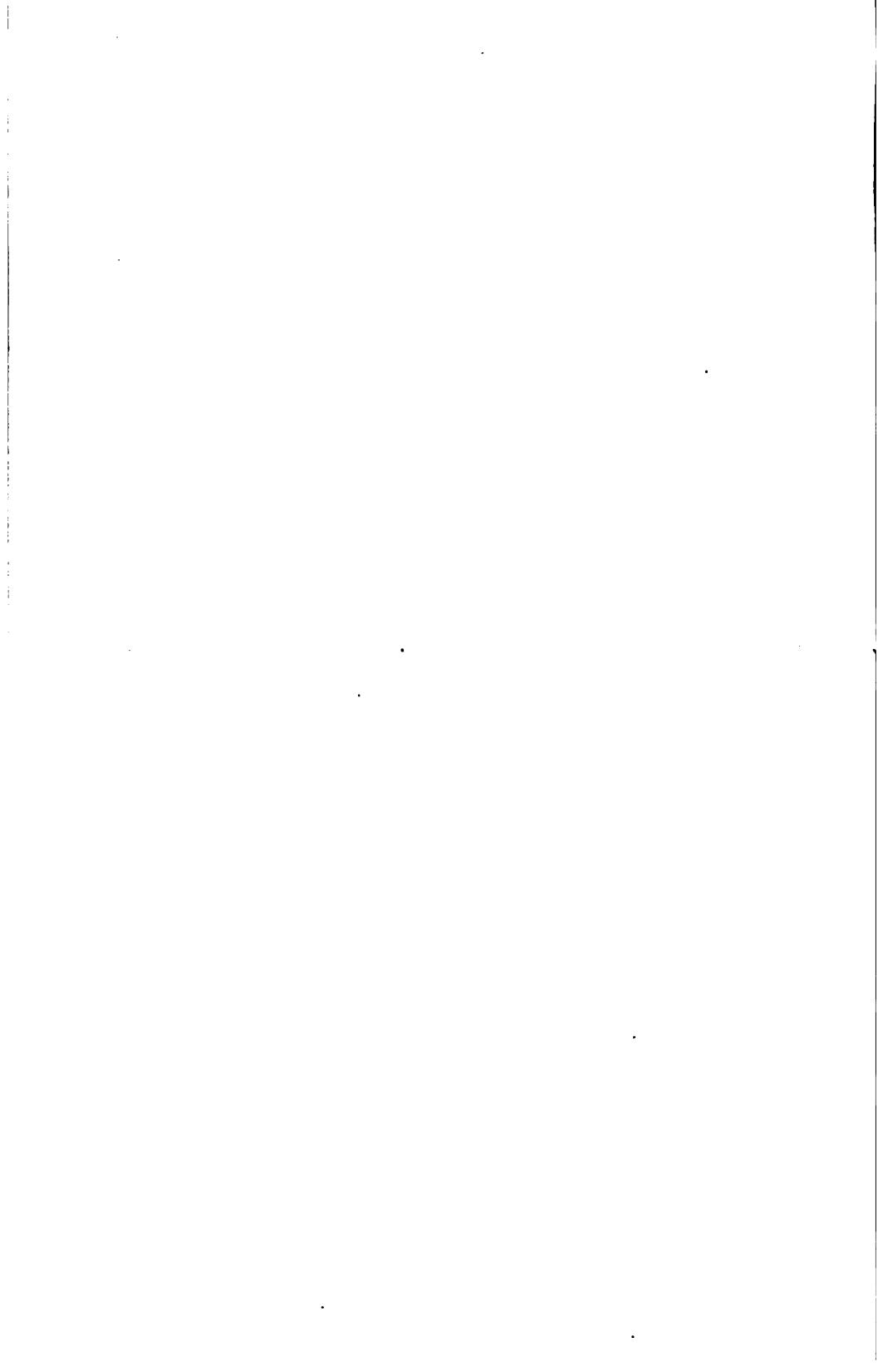
Bletia hyaciathina arranged with "pebbles" fastener  
(*Fari dome*)



Scirpus lacustris arranged with "knife" fastener  
(*Kogatana dome*)



Nuphar Japonicum arranged with "Chain" fastener  
(*Kusari dome*)



Connected with the principal Japanese flowers there are certain traditions which affect their employment in floral compositions. The following are some of the principal of these traditions.

**BOTAN NO DEN.**

THE TRADITION OF THE PEONY.

The Peony, is said to be the king of flowers in China, and when used in combination with other flowers is entitled to the most important position. It is sometimes called *Fuki-gusa* which means *Distinguished Plant*. As the Peony is large and full in flower a too crowded arrangement of blossoms must be avoided.

Chinese king  
of flowers.

**HASU NO DEN.**

THE TRADITION OF THE LOTUS.

The Lotus is said to be the king of flowers in India and is consequently entitled to precedence on the *Toko no ma*. It is often called *Hotoke no Hana* or the *Flower of the Buddhist spirits* and on account of its religious character is disliked for occasions of rejoicing. The leaves of this plant play the most important part in the arrangements and there are three forms of leaf, employed called respectively, *Kwako*, meaning style of the past, for open leaves, *Gensai*, or style of the present, for half opened or curled leaves, and *Mirai*, or style of the future, for closed leaves. In ordinary compositions a large open leaf is used for the *Shin*, a half open one for the *Giō*, and a curled one for the *Sō* or *Tome*.

Indian and  
Buddhist king  
of flowers.

**SAKURA NO DEN.**

THE TRADITION OF THE CHERRY FLOWER.

Japanese king  
of flowers.

The Cherry blossom is regarded in Japan as the king of flowers, and consequently has precedence when arranged with other flowers on the same *Tōko no ma*. Unlike most flowers its branches must be trimmed and trained as little as possible in making into compositions. For the centre of a cherry flower design a somewhat sparse arrangement of buds must be used, for the sides half open flowers, and for the lower *supports* flowers in full bloom in large quantities should be employed.

**KAIDŌ NO DEN.**

THE TRADITION OF THE "PYRUS SPECTABILIS."

A rival to the  
cherry blos-  
som.

This is one of the so called kings of flowers in Japan, and holds high rank and precedence before others. As however it blooms contemporaneously with the Cherry flower and the Peony, if used in combination with these the Cherry flower takes the central position, the *Kaidō* is placed to the right, and the Peony on the left. A fancy name for the *Kaidō* is *Kikkiyō-sō* meaning *Plant of Good and Evil*, so named because it is said that this flower flourishes in a house of good fortune, and droops in a house of bad fortune. For this reason some people, preferring to remain in ignorance of their good or ill luck will not plant this flower in their gardens.

When used in artificial arrangements the composition should be full with numerous blossoms. In some styles this flower is called *Kitsudō-sō* or the *Virtue directing plant*, and as such is much used in priests' gardens. It is not suitable for floral compositions on the occasion of fêtes.

**ASA GAO NO DEN.**

TRADITION OF THE "MORNING GLORY."

This plant being a creeper should be attached to a withered stump, twig, or bamboo stem placed in the vase, round which it should be wound in a direction turning the flowers to the left side. For the *Tome*, or lower part of the arrangement, buds must be used and flowers in full bloom avoided.

Management  
of  
creeping  
plants.

**MOMIJI NO DEN.**

TRADITION OF THE MAPLE.

This is one of the most important flowerless trees the branches of which are used as *Flowers* in Japanese compositions. There are two kinds of Maple, the *Haru Momiji* or *Spring Maple* which is red when the young leaves open, and the *Kaede* which is green in the spring and turns red in the autumn. There are several fancy styles of arrangement used for the Maple, as follows.

Numerous  
varieties of  
Maple.

*Asa hi no sashikata* or *Sunrise arrangement*, in which the leaves of the *Shin* or centre should shew their fronts; *Yū hi no sashikata* or *Sunset arrangement*, also called the *Aki no sashikata* or *Autumn arrangement*, in which the leaves of the principal centre should display their under sides.

*Shigure no sashikata* or *Cloudy weather arrangement*, the idea of which style was taken from the wild Maple trees of Ogura yama in Kioto the leaves of which are often curled by frost. This character is given to Maple arrangements made during the tenth month; the leaves should be curled and sprinkled with spray.

*Tsūten no sashikata* or the *Tsūten arrangement*, named after a spot called *Tsūten* where

the Maple branches dip down into the river: For this style or arrangement green leaves must be used above and red leaves below.

*Tatsuta no sashikata* or the *Tatsuta arrangement*, called after a place of this name where Maple trees overhang the river. In arranging the *Shin* of this style several leaves should be taken off and dropped into the water of the vessel to suggest leaves which have fallen in the river. This style of arrangement is suited for use in the seventh and eighth months before the Maples reddens.

**MATSU NO DEV.**

THE TRADITION OF THE PINE.

The Pine tree  
specially hon-  
oured as an  
evergreen.

The Pine tree being an evergreen is much esteemed and its use for floral compositions is considered very felicitous. It should not be much trimmed, and an overlaboured arrangement should be carefully avoided. A thick gnarled branch is preferred, and a bold character should be given to the whole.

**TAKE NO DEV.**

TRADITION OF THE BAMBOO.

Peculiar cha-  
racter of the  
Bamboo.

The Bamboo is strictly speaking regarded neither as a *tree* or a *plant*. It may be used in the place of either, or it may be merely employed as an auxiliary (*Soye mono*). If Bamboo is employed in a floral composition the use of a vessel made from bamboo must be avoided. A favourite way of using Bamboo is to employ a portion from the middle of a stem or tube with the small

twigs and leaves attached, and in this case the form of cut given to the top of the main stem, which is called the *Kirikuchi*, is important. Sometimes a splice shaped cut is used, and sometimes a horizontal one. If used on wedding occasions the *Kirikuchi* must be hidden by leaves.

**SHŌ-CHIKU-BAI NO DEÑ.**

TRADITION OF THE PINE, BAMBOO AND PLUM.

The triple arrangement of the Pine, Bamboo, and Plum, is one of the favourite combinations for felicitous occasions. It is specially used at the New Year and for wedding ceremonies. If all three are displayed in one vessel the Pine should be used for the *Shin*, the Bamboo for the *Giō*, and the Plum for the *Sō*. If each be arranged in a separate vessel then the Pine has the central position, the Bamboo is placed on the left, and the Plum on the right. In such arrangements the Plum should have its stem bound with the coloured silk cord called *Mizuhiki*.

New Year arrangements.

**OMOTO NO DEÑ.**

TRADITION OF THE RHODEA JAPONICA.

This plant is esteemed for its beautiful large leaves and the principal art of arrangement consists in a careful disposal of the different leaves in a well balanced composition. The principal leaves are distinguished by the following names.

Management of large leaved plants.

*Shin no ha*, or *Central leaf*, occupying the centre of the design. *Haru no ha* or *spring leaf*, being a green leaf enveloping the central stem: *Natsu no ha* or *Summer leaf*, a wide leaf used in a drooping manner: *Aki no ha* or *Autumn leaf*, a leaf which is used in the back-

ground of the composition, having its tip withered: *Fuyu no ha* or *Winter leaf*, a withered leaf used in the front. In addition to the above the following leaves are also used. *Tsuyu uke no ha* meaning the *Dew receiving leaf*, a leaf the front of which is curled upwards; this leaf is used in front of the *Shin* in Spring and Summer.

*Tsuyu koboshi no ha* meaning the *Dew dripping (spilling) leaf*, a leaf placed behind the *Shin* having its end curved down. Such a leaf is used in Autumn and Winter arrangements.

*Tsubame guchi no ha* or *The swallow mouthed leaf*, which form consists of two young leaves placed together so as to present a double tip, and which is placed between the larger leaves of the composition. Its use is confined to the first and the twelfth months: in the twelfth month it should be larger than in the first.

The *Omoto* has small bunches of berries, and a bunch of these should be placed in front of one principal leaf, springing from between two secondary leaves. One bunch of berries suffices for any arrangement not exceeding nine leaves.

Special names are given to different styles of arrangement in which some of the above forms of leaf are employed.

Arrangement  
according to  
season

*Uchū no sashikata* or *Rainy season arrangement*. This may be used at any time of year. In this style either the *Dew-receiving leaf* or the *Dew spilling leaf* must be used.

*Setchū no sashikata* or *Snow time arrangement*. In this style the above two leaves are both used, the berries are kept low in position, and withered leaves are not allowed.

*Haru no sashikata* or *Spring arrangement*. This style is used in the first month, when many young leaves with very few withered leaves should be employed.

*Natsu no sashikata* or *Summer arrangement*. This style is distinguished by the use of a very full leaved arrangement. A withered leaf is permitted in the front only.

*Aki no sashikata* or *Autumn arrangement*, distinguished by the use of many withered leaves and no young leaves.

*Fuyu no sashikata* or *Winter arrangement*. This style is peculiar to the twelfth month when many withered leaves and the *Tsubame guchi* leaf should be employed.

**YANAGI NO DEN.**

TRADITION OF THE WILLOW.

The Willow is used for floral arrangements on felicitous occasions, from the fifteenth day of the eighth month to the first day of the third month. As the branches of this tree droop, care must be taken to avoid an arrangement in which branches droop on both sides of a composition. The droop should be confined to one side, and an annexed *plant* or *tree* branch must be placed on the other side of a composition. If however employed at the anniversary of a death both sides of the arrangement may droop. In using branches of the Willow it is a common practice to tie the long drooping stems into a loose loop. This custom is said to have been originated by *Sōhō* the founder of the *Enshū* school, who found it otherwise difficult to prevent the long branches trailing upon the mats, in standing arrangements. The custom became afterwards a piece of affectation applied even to hanging arrangements.

Looping up of  
trailing bran-  
ches.

**SAKAKI NO DEV.**

TRADITION OF THE CLEVERA JAPONICA.

Sacred tree branches. This tree, often called the Cypress, has a very sacred association in Japan, being specially the tree of the gods and supposed to be the most ancient of all trees. It grows abundantly in the groves of many old temples and its branches are used for religious ceremonies and flower arrangements. The term *Sakaki* has come however to be applied to other trees growing in temple grounds. For example, the *Sakaki* of the *Tatsuta* temple is the Maple, that of the *Miwa* temple is the Cedar, and that of the *Adzuma-no-mori* shrine is the Camphor tree. In using the branches of any of the above tree's for *Shintō* ceremonial arrangements the compositions should be full leaved with a direction towards the South.

For Buddhist ceremonials the *Shikimi* (*Illi-cium religiosum*) is used and the arrangement has a Northern direction.

**TSUBAKI NO DEV.**

TRADITION OF THE CAMELLIA.

The Camellia honoured as an evergreen. There is a prejudice against the Camellia on account of the fragility of the flower, which falls to pieces at the slightest touch ; it is nevertheless much esteemed as being an evergreen. The famous *Ogasawara* mentions the following reasons for the high estimation in which the Camellia should be held. It is recorded that in the time of the gods, *Sosa no no mikoto* and his

consort *Inada hime* built a palace and as a token of unchanging fidelity for eight thousand years planted a Camellia tree. This tree is said still to exist in the province of *Izumo* and is called *Yatsu yō no Tsubaki* or the *Camellia tree of eight thousand years*. Another reason assigned for the high estimation in which this tree is held is that the pestle in which the rice for the wedding cake is ground is made of its wood.

**CHŌSHUN NO DEN.**

THE TRADITION OF THE CHŌSHUN.

This plant is regarded as felicitous because it lasts longer than any other. For this reason it receives the fancy name of *Gekki-sō* or *Month to month plant*. Some people object to its use on important occasions on account of its thorns, but there is no objection to removing the thorns.

Use of thorny plants.

**MIZU KUGURI NO UME NO DEN.**

TRADITION OF THE WATER DIVING PLUM.

CR

**NO NAKA NO SHIMIZU NO DEN.**

TRADITION OF THE RURAL SPRING.

With regard to these special arrangements it is related that Sōhō upon a certain hunting expedition saw in the mountains a large plum tree one of the branches of which bent into the stream below, the extremity again rising upwards clad with blossoms. Being struck with the effect, he applied it to artificial arrangements of plum branches in shallow water vessels.

Fanciful arrangement of plum blossoms.

**ENZAN, KEZEN NO DEJ.**

TRADITION OF THE DISTANT MOUNTAIN AND  
NEAR FOREST.

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Arrangement  
suggestive of  
a mountain  
landscape.

This fancy is applied to flower arrangements placed in bamboo vases having one top and two side mouths. In such vessels a water *plant* should be placed in the highest position, a land *plant* in the middle, and a *tree* branch below, the idea being to suggest the scenery of a mountain lake with fields on the mountain slope and a forest at the base. With this object in view the *tree* branch below must be high in arrangement to keep up the idea of a near foreground, the water *plant* above should be kept low to suggest distance, and the land *plant* in the centre suggesting middle distance, must be of medium middle height.

**HA ICHI·MAI HANA ICHI BUN NO DEJ.**

TRADITION OF ONE LEAF AND ONE FLOWER.

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Simplest kind  
of arrangement  
with single leaf  
and blossom.

This elementary arrangement of one flower with one leaf is attributed to the famous artist and philosopher Rikiu who on a certain occasion having observed a fence covered with convolvuli gathered one flower and one leaf arranging them in a vase. On being asked why he adopted so modest a design he replied that as it was impossible to rival nature in its grouping, our artificial arrangements should be as simple and modest as possible; even one leaf and one flower were sufficient, he said, to call for admiration.

CHARACTER OF FLOWERS.

The above principles of arrangement have been called traditions as they are in many cases founded upon traditional fancies handed down from early times. Other more common place rules exist for the treatment of special flowers according to their different character and season. All flower arrangements have one of the two following general characters namely *Fukki no sashikata* meaning *Rich arrangement*, or *Hin no sashikata* meaning *Poor arrangement*. In the former the flowers are disposed in three or five bold lines, such compositions being specially suited for congratulatory occasions. In the latter the arrangement is large but the flowers in small quantities and the character thin and sparse.

General rule  
for character of  
arrangement.

Branches having flower buds and those having blossoms require somewhat different treatment. It is also necessary to bear constantly in mind the natural character of the particular *tree* or *plant* employed. For example, as the branches of the Peach tree have a straight upward character, arrangements with this tree must partake of such a character. The Plum tree on the other hand being of a bent and irregular nature, a similar character should be given to it when used in artificial compositions.

Special rules  
for character of  
arrangement.

Again among trees and flowers of similar species there are distinct differences of character in growth which must be observed.

Difference  
of character  
among flow-  
ers of similar  
species.

The *Kakitsubata* and *Ayame* for example, which are different species of Iris, have a different character; so with the Summer Chrysanthemum and winter Chrysanthemum; the common Pine and Five-leaved-pine; the Peony and the Tree Peony, etcetera. Also the Wistaria and the

Willow are both used for their trailing stems but the character of arrangement is entirely different in each.

The Japanese have a general name *Kōyō*, difficult to translate, applied to the red and golden coloured leaves of different trees in the Autumn. Three distinct colours, red, light red or yellow, and warm green are recognised as the principal Autumn tints. For ordinary artificial arrangements of such changing leaves the *Shin* should be red, the *Giō*, light red or yellow, and the *Sō* or *Tome* should be green.

The following rules and remarks apply to the character of certain favourite flowers.

**KAKITSUBATA.**

(IRIS LEVIGATA).

This plant is common to all four seasons and when used requires to be treated in character with the particular season. In Spring the leaves are stiff and straight, with no curl, the flower stems are short, and the flowers low down.

In Summer the leaves are full and numerous, and there is much spirit in the flowers.

In Autumn the flowers are tall and the leaves bent and curled. In Winter the leaves are partly dead and withered and the flowers are weak and drooping.

**SUISEN.**

(NARCISSUS TAZETTA).

This plant is arranged also in somewhat different manners to accord with the particular month in which it is used. Before the winter solstice the *Shin* should be arranged straight and the

flowers kept low. After this period the leaves should be bent, thickly arranged, and the flowers placed high. If used in Spring time the leaves should be limp and drooping, the flowers long, and their stems bent; the leaves should have their sheathes on and the whole arrangement must be made to appear as if growing in the water.

**AZAMI.**

(*ARGEMONE MEXICANA*).

With this flower a large leaf should be used at the bottom, which is technically called the *Doha* or Earth leaf.

**FUJI.**

(*WISTARIA*).

Behind the *Shin* in an arrangement of *Wistaria* should be introduced a drooping branch called the *Enkō* branch, named after a certain species of long armed monkey which often swings itself on the branches of such creepers.

**YAMABUKI.**

(*KERRIA JAPONICA*).

When this plant is artificially arranged a special stem having its end a little withered and called the *Tsuyu no eda* or *Dew branch* should be introduced at the front.

**UME.**

(*PLUM*).

One of the favourite kinds of Plum branch is called the *Zuwaye*, consisting of a piece of old trunk with young straight sprouts springing from it. This kind of branch must not be used

before the winter solstice. After the first month it may be used as the *Shin* of an arrangement, and then the new branches should spring from a bend or knot in the trunk. If red Plum blossoms are used in a combined arrangement they should be placed in the front of the composition.

**HANA SHÔBU.**

(*IRIS LÉVIGATA*).

In arranging this plant the three centre-most leaves should be long and a special leaf called the *Kammuri ba* or *Cap leaf* must be placed as a back ground to the principal flowers.

**AYAME.**

(*IRIS SIBIRICA*).

The principal front leaves of this plant should be arranged in three steps or gradations, and the use of many leaves must be avoided.

**SHAGA.**

(*IRIS JAPONICA*).

This plant should be arranged with four front leaves long or short at will, but no leaves should be placed behind the *Shin* or central stem.

**YOSHI, ASHI AND GAMÀ.**

(*REED, RUSH AND BULL-RUSH*).

Generally speaking in arranging these water grasses the *Shin* or centre should be partly withered and round the stem younger sprouts should be used.

When flowers are arranged during the high winds of the eighth month (present September) a bending character may be given to the whole composition to look as if blown by the wind.

**ARTIFICIAL PRESERVATION.**

Various methods are in use for prolonging the vitality of cut branches and plants used in flower arrangements. As a rule *Shūgi no hana*, by which is meant those plants which are used on felicitous occasions, should not be thus artificially treated, though the *Bamboo* is often made an exception to this rule. The methods of preservation as applied to different plants are as follows.

Methods of  
artificial per-  
servation.

The *Bamboo* should be cut in the morning at 4 A.M. and the bottom division or knot removed, leaving the upper division untouched. Then about fifty eight grains (1 *momme*) of cloves stewed in hot water should be filled in to the tube from below, the bottom being afterwards closed up. It is then laid horizontally until the liquor inside cools, and emptied, after which it is ready for use.

The *Wistaria* should have its cut stem burnt and then immersed in *Sake*, after which it is ready for use.

With regard to *Maple* branches the very red leaved kind will not last well but the lighter coloured sort is more lasting. When cut the leaves should be immersed in water for an hour before use, this process contributing to the vitality.

For the *Lespedeza* the cut end of the stem must be burnt.

For the *Hydrangea* the cut end of the stem must be burnt to charcoal, it is then ready for placing in water.

For the *Willow* the cut stem should be spliced off and a drug called *Senkiu* being tied round it, it should be immersed in water for one night.

It may be taken as a general rule that all flowers which suck up water with difficulty are improved in vitality by treating the end of their stems with fire or hot water. Generally speaking land plants are better treated by burning, but for water plants the hot water treatment is best.

The *Nuphar Japonicum*, a water plant much esteemed and called the *Kōhone*, should be selected from a shallow spot and cut during the heat of the day. A liquor composed of cloves boiled in tea should be blown into the cut stem as this prolongs its vitality.

The *Morning glory* should be cut at night whilst the flowers are closed and the buds should be immediately bound up with soft paper. The paper is removed in the morning at the time of arranging the flowers.

The *Begonia Evansiana*, called the *Shūkaidō*, should be cut in the early morning the knots removed with a sharp knife and the whole immersed in water before arranging.

The *Monochoria vaginalis*, called the *Mizu-aoi*, when cut should have about one inch of the end immersed in hot water until the colour changes, and it must then be dipped deeply in cold water, after which it is ready for use.

The *Aster* should have its end burnt and then immersed deeply in water.

The *Senecio Kaempperi*, called the *Tsuwabuki*, is treated in a similar manner to the *Monochoria vaginalis*.

The *Argamone mexicana*, called *Azami*, should have its stem tightly tied round with soaked paper at a point five or six inches above the cut end. The end should then be burnt

with a flame, after which the paper is removed and the flower is ready for use.

The *Nandina domestica*, called *Nanten*, is of straight and very brittle stem. The parts to be bent must be wrapped in wet paper and the paper is then burnt. After the paper is burnt to ashes it will be found that the stems can be easily bent at these places. When bent to the forms required they are tied with string and put in water for some time.

#### PRACTICAL EXAMPLES.

As practical examples of flowers arrangement are given several illustrations of defective compositions side by side with the same altered and improved.

Practical lessons in flower arrangements

Plates 27 and 28. In Plate 27 the *Yamabuki* (*Kerria Japonica*) is shewn placed in a standing vase with its branches very much in the form assumed when first cut. The defects of this arrangement are the stiffness of the central stem, the weak and open appearance of the different branches near the base, the parallelism of some of the smaller stems, and the general fullness, irregularity and formlessness of the whole. Altered, as in Plate 28, the *Shin* or central branch assumes a graceful double curve, the different branches are united at the base, the curve of the secondary branch is altered and some of the smaller stems are removed. The whole resolves itself into five governing lines.

Plates, 29 and 30. In Plate 29, the *Ran* (*Orchid*) is shown in a standing vase in an almost symmetrical arrangement. One of the principal faults is this same regularity and the straightness of the central leaf. The distribution of the *In* and *Yō* of the leaves is bad; by which is

meant that the variety and balance of front and back of the leaves is not obtained. Altered and improved as in Plate 30, the stem of the central leaf is curved gracefully, and it shows mainly its front surface. The other leaves are kept firmly together at their base and arranged so as to reveal portions of their fronts and backs in such a way that the *In* and *Yō* elements are judiciously balanced. The general form of the composition assumes a trilineal group of *Shin*, *Giō* and *Sō*.

Plates 31 and 32. In Plate 30, the *Ko-demari* (*Spiraea cantoniensis*) is shown carelessly arranged in a hanging bamboo vase with a side mouth, called *Shishi guchi hanaike*. Here the central branch is too long for a hanging arrangement, which requires that the *streamer* should be longest: the whole is too spread, and the branches are too numerous. Altered as in Plate 32, the *Shin* is shortened, the *Giō*, which is a *streamer*, is bent down in a wave-like curve, some of the excessive twigs are removed, and the whole resolves itself into a three lined arrangement.

Plates 33 and 34. In Plate 33 is shown the *Chōshun* (*Rosa Indica*) arranged defectively in a crescent shaped hanging vessel. The chief faults are the sparsity of leaves, the leanness of parts of the stem, the height of the heaviest open flower and its proximity to the half opened bud, the want of power in the line of the *Shin*, and the cutting of the edge of the vessel by some of the lower leaves. Altered as in Plate 34, the general line is improved, the open flower is placed lower, and the leaves are disposed so as to avoid an appearance of leanness in the principal stem.

Plate 35 shows a defective arrangement of *Iris*. The leaves are badly united at the base, the line of the *Shin* is weak, some of the side

leaves are straggling, and the top flower and bud are two close together.

Plate 36 shows the same arrangement altered. The leaves are united at the base, the general line of the composition improved, the flowers are better distributed, and some of the superfluous leaves are removed.

Plate 37 shows branches of Plum blossoms as gathered and the same after bending and trimming ready for making into a composition.

Plate 38 shews the same branches after dressing arranged together in a three lined composition.

Plate 39 shows a natural sheaf of Iris leaves as plucked and some of the same leaves dis-united ready for use in a floral composition.

Plate 40 shows the same leaves re-combined artificially in various ways. The same plate also shows various kinds of flower stems with flowers. The character of these flower stems varies much with the particular season.

Plate 41 shows three different compositions with Iris leaves and flowers together; one with a single flower, another with two, and a third with three flowers.

Plate 42 shows the different character of composition necessary with Summer and with Autumn Chrysanthemums. In each case the peculiar character of the branches before composition is illustrated side by side with the finished arrangement. The Chrysanthemum here shown is of a small kind called *Kogiku*.

Plate 43 shows an arrangement of a pair of vases together with a single *Kakemono* in the *Toko no ma*. The vase on the right side contains the *Shion* (*Aster Tataricus*) arranged in three lines, and that on the left contains the *Kakitsubata* (*Iris Lævigata*) arranged also in

three lines so as to balance the opposite composition.

Plate 44 shows an arrangement of *Momo* (Peach blossoms) with *Chōshun* (*Rosa Indica*) in a *Hana kago* (Flower basket). In this composition the Peach branches are distributed into the two lines of *Shin* and *Sō* and the *Chōshun* occupies the position of the *Giō*.

Plate 45 shows an arrangement of *Take* (Bamboo) combined with *Kōhone* (*Nuphar Japonicum*) in a bronze sand bowl. As is sometimes customary in such broad flat vessels the arrangement is a double one, the materials being placed side by side detached at the base. The character of the thick stemmed bamboo necessitates vertical tubes cut off with a splice cut, but the leaved branches attached are distributed so as to suggest the trilineal arrangement of the *Shin*, *Sō* and *Giō*. The *Kōhone* shews an arrangement of seven leaves and two flowers, the longest leaf taking the position of the *Shin* and shewing mainly its front surface, the other leaves are carefully distributed as *supports*, some shewing their front and others their back surfaces.

Plate 46 shows an arrangement of *Kiku* (Chrysanthemum) with seven flowers, in a fancy bronze vase. Here the trilineal distribution of stems and the disposition of the flowers and buds are to be noted. The lines are of somewhat exaggerated curves and the *Giō* partakes almost of the character of a *streamer*.

Plate 47 shows an arrangement of *Shiro Shakuyaku* (white Peony) with seven flowers in a high bronze vase. The *Shin* and *Giō* lines are very distinct, but the *Sō* is suggested only by a single leaf and flower placed on the right.

Plate 48 shows an arrangement of *Nadeshiko* (*Dianthus superbus*) in a bronze vase placed as

is common a little to one side of the mural picture. Seven blossoms are used and the arrangement is a trilineal one, the *Shin* being however double.

Plate 49 shows an arrangement of *Chōsen Asagao* (Corean-convolvulus) in a bronze vase upon a high wooden stand. The floral arrangement is placed quite at the side of the picture so as not to cross it. The composition has three blossoms.

Plate 50 shows an arrangement of *Ha-ran* (Leaf-orchid) in a hexagonal bronze vase upon a lacquered stand. The composition is on one side of the picture, one leaf just crossing it, but not so as to hide any important portion. The leaves are distributed in three main lines and shew their front and under surfaces in variety.

Plate 51 shows a five lined arrangement of *Goyō no matsu* (Five leaved Pine) in a high standing vase of bronze.

Plate 52 shows an arrangement of *Nanten* (*Nandina domestica*) in a fancy bronze vase. This is a five lined composition with five bunches of berries and leaves. The *Giō* line is curiously looped into a knot.

Plate 53 shows the *Shō-chiku-bai*, or favourite combination of Plum, Bamboo and Pine, treated in a fanciful manner. The vase itself is a cylinder of natural bamboo with a little sprout attached to it. The Pine and Plum branches are inserted in this, the Pine forming the *Shin* and *Giō* lines, and the Plum forming the *Sō* line and augmenting the *Shin*.

Plate 54 shows a five flowered arrangement of *Narcissus* in five lines placed in a bronze vase. The leaves are carefully grouped and curled so as to reveal partly their under surfaces.

Plate 55 shows an arrangement of Pine, Plum and Bamboo (*Shō-chiku-bai*) in a saucer-shaped bronze vase. The Pine branch occupies the position of *Shin*, the Bamboo, which in this case is a thin leafy branch, occupies the place of *Giō*, and the Plum branch is used as a *streamer* for the *Sō* (*Sō-nagashi*).

Plate 56 shows the arrangement of a handsome leaved plant called *Gibōshi* (*Funkia ovata*) in a simple bronze vase. Seven leaves and three bunches of flowers are employed, and the leaves are carefully curled and arranged with due regard to the *In* and *Yō*, or *male* and *female* character.

Plate 57 shows a curious arrangement with a long stalked Cabbage (*Ha botan*) in a bowl shaped vase. The arrangement is peculiar but resolves itself into five lines.

Plate 58 shows an arrangement of a Plum branch in a broad flat bronze basin. The composition is trilineal the *Sō* branch being a *streamer* and made to dip into the water of the vessel. Such an arrangement is called the *water diving plum*, the style having been originated by *Sō-bō* who is said to have taken the idea from nature.

Plate 59 shows the *Yamabuki* (*Kerria Japonica*) arranged in a circular tub such as is used for horses called *Ba-darai*, and held at the bottom by a horse's bit. It is placed to one side of the hanging manuscript.

Plate 60 shows a hanging flower basket attached to a pillar tablet (*Suika*) containing a simple arrangement of Plum blossoms together with a plant called *Fukuju-sō* (*Adonis amurensis*). The Plum branches are arranged to form the *Shin* and *Sō* of the composition, and the plant, *Fukuju-sō*, occupies the position of *Giō* or *Soye*.

Plate 61 shows a hanging and standing arrangement used together. The hanging arrangement consists of a branch of drooping cherry tree (*Shidare sakura*) in a vase shaped flower basket with a tablet behind it. The standing arrangement consists of Irises as composed in three lines with two flowers, placed in a low bamboo vessel. The two together make a combination of *Ki* and *Kusa* or *tree* and *plant*.

Plate 62 shows a fanciful arrangement of Wistaria in a hanging bronze vessel, shaped like a boat. A large trailing branch or *streamer* occupies the position of the *Giō* and hangs down at the back of the vessel with two bunches of blossoms. The other stems occupy the places of *Shin* and *Sō* with three bunches of blossoms.

Plate 63 shows a hanging arrangement of *Hagi* (*Lespedeza*) in a crescent shaped bronze vessel. The lines of *Shin* and *Giō* are kept within the horns of the crescent but the *Sō* is treated as a *Nageshi* and trails down crossing the side of the vessel in a long sweeping curve. The relative position of the hanging manuscript in the *Toko no ma* is shown.

Plate 64 shows the arrangement of a branch of *Sonare* (A kind of Fir) with *Kakitsubata* (Iris) in a large handled Chinese basket (*Hana kago*) of what is called the *Hokoji* shape, after the name of its maker. The Fir forms the *Shin* and *Sō* of the composition the *Sō* crossing the handle as a *streamer*. The Iris with three flowers is arranged in the position of the *Giō*.

Plate 65 shows an arrangement in a tall double mouthed bamboo vase. The top mouth holds a *Shakuyaku* (Peony) arranged in two lines of *Shin* and *Sō* with five flowers; and the side mouth below contains a trilineal arrangement of *Kakitsubata* (Iris) with three flowers.

The Iris while possessing in itself three lines of *Shin*, *Giō*, and *Sō*, is so placed as to balance the upper arrangement of Peony and occupy the position of *Giō* with reference to this trilineal composition. It is to be observed that the Peony, occupying the higher position, is a *land plant*, and the Iris placed below is a *water plant*.

Plate 66 shews an arrangement in a tall three mouthed bamboo vase. At the top is a trilineal composition of white plum blossoms (*tree*); in the middle is a three lined and flowered *Narcissus* (*water plant*); and below is a three stemmed arrangement of *Chrysanthemum* having five flowers (*land plant*).

Plate 67 shews a seven leafed arrangement of *Kōhone* (*Nuphar Japonicum*) with two flowers, placed in a fancy bronze vase with a fish shaped base upon a lacquered stand. The *Shin* leaf reveals its front and the other leaves reveal their front and back surfaces in carefully balanced variety. It is to be observed that the *Kakemono* hung to one side of the flower arrangement is a water scene, and the *Kōhone* is a *water plant*.

Plate 68 shews a hanging arrangement of *Clematis* with two flowers placed in an iron hanging vase of gourd shape hooked to the pillar of the *Toko no ma*. The arrangement is informal and as such suited for a small tea room. There is a fanciful connection between this flower, which is called *Tessen* (*Tetsu sen*) and the material of the vessel which is Iron (*Tetsu*).

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PLATE 27.



Unstudied and defective arrangement of *Kerria Japonica* (*Yamabuki*).

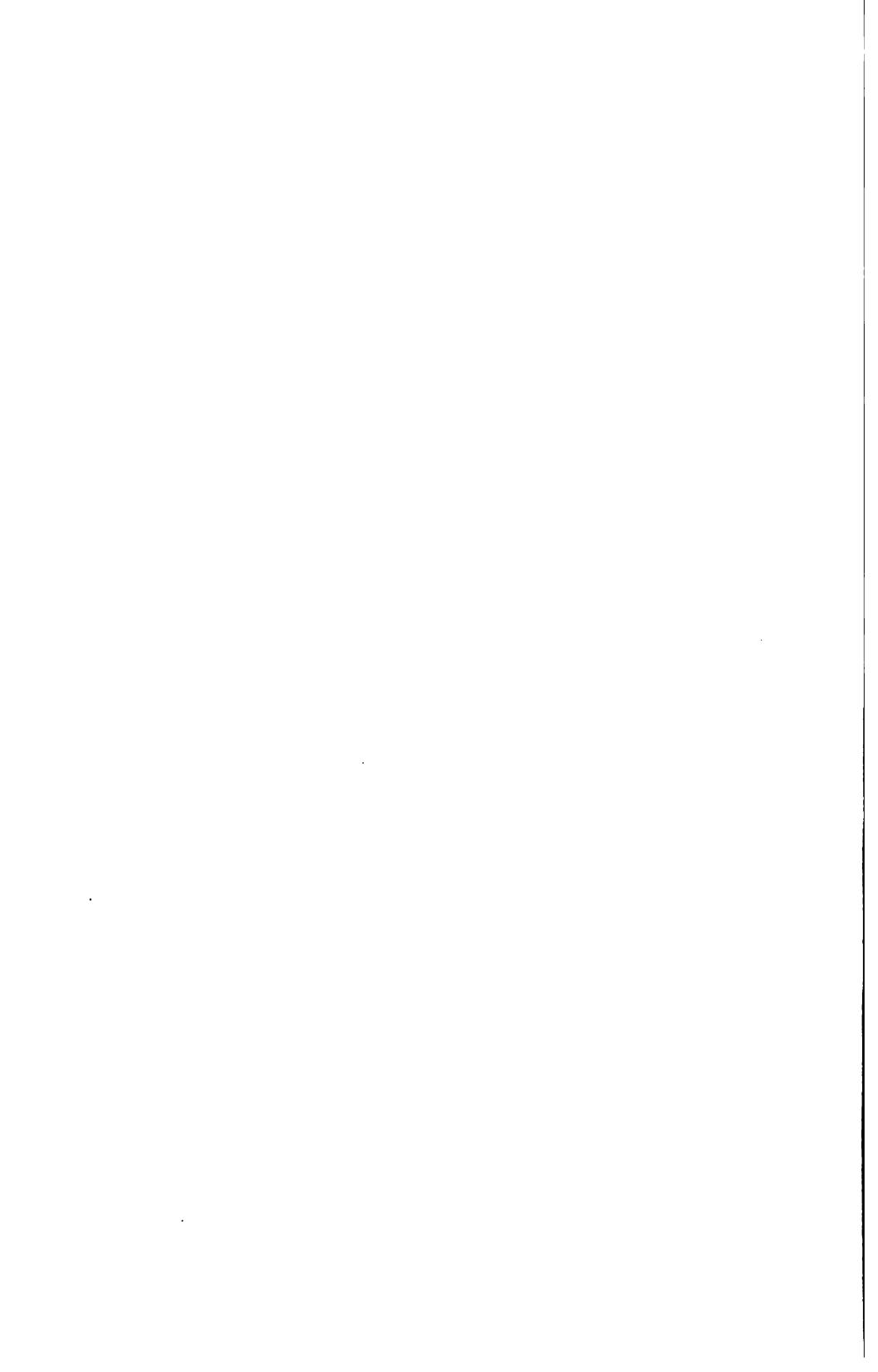


PLATE 28.

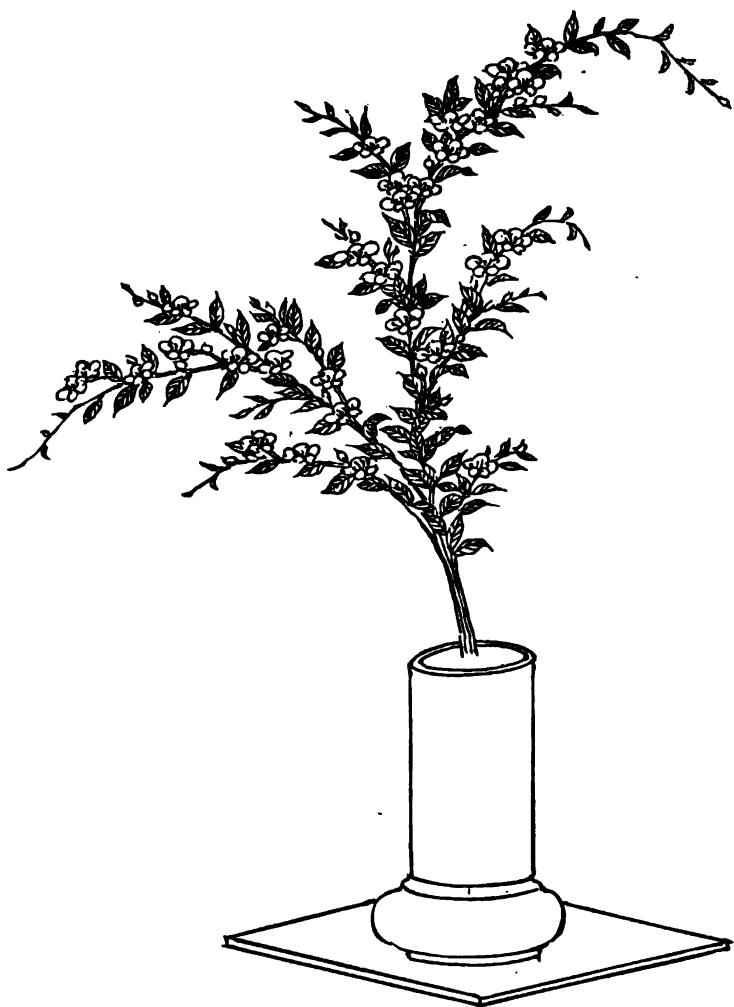
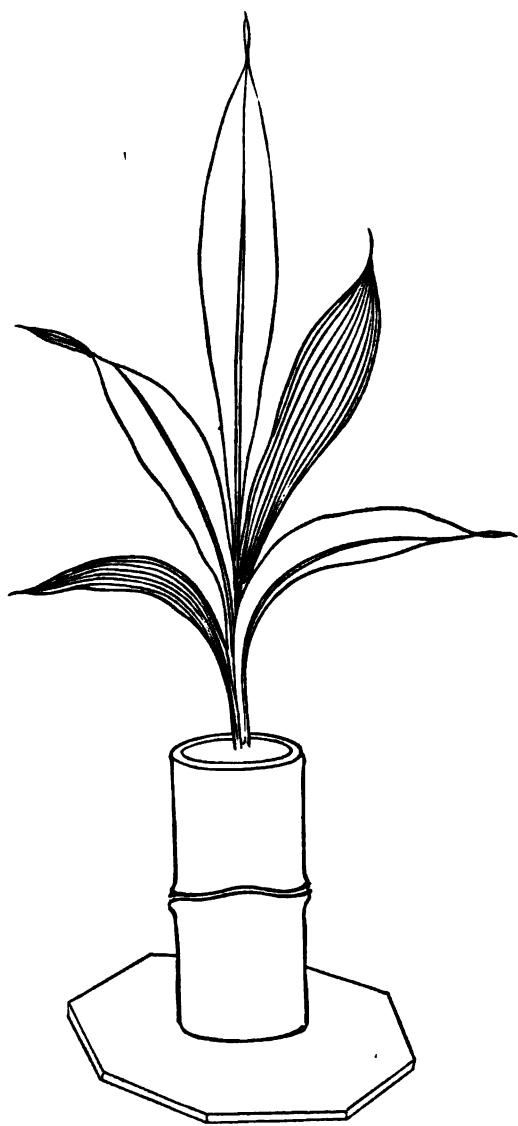




PLATE 29.



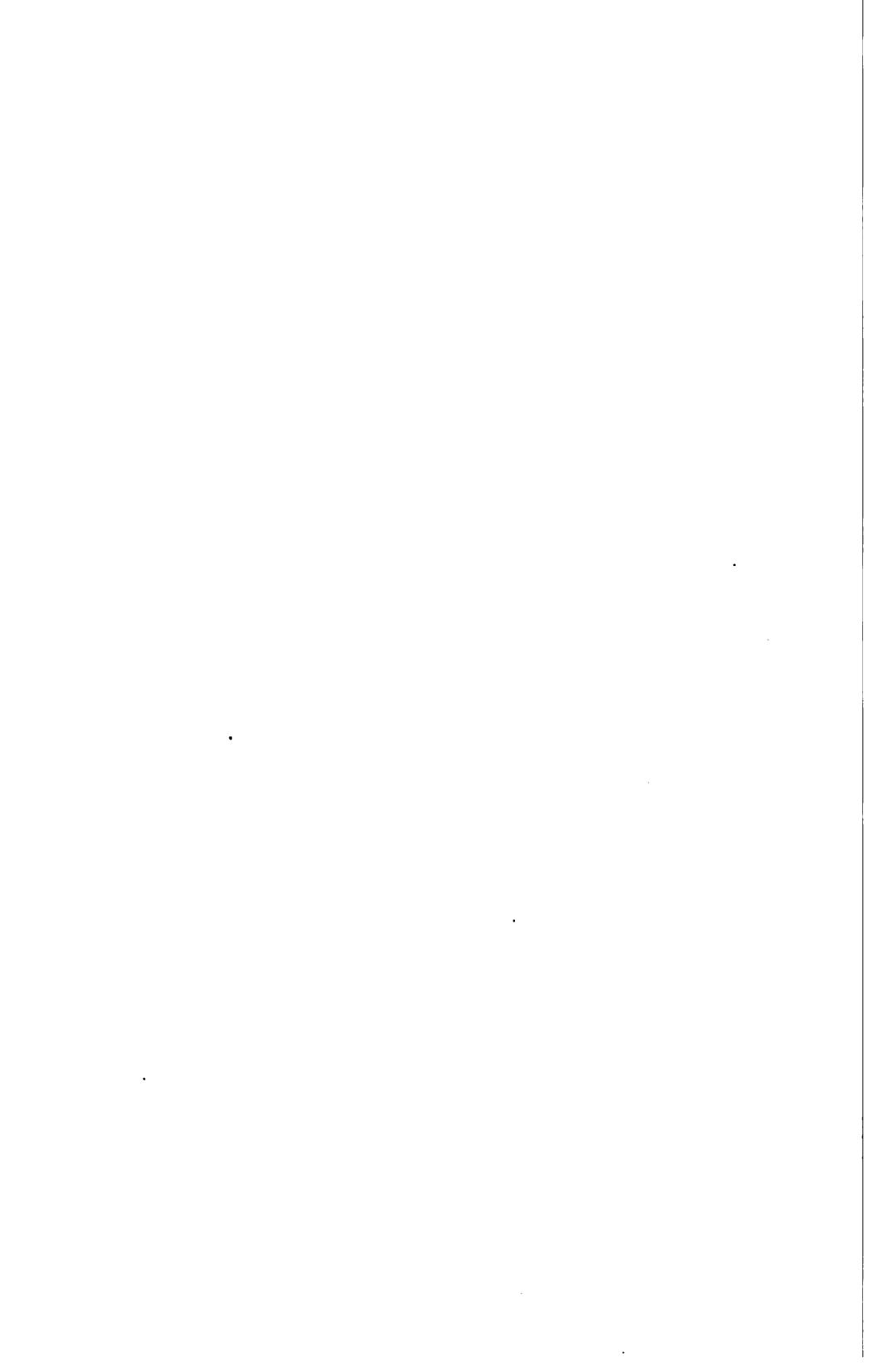


PLATE 30.



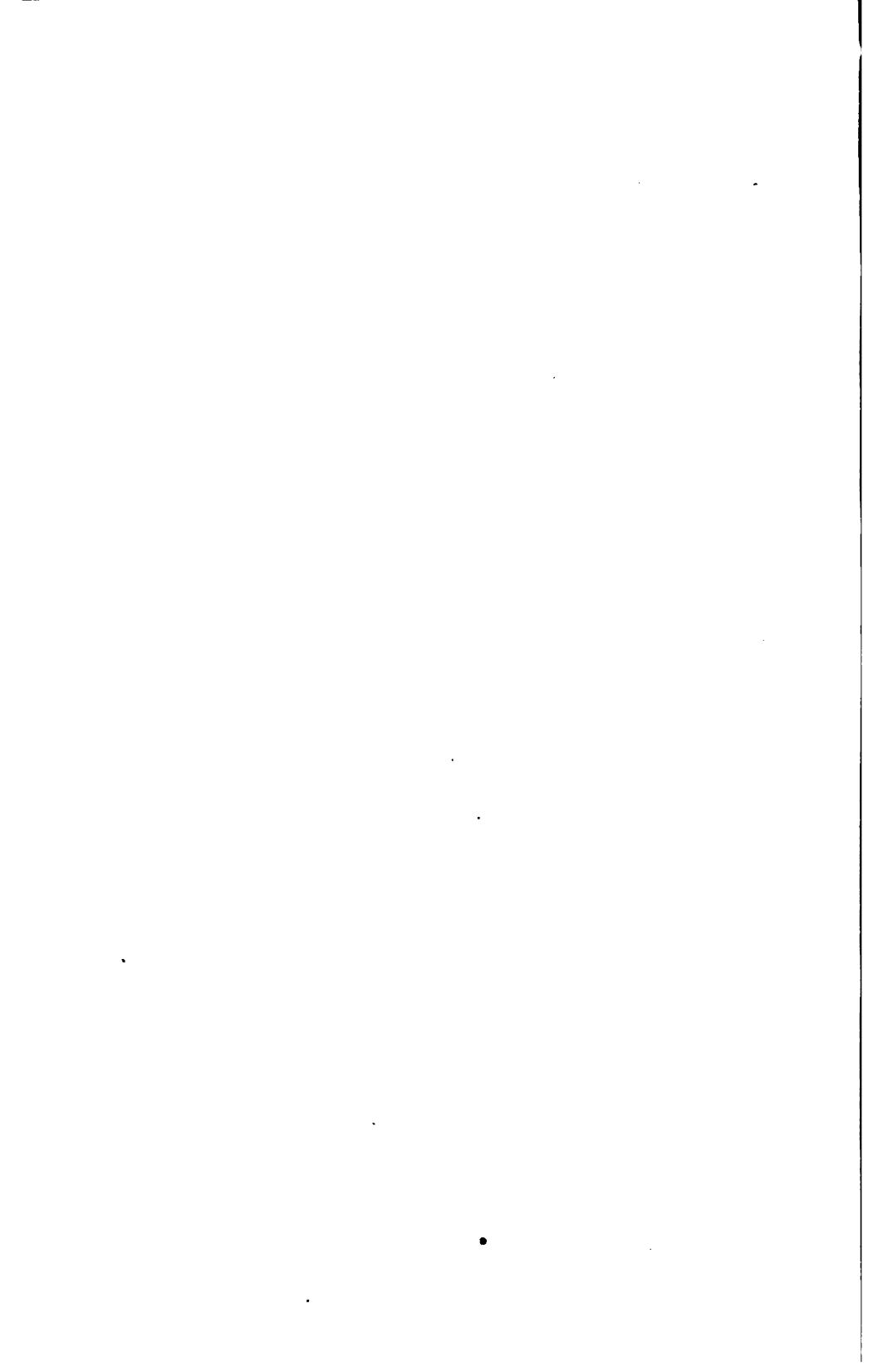
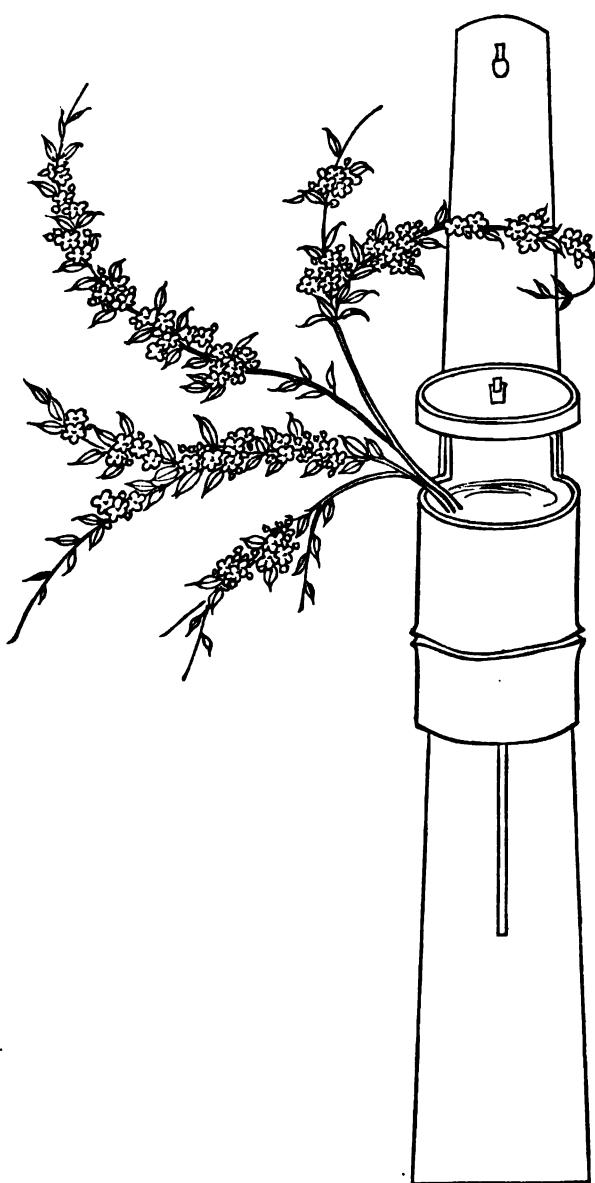


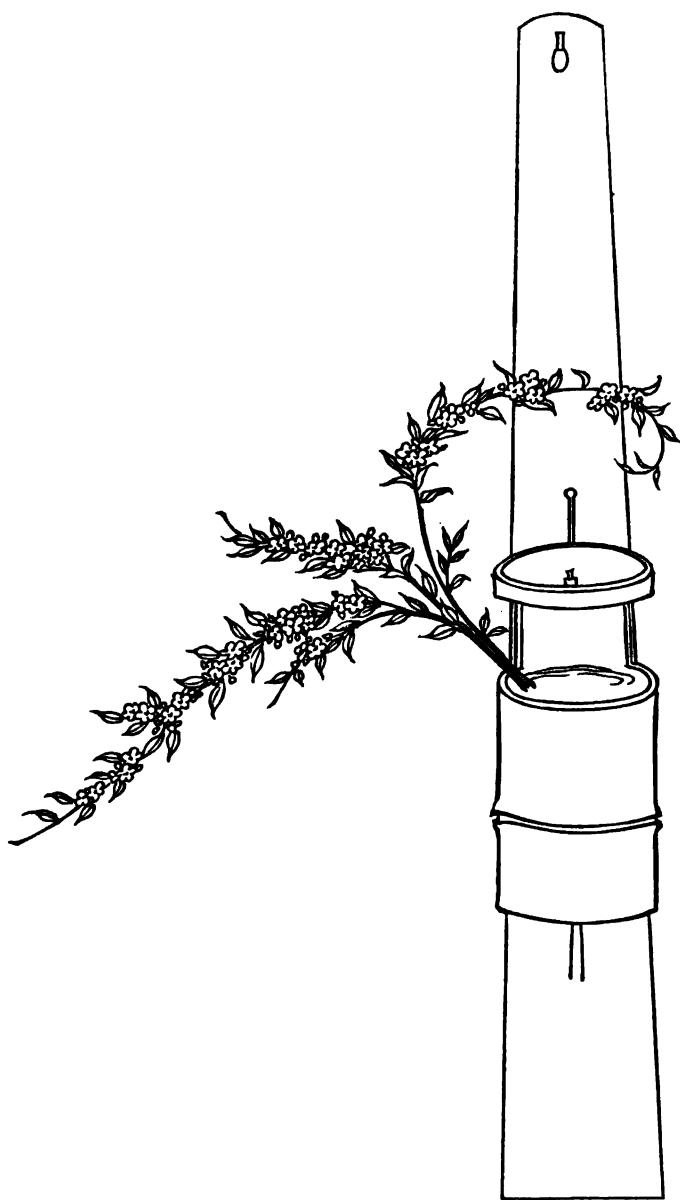
PLATE 31.



Defective arrangement of *Spiraea cantoniensis* (*Kodemari*).



PLATE 32.



Corrected arrangement of *Spiraea cantoniensis* (*Kodemari*).

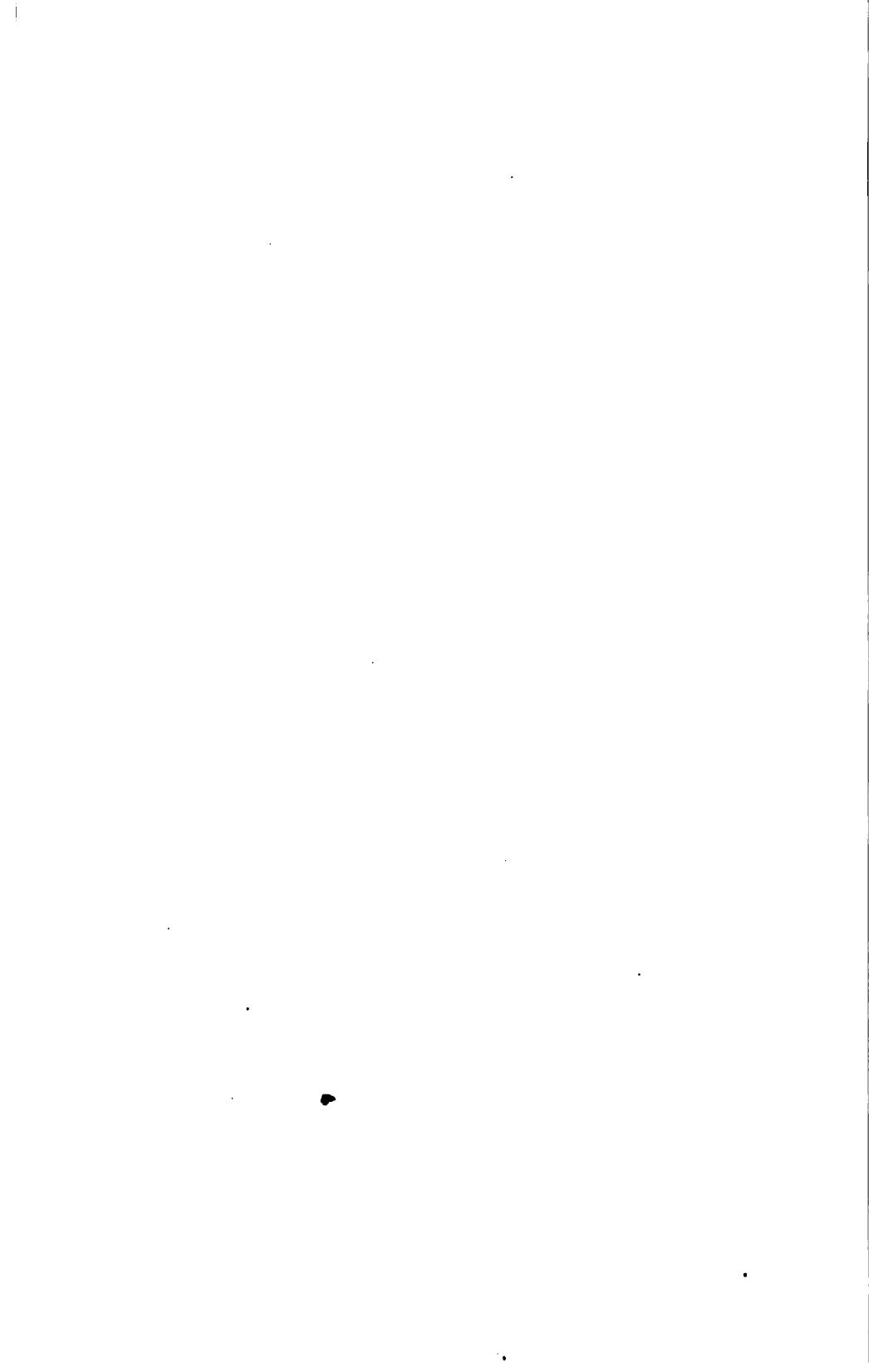


PLATE 33.



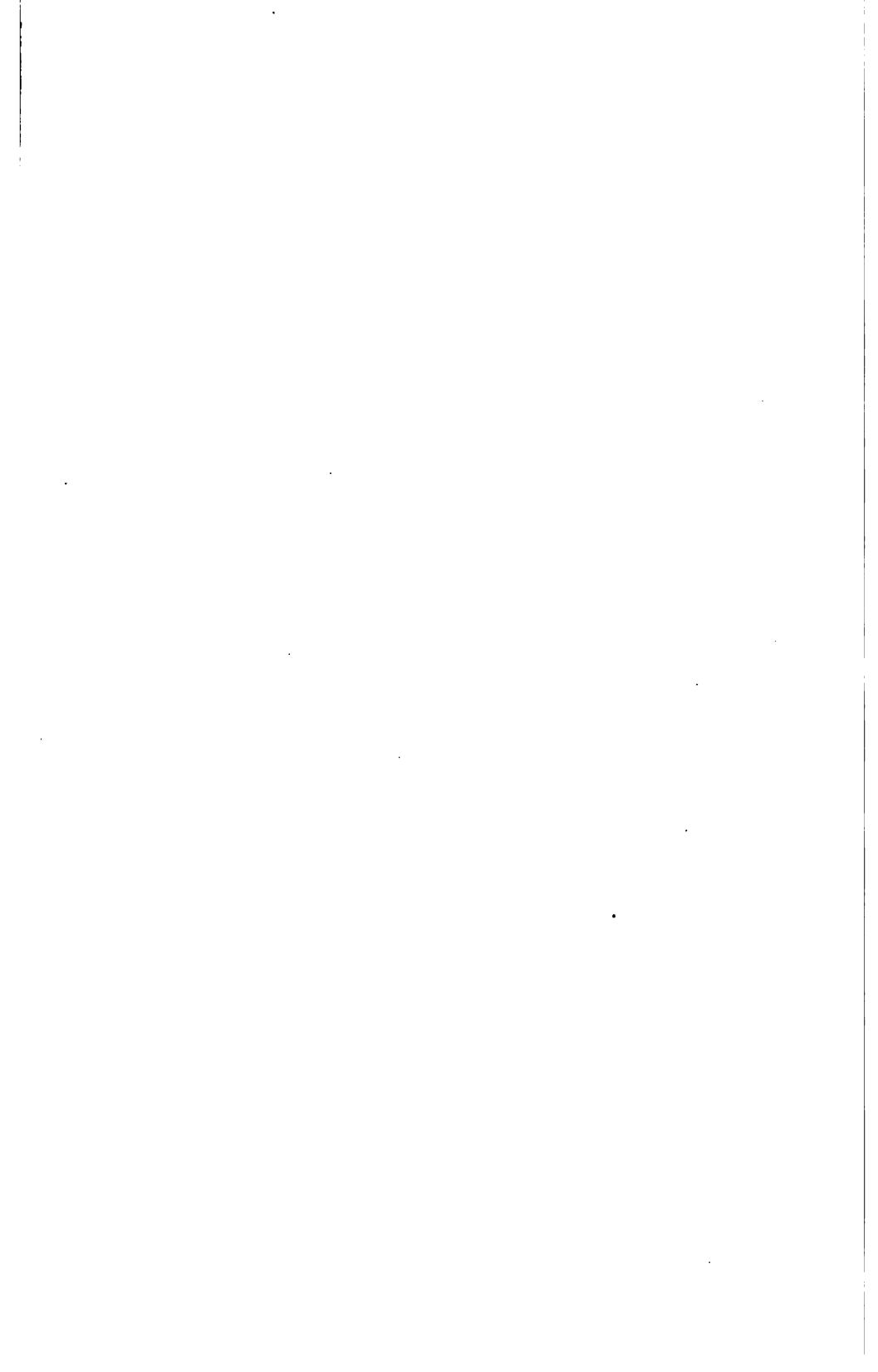


PLATE 34.



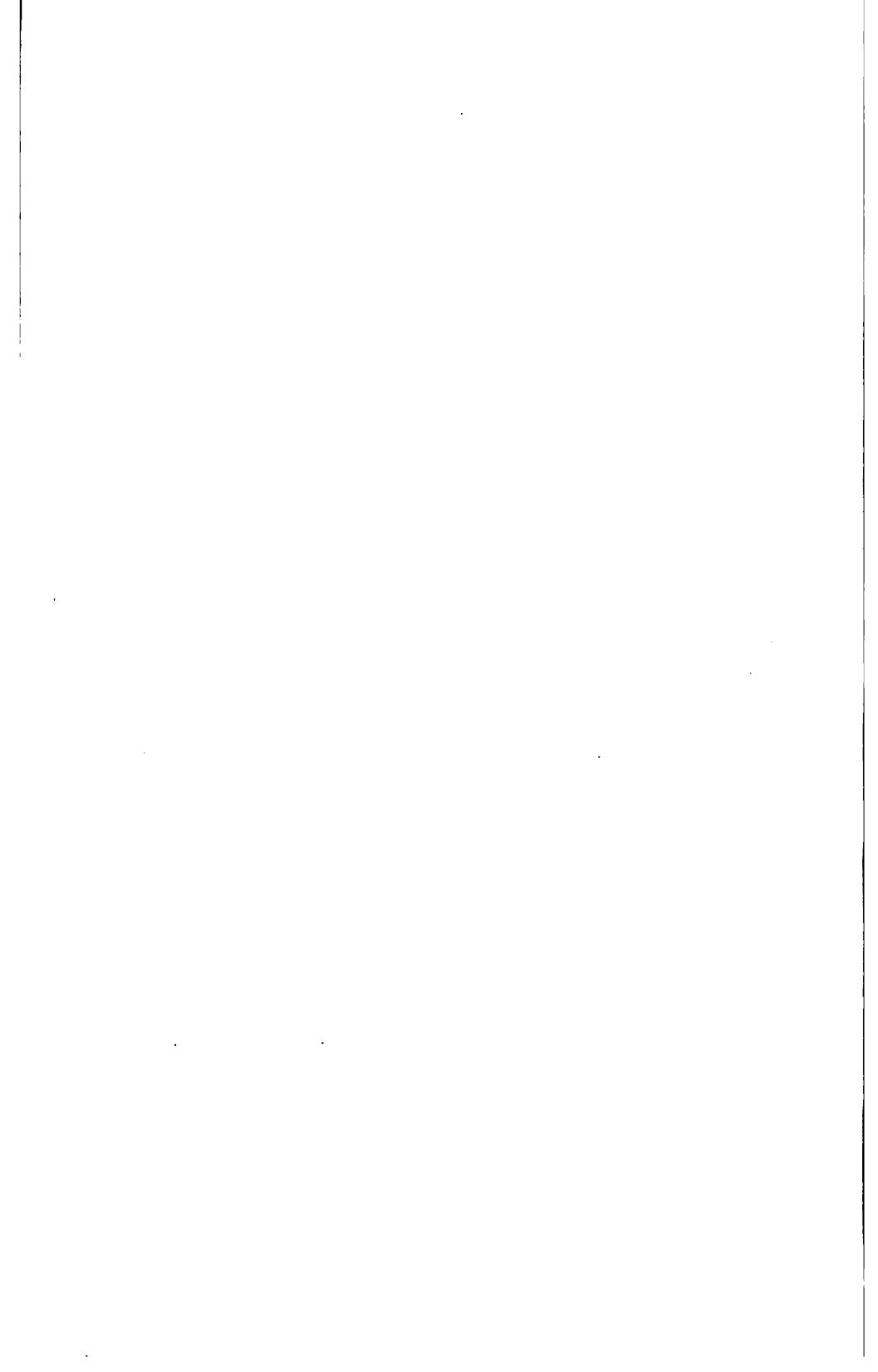


PLATE 35.



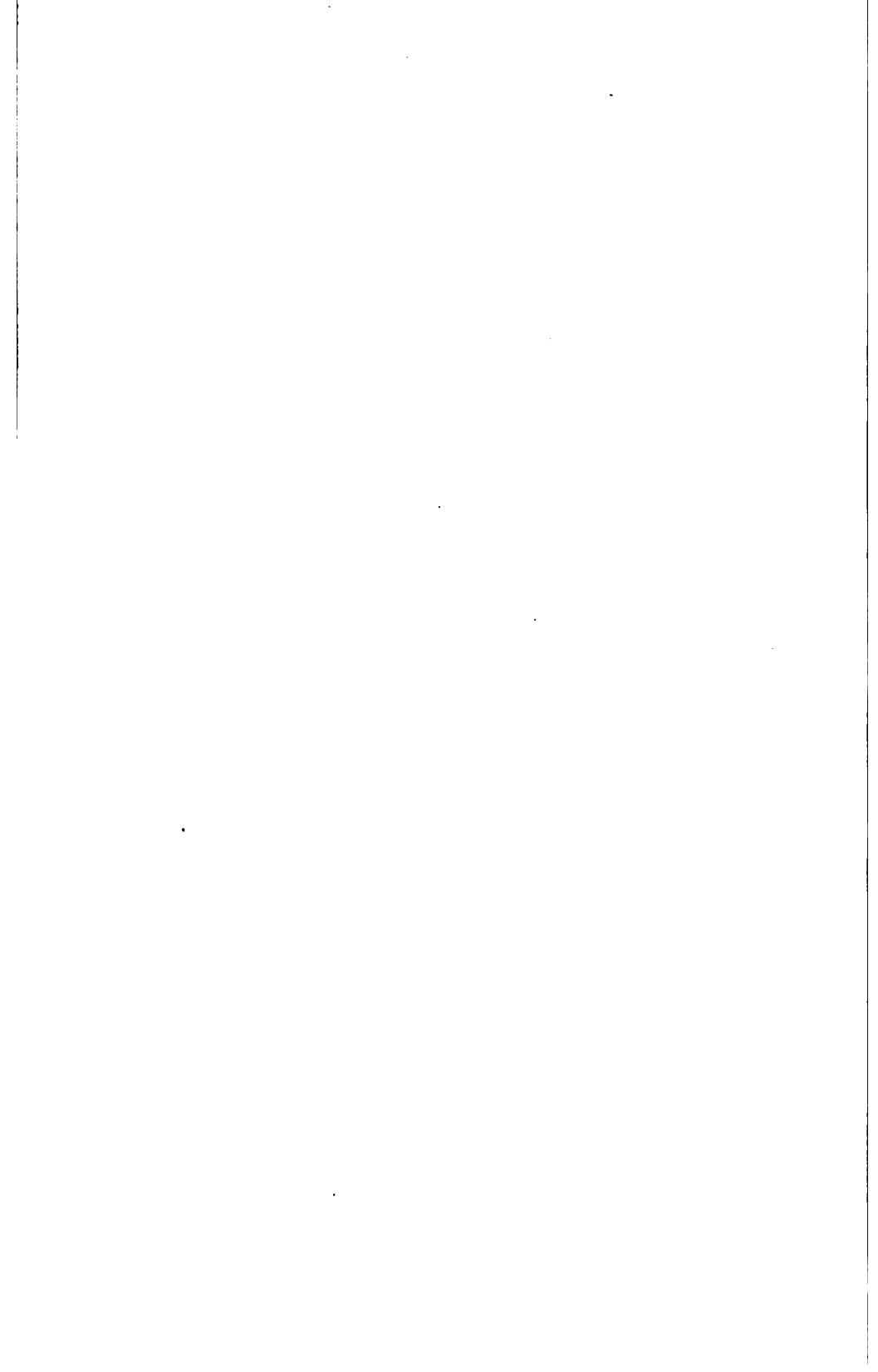


PLATE 36.



Altered arrangement of Iris (*Hana shōbu*).

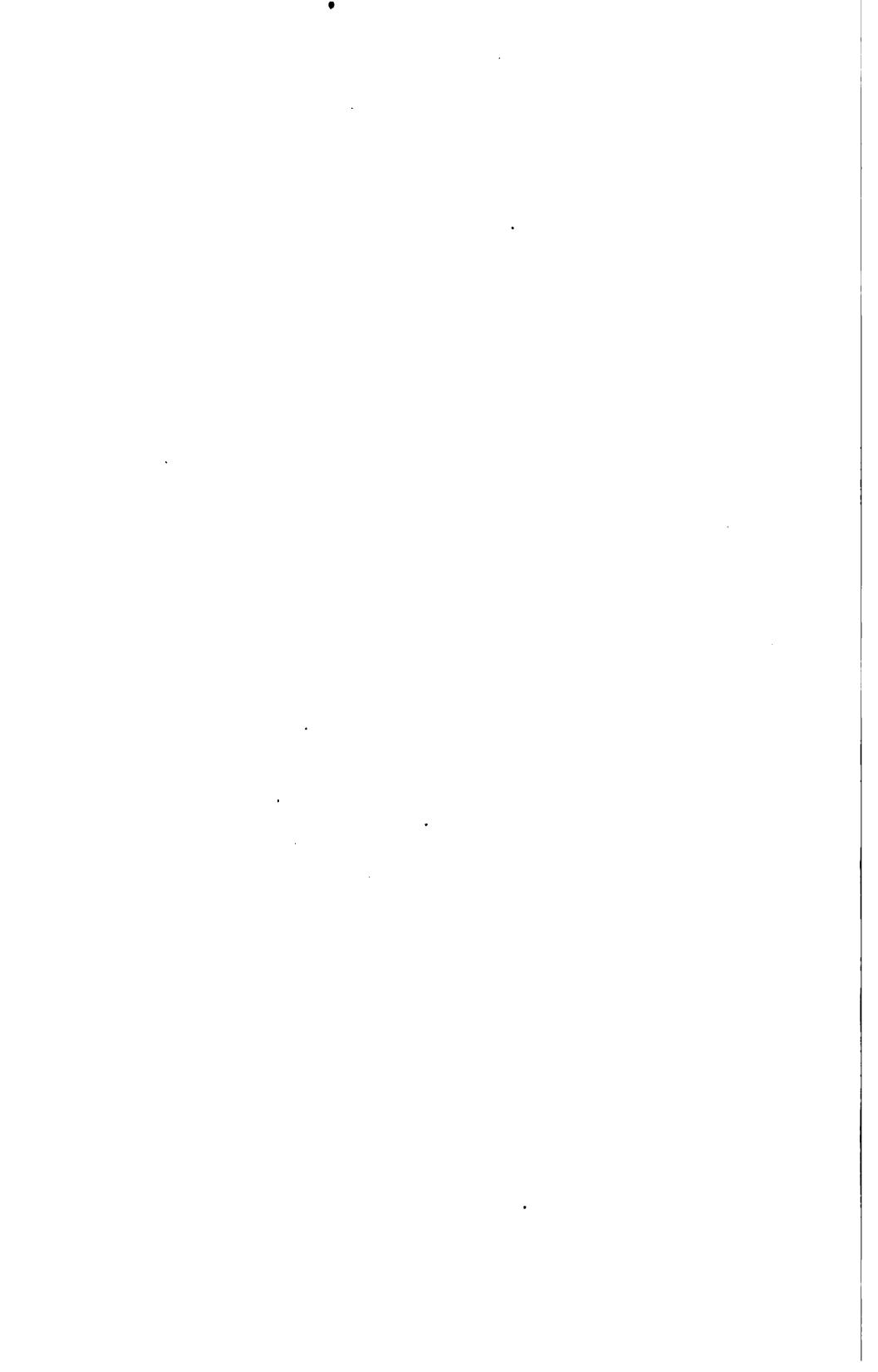


PLATE 37.

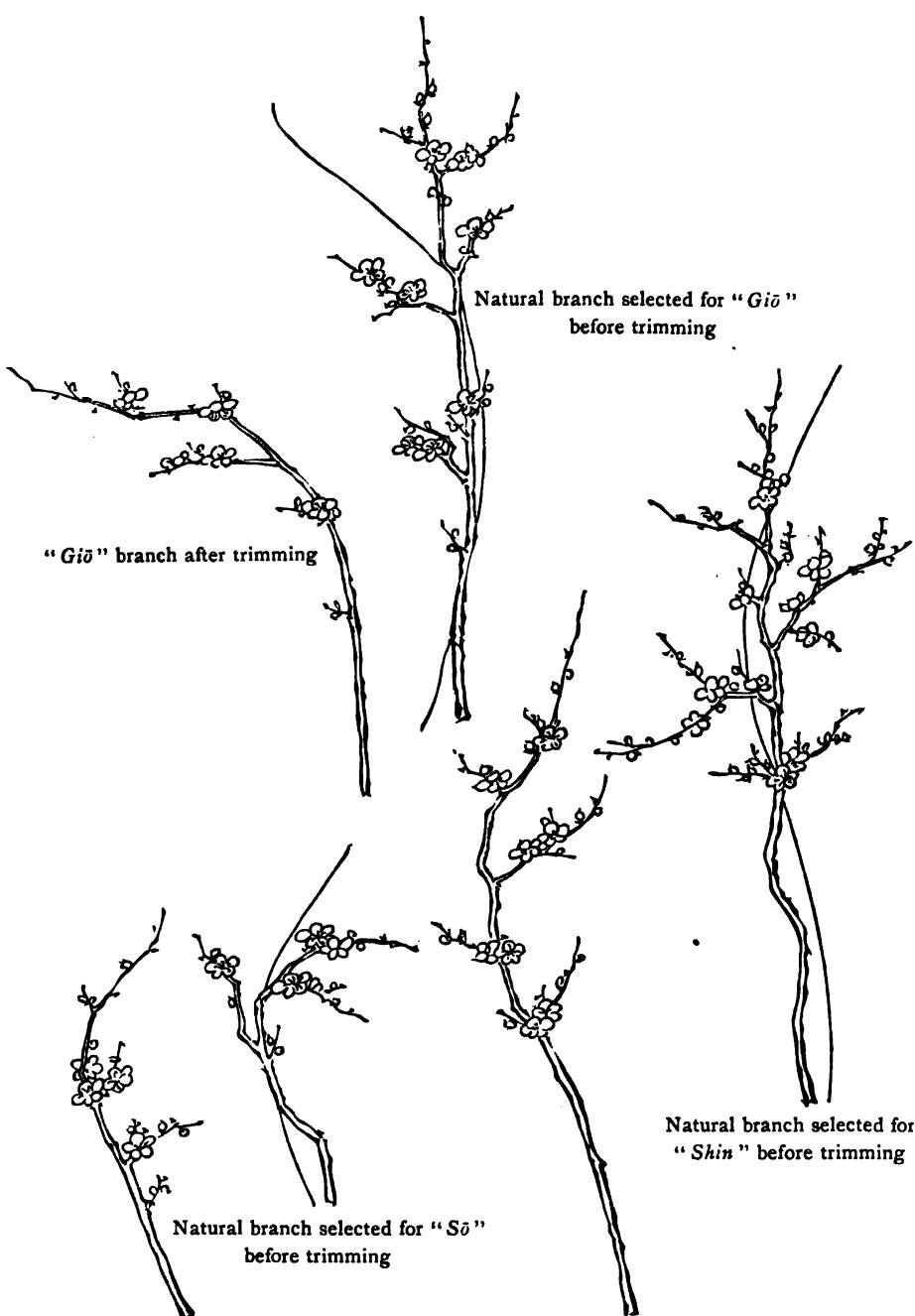




PLATE 38.



Altered plum branches (see plate 37) arranged together in lines of *Shin Giō* and '.

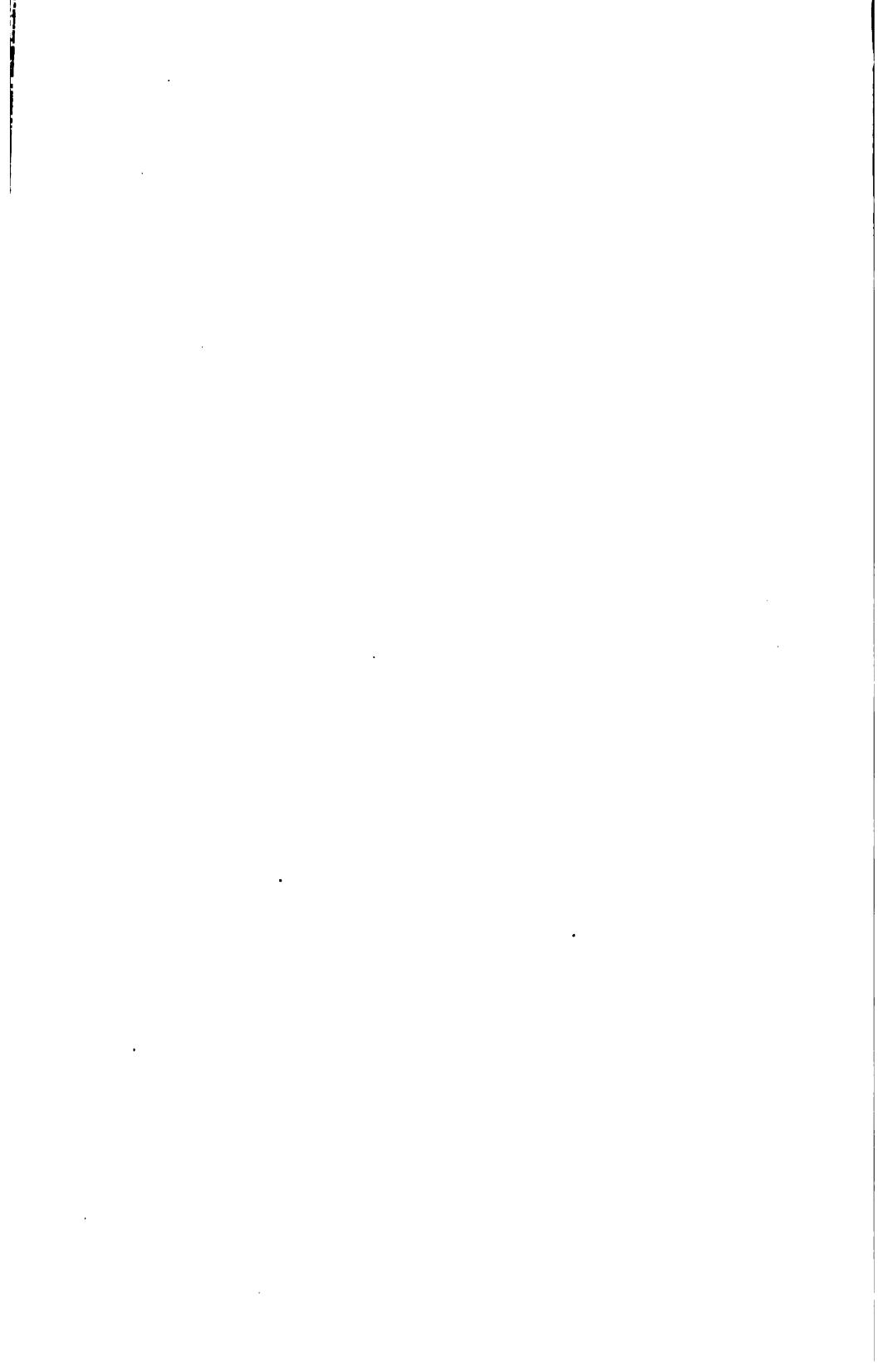
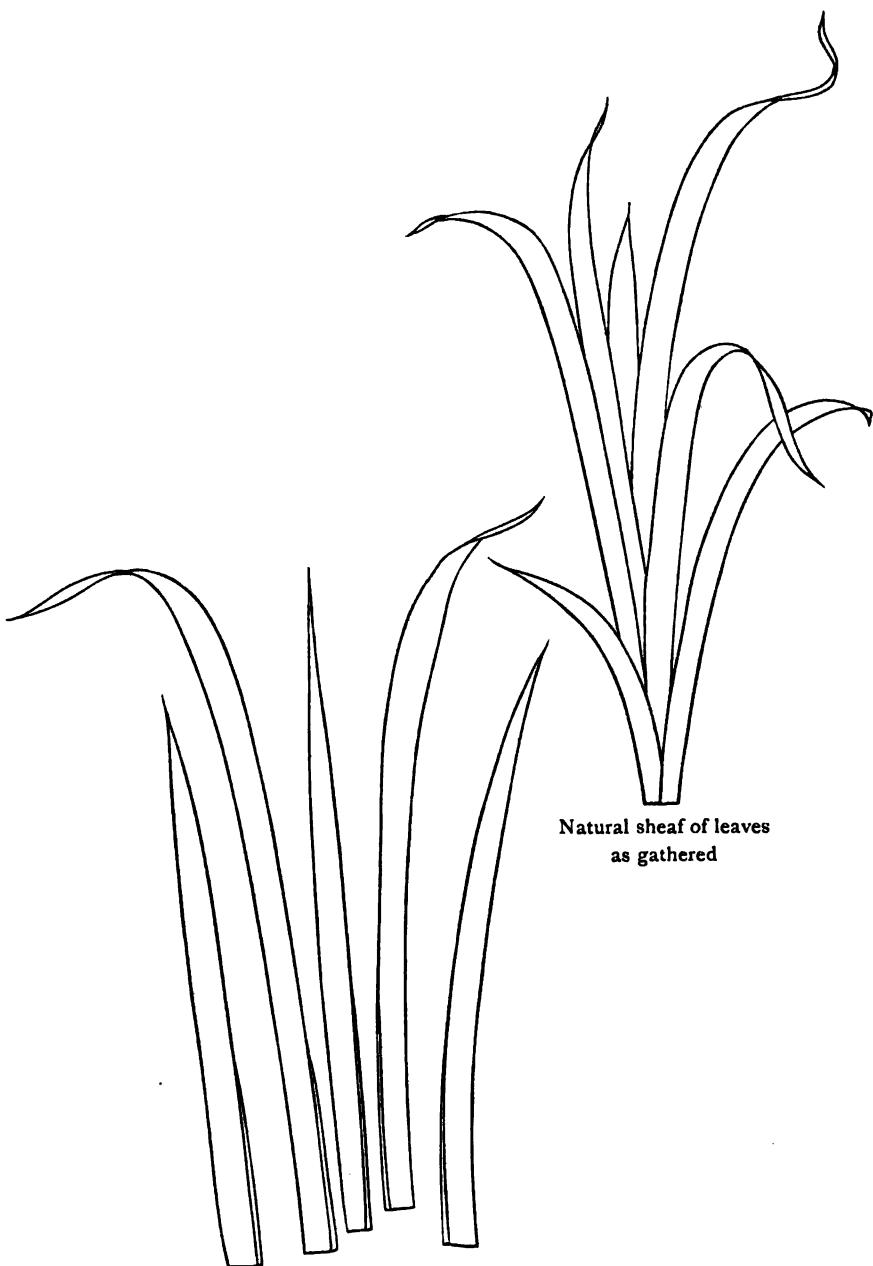


PLATE 39.

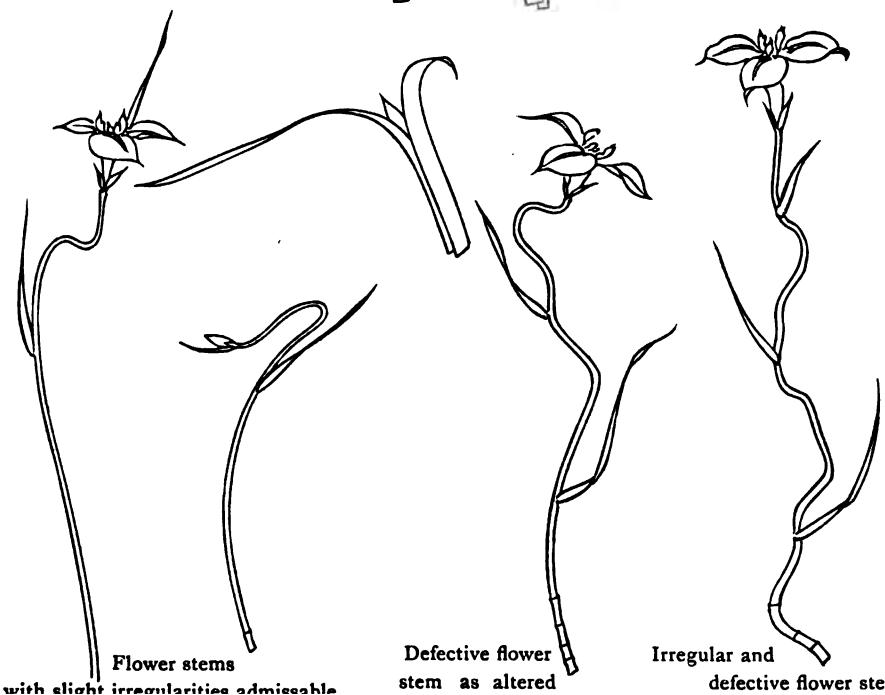
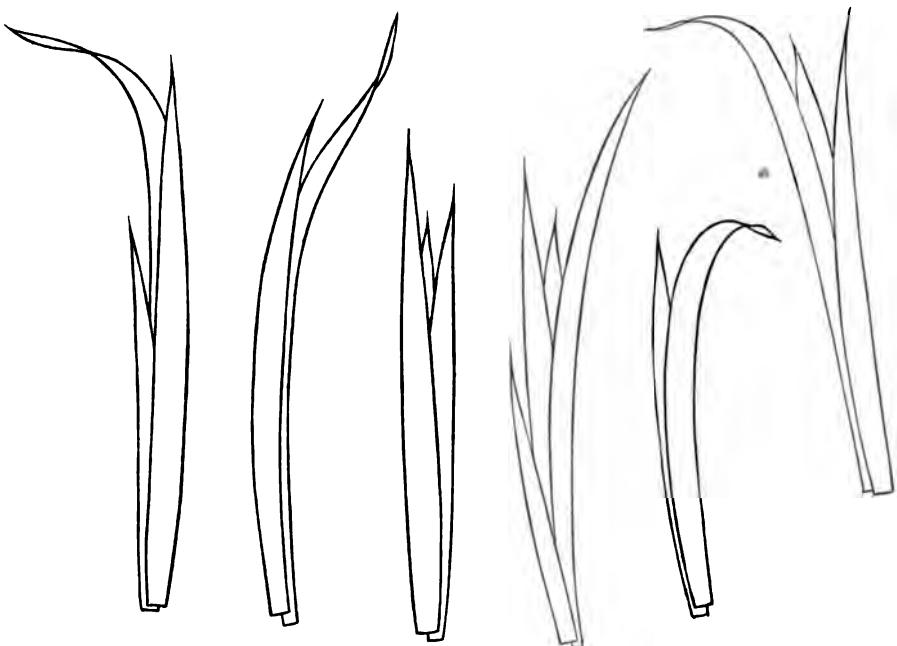


Arrangements of Iris.



PLATE 40.

### Artificial combinations of leaves



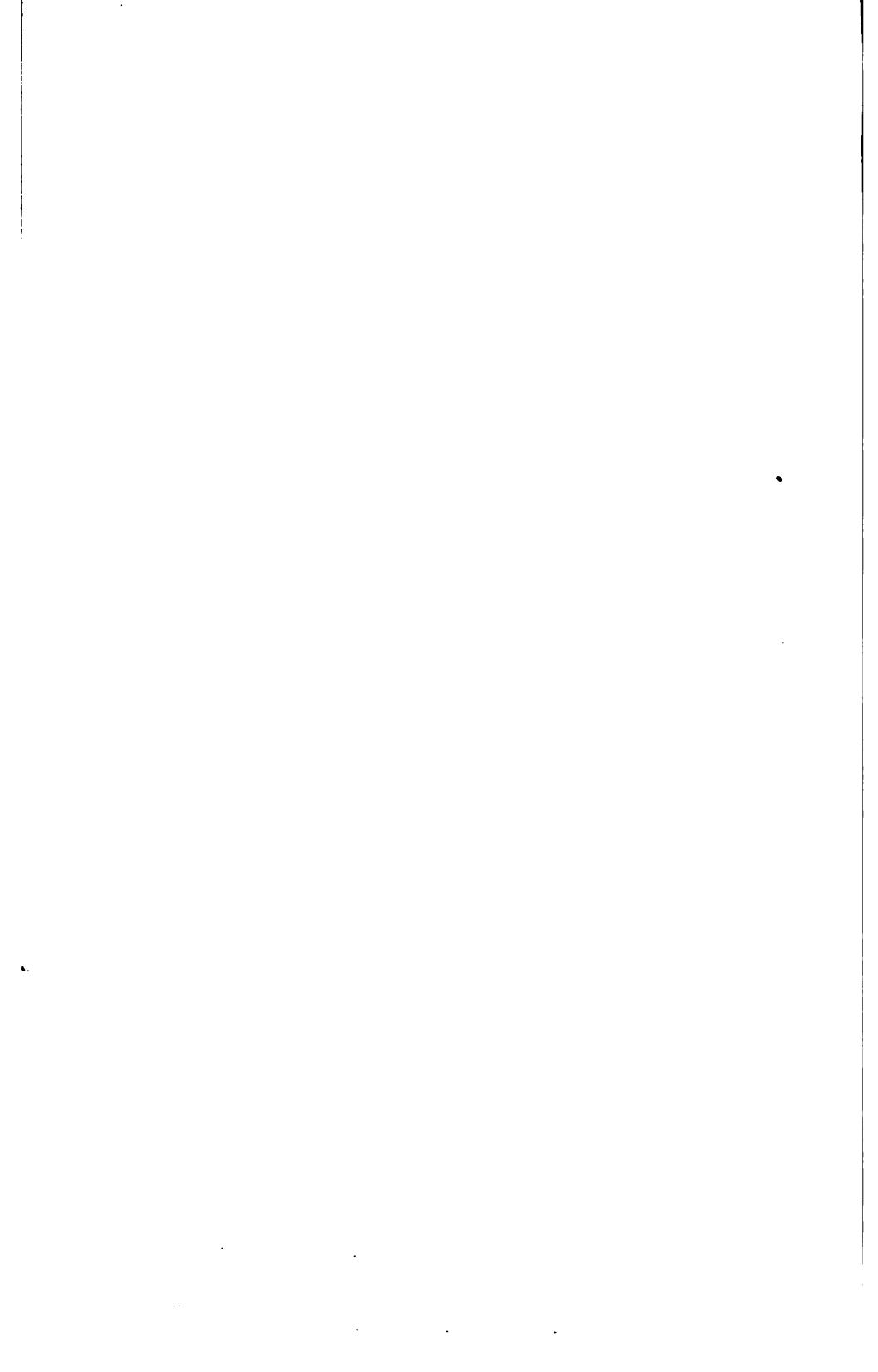


PLATE 41.



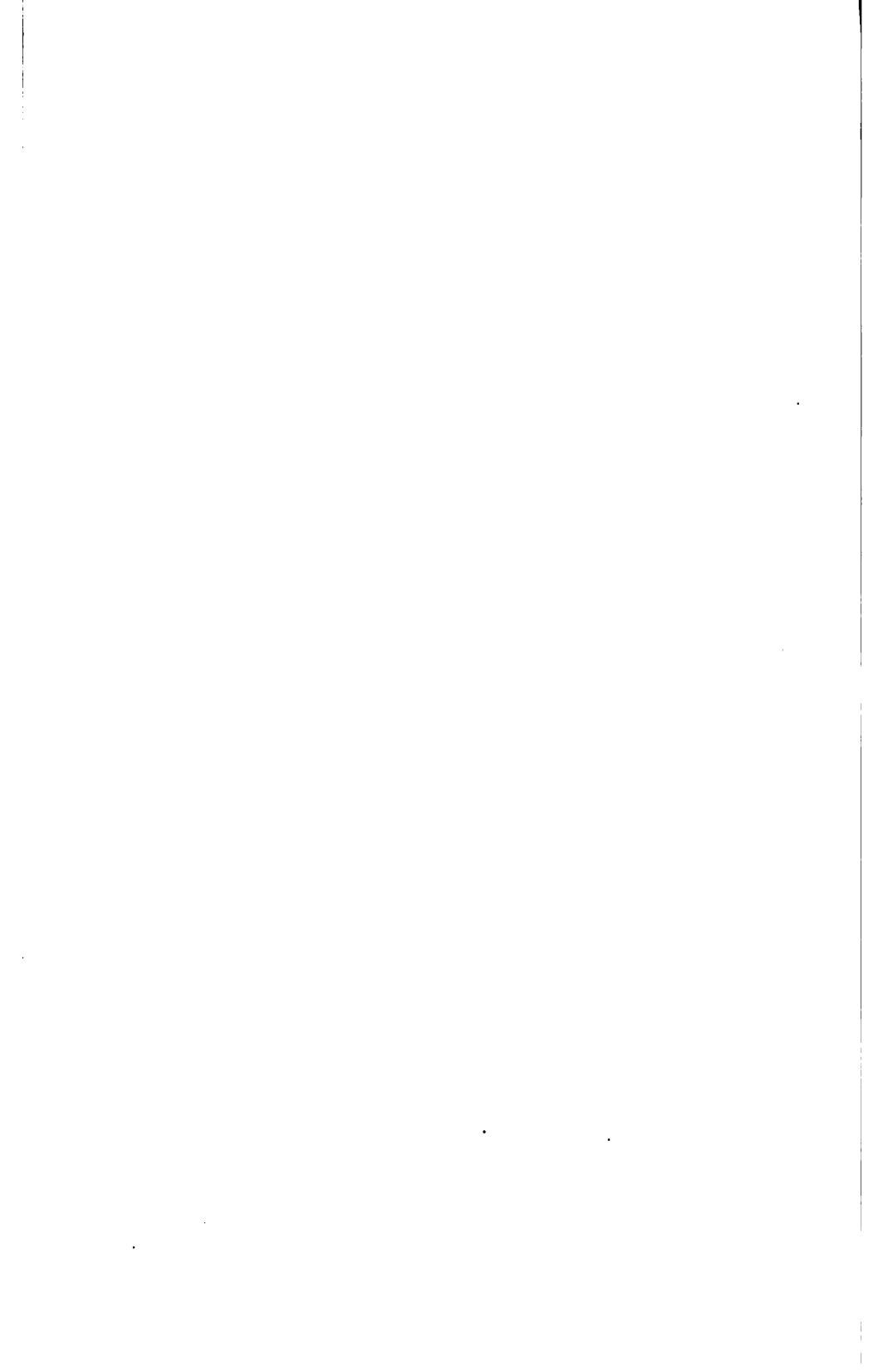
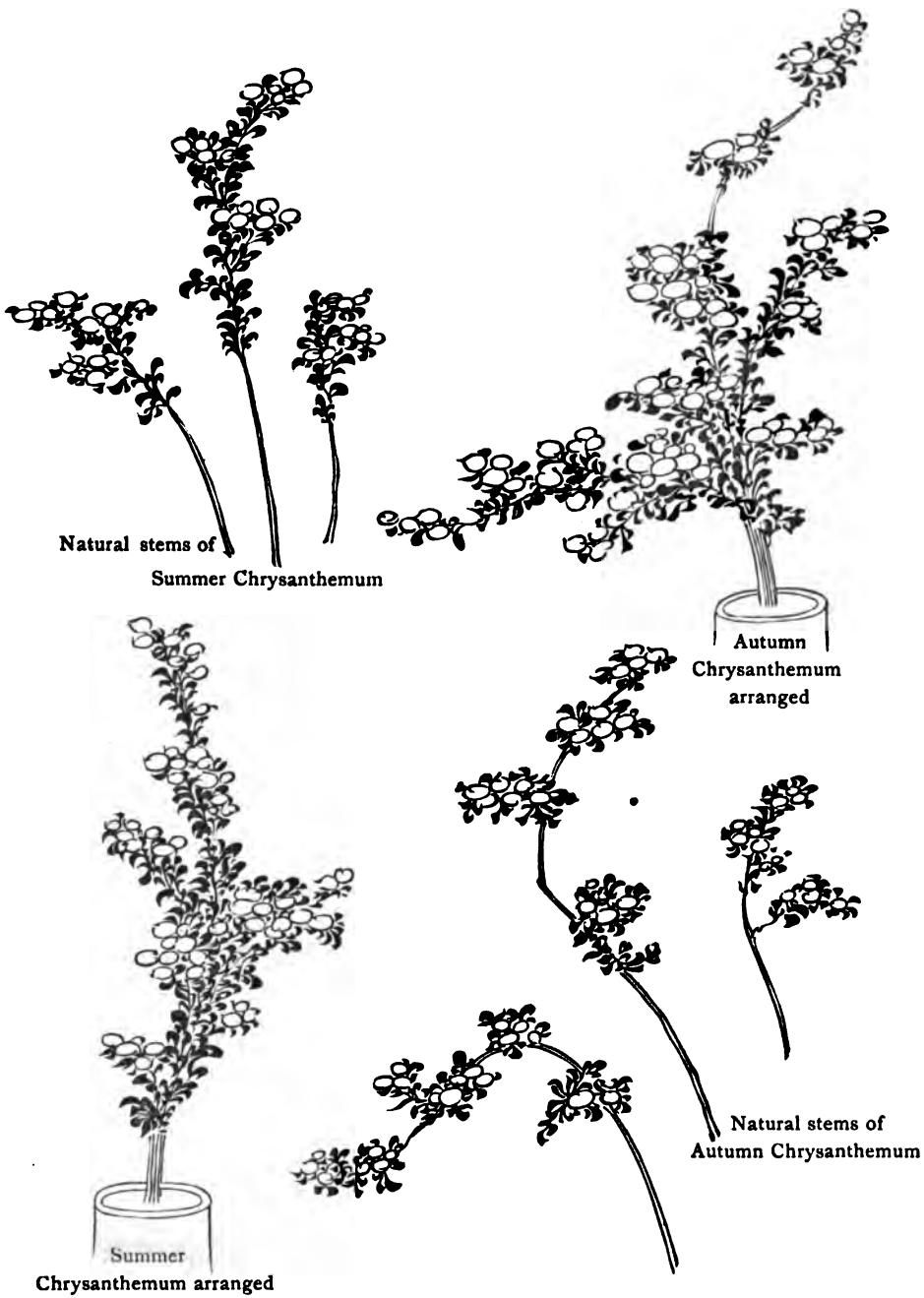
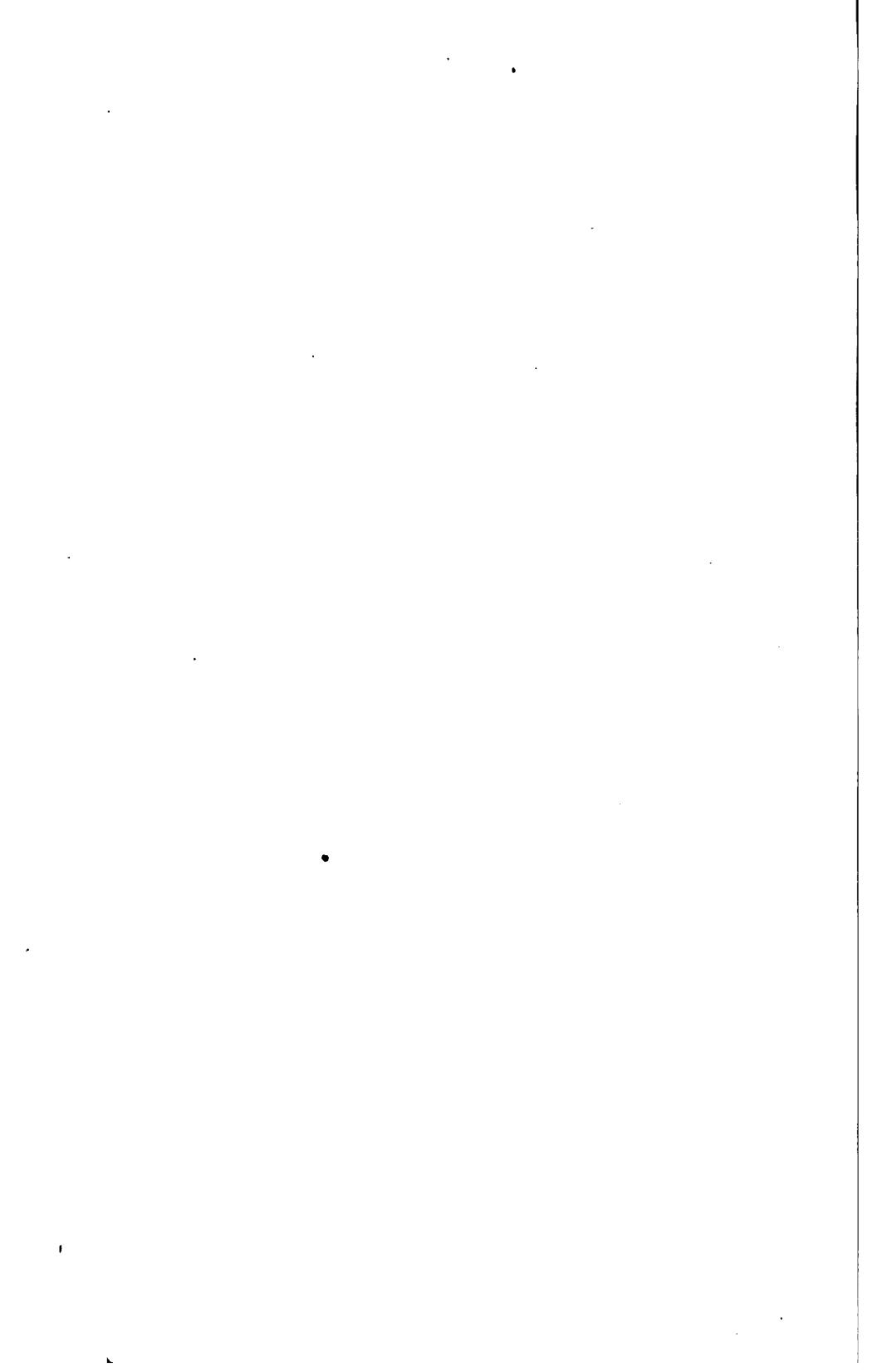


PLATE 42.







*tataricus* (*Shiwon*)

Shiwon

or basket.

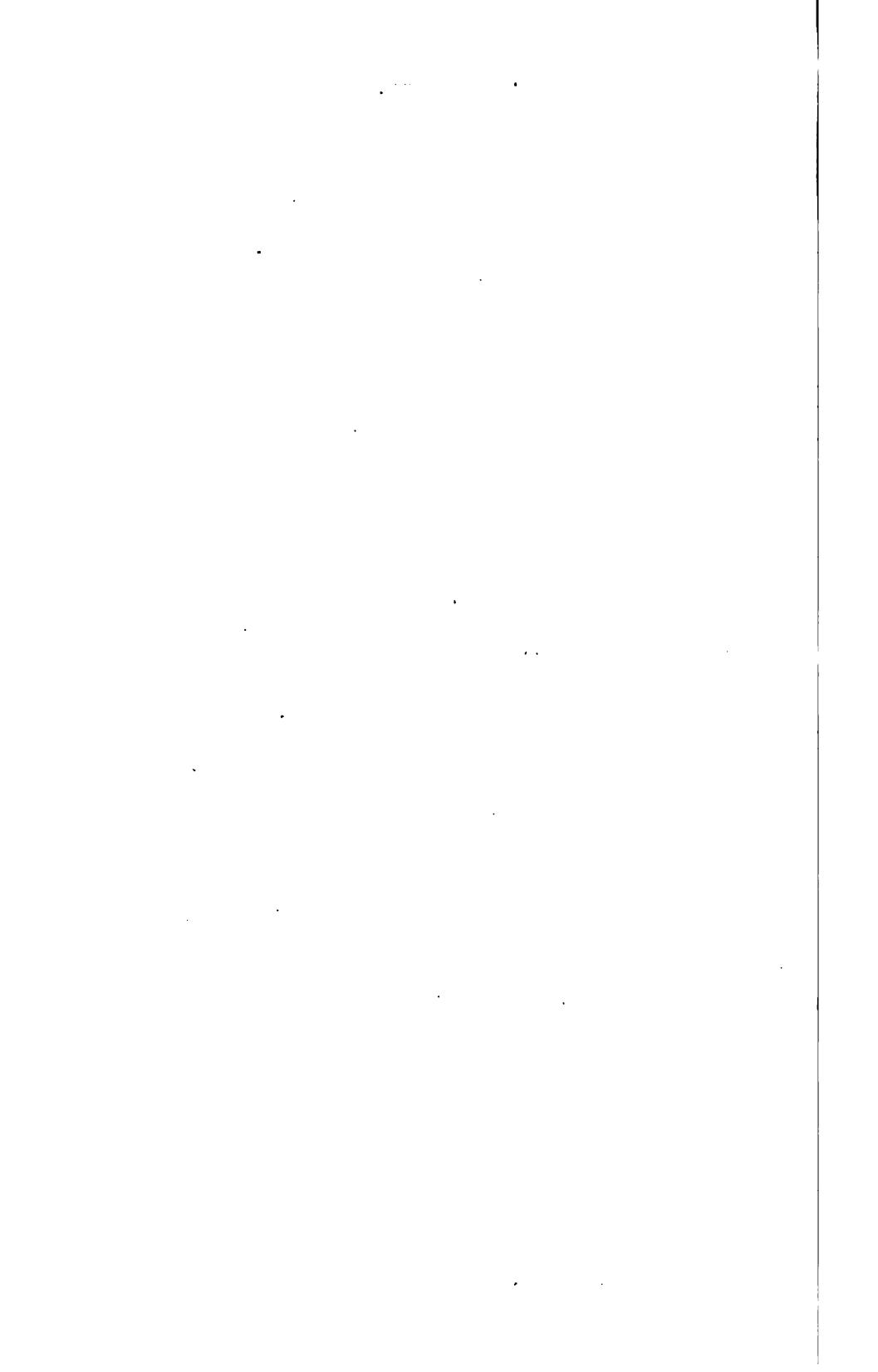


PLATE 44.



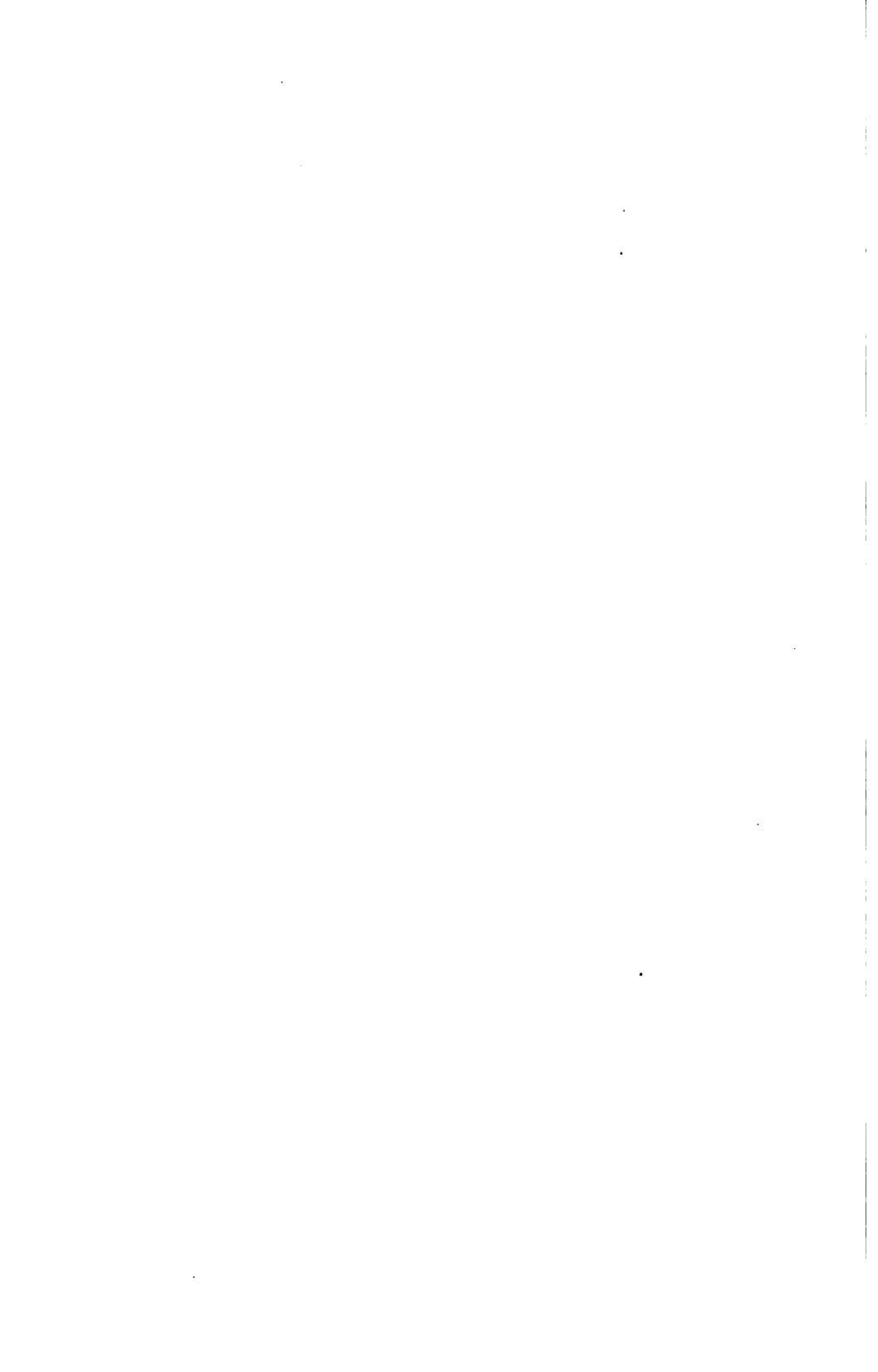
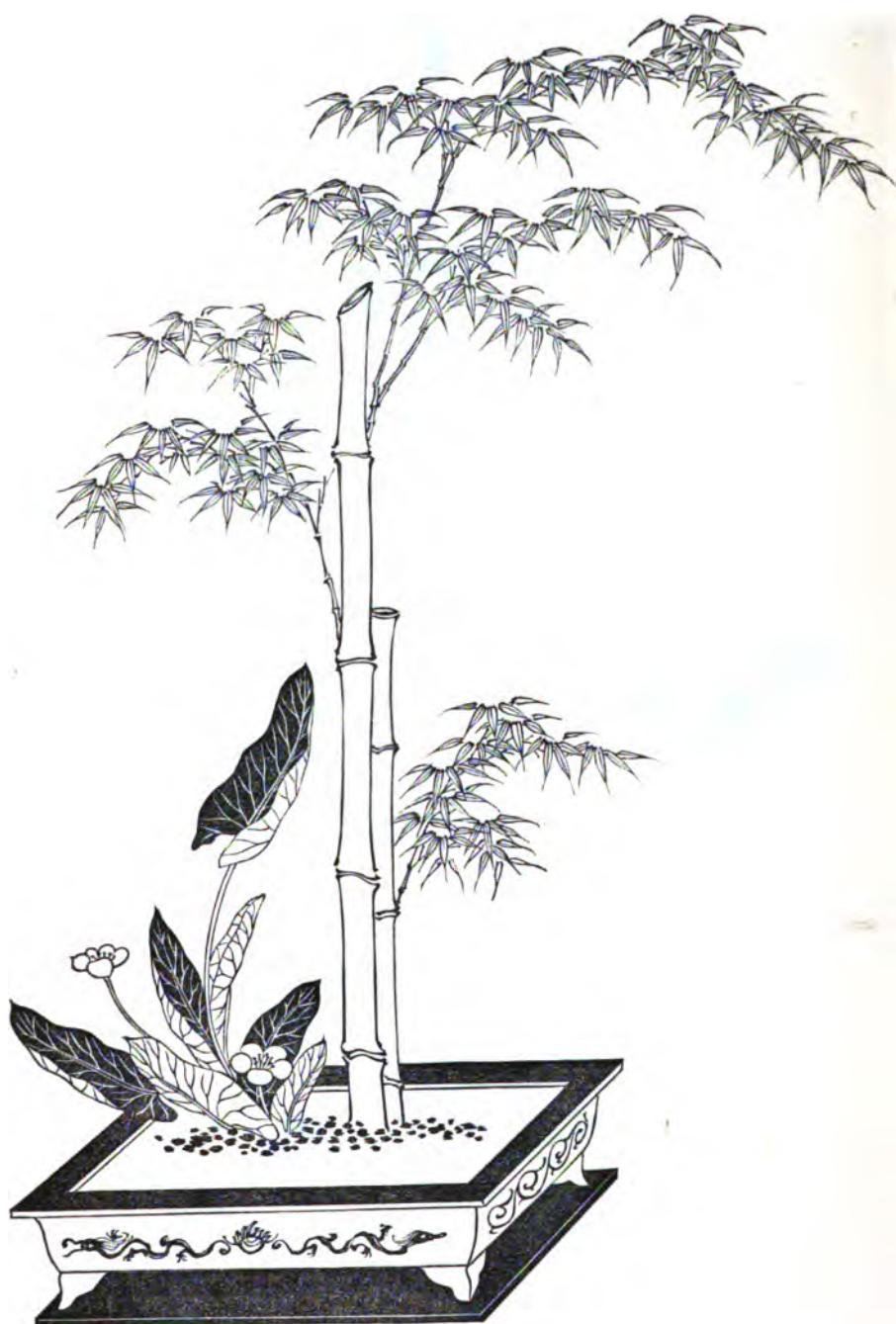


PLATE 45.



Arrangement of Bamboo (*Take*) and Nuphar Japonicum (*Kōhone*) in bronze sand-bowl.

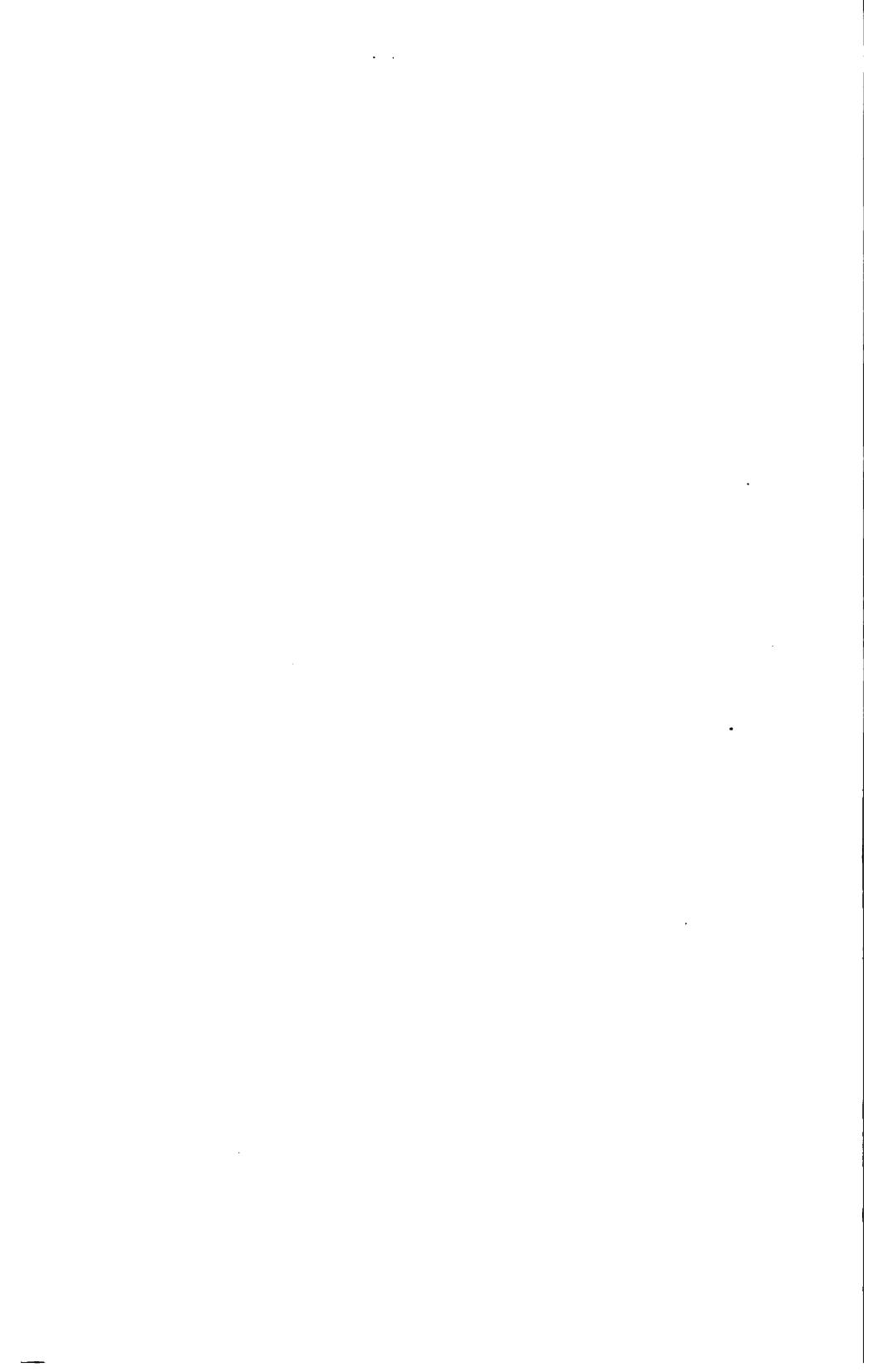


PLATE 46.



Arrangement of Chrysanthemum (*Kiku*) with 17 flowers in fancy bronze vase on tra

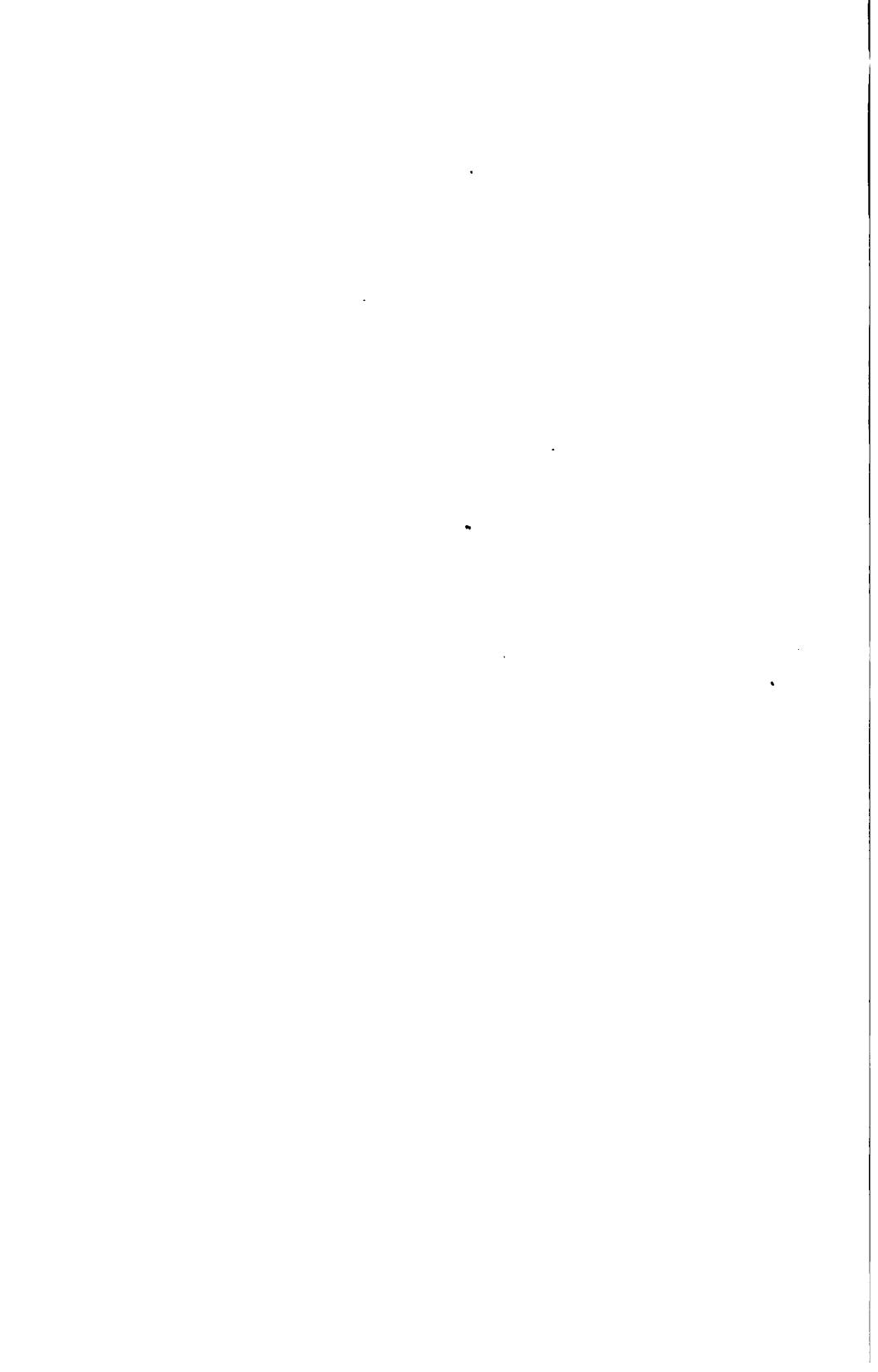


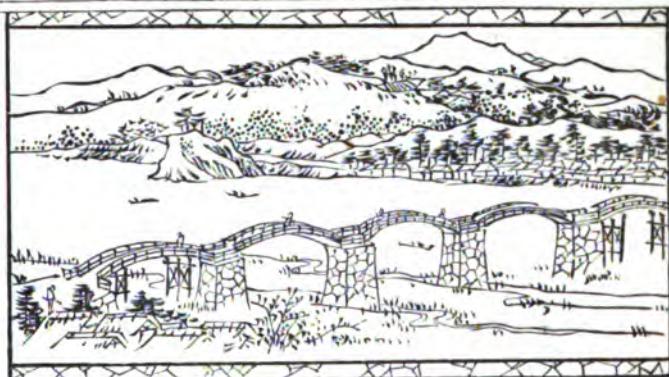
PLATE 47.



Arrangement of White Peony (*Shiro shakuyaku*) in high bronze vase.



PLATE 48.



Arrangement of *Dianthus superbus* (*Nadeshiko*) in bronze vase showing

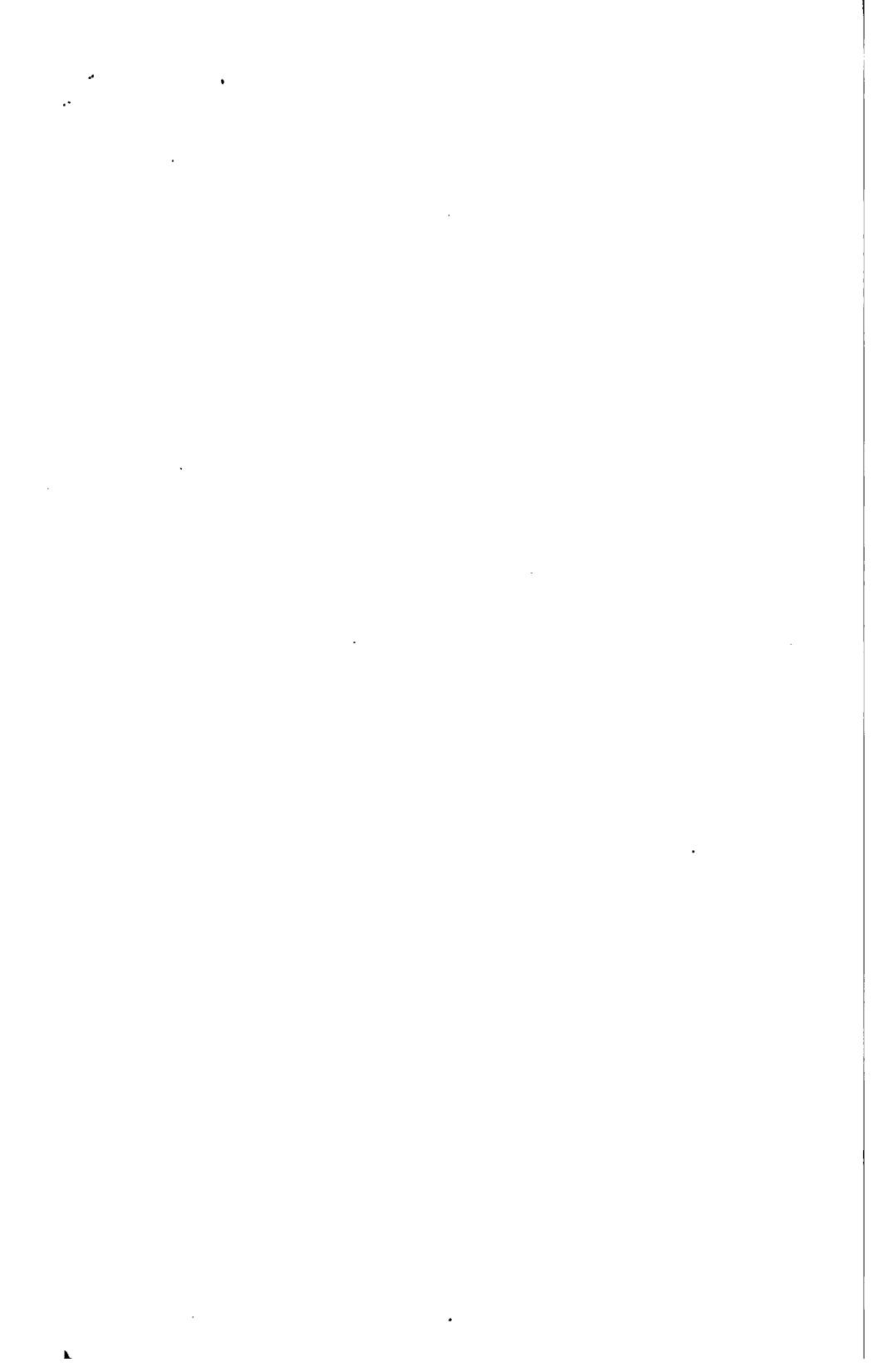
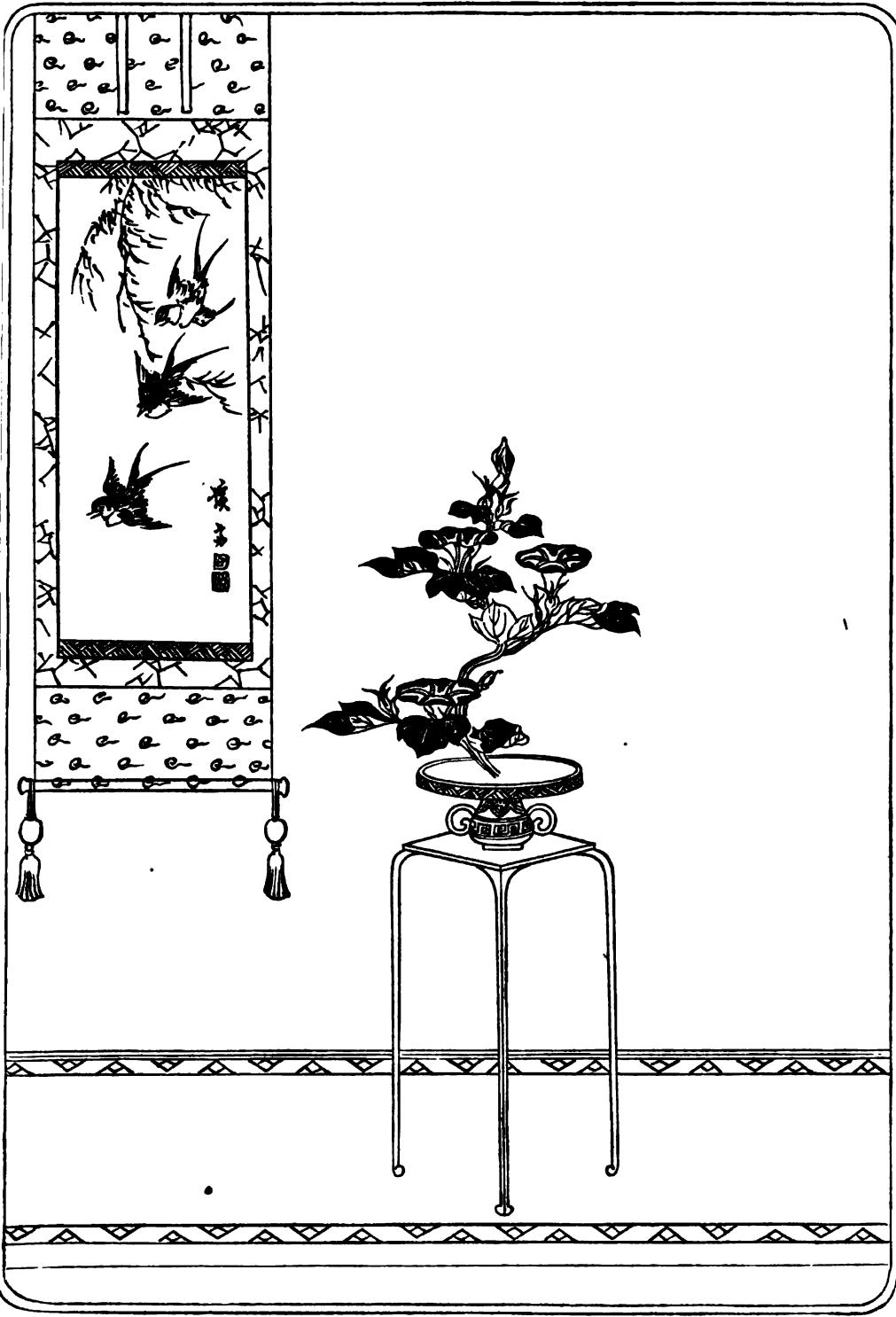


PLATE 49.



Arrangement of Convolvulus (*Chōsen-asagao*) in bronze vase on stand showing

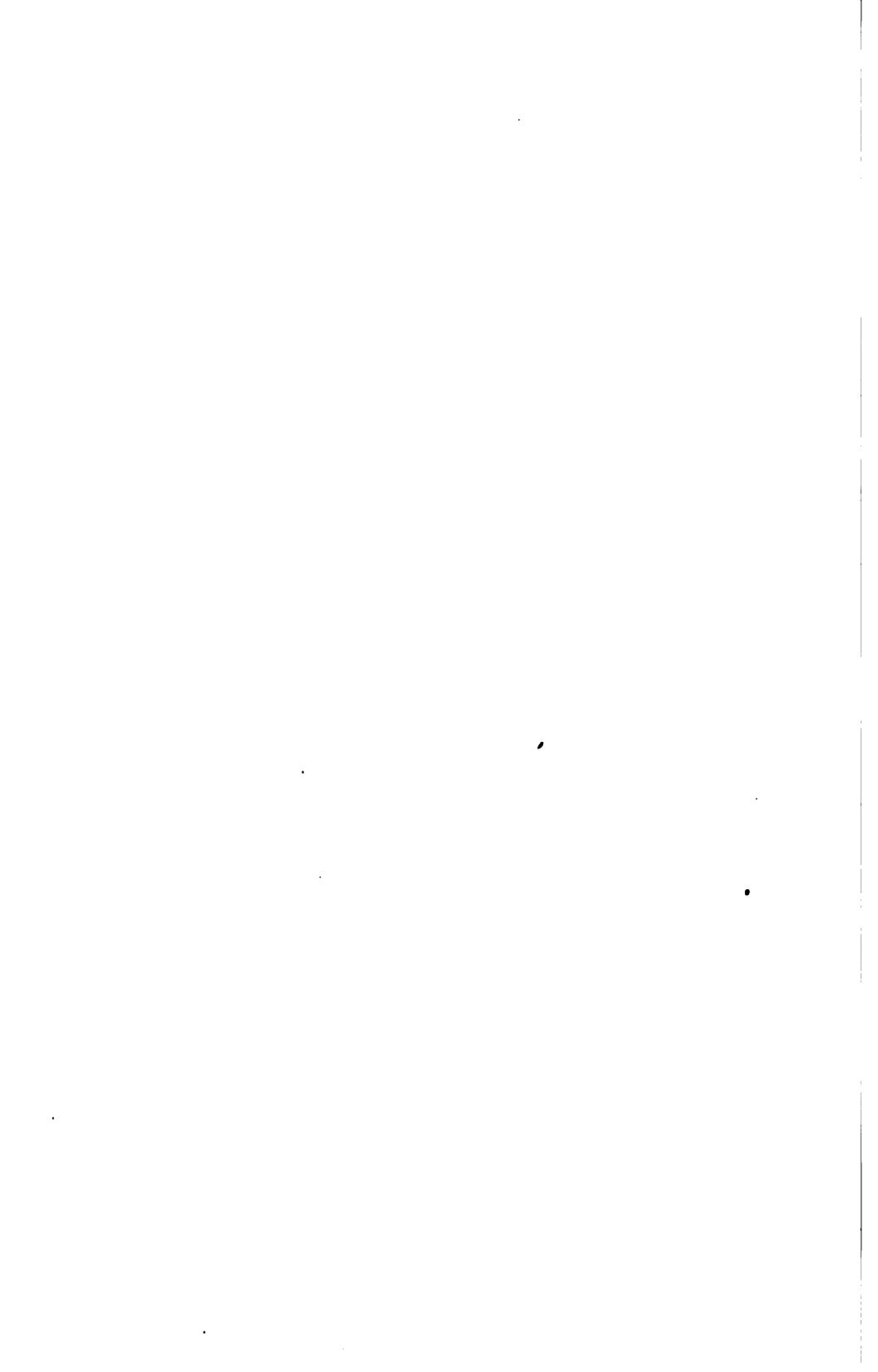


PLATE 50.



Arrangement of Orchid (*Ha-ran*) in bronze vase on stand showing suitable position of mural picture.

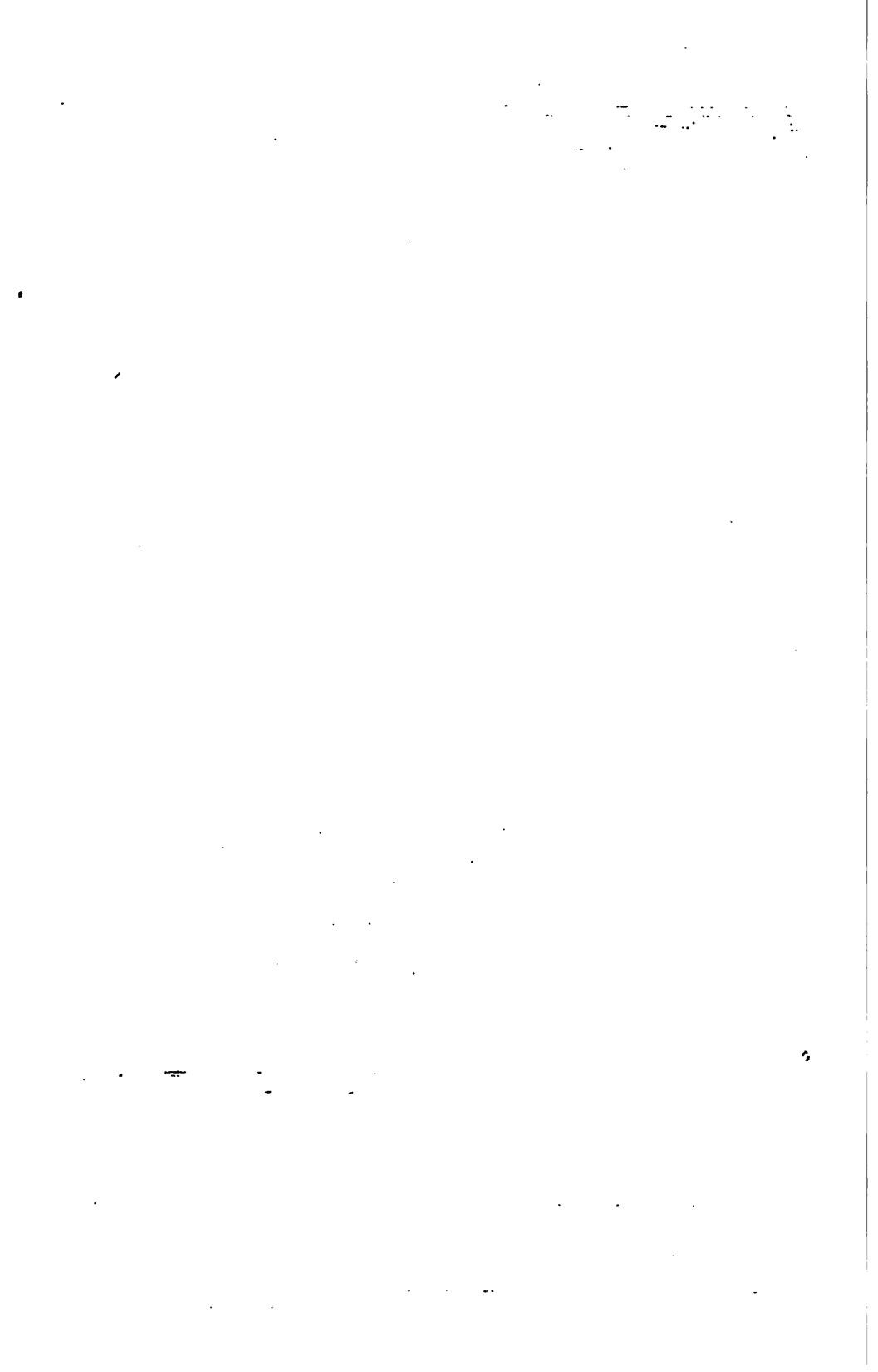


PLATE 51.



Arrangement of Five-leaved Pine (*Go-yō-no-matsu*) in high vase.

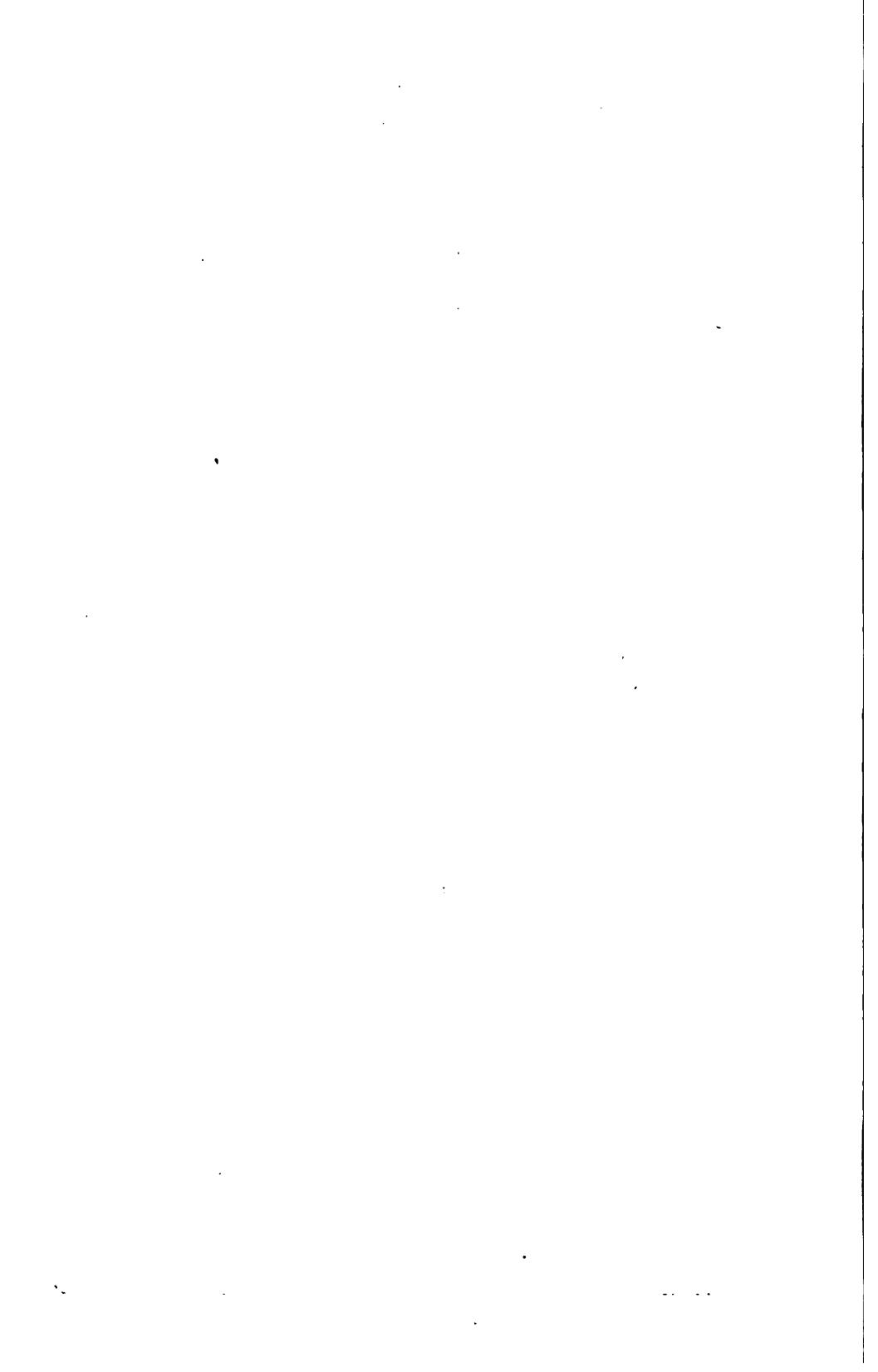


PLATE 52.



Arrangement of *Nandina domestica* (*Nanten*) in fancy bronze vase on stand.



PLATE 53.



Arrangement of Pine branch (*Matsu*) and Plum branch (*Ume*) in vase of natural  
bamboo (Sasa-chibuhai)

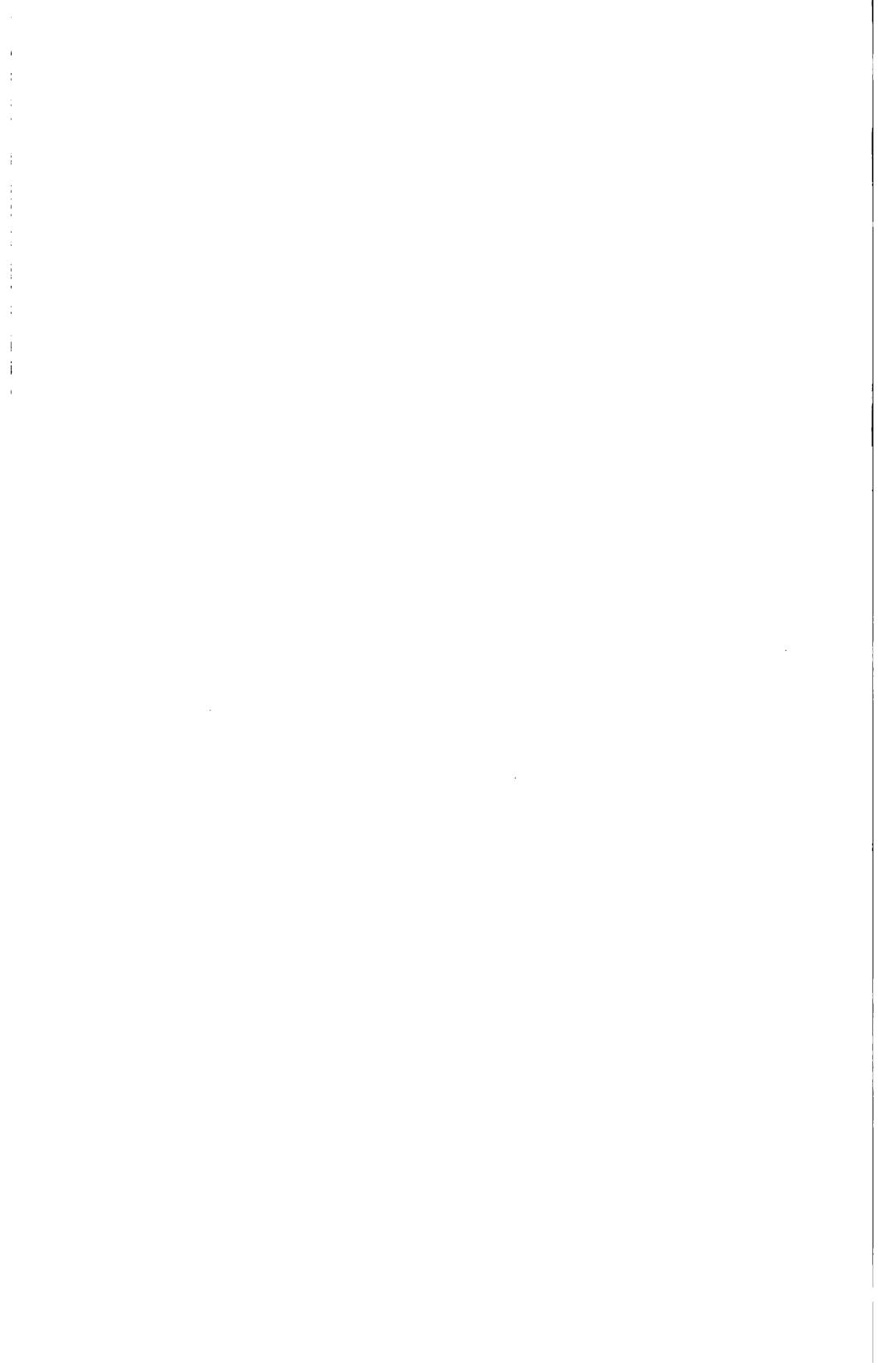
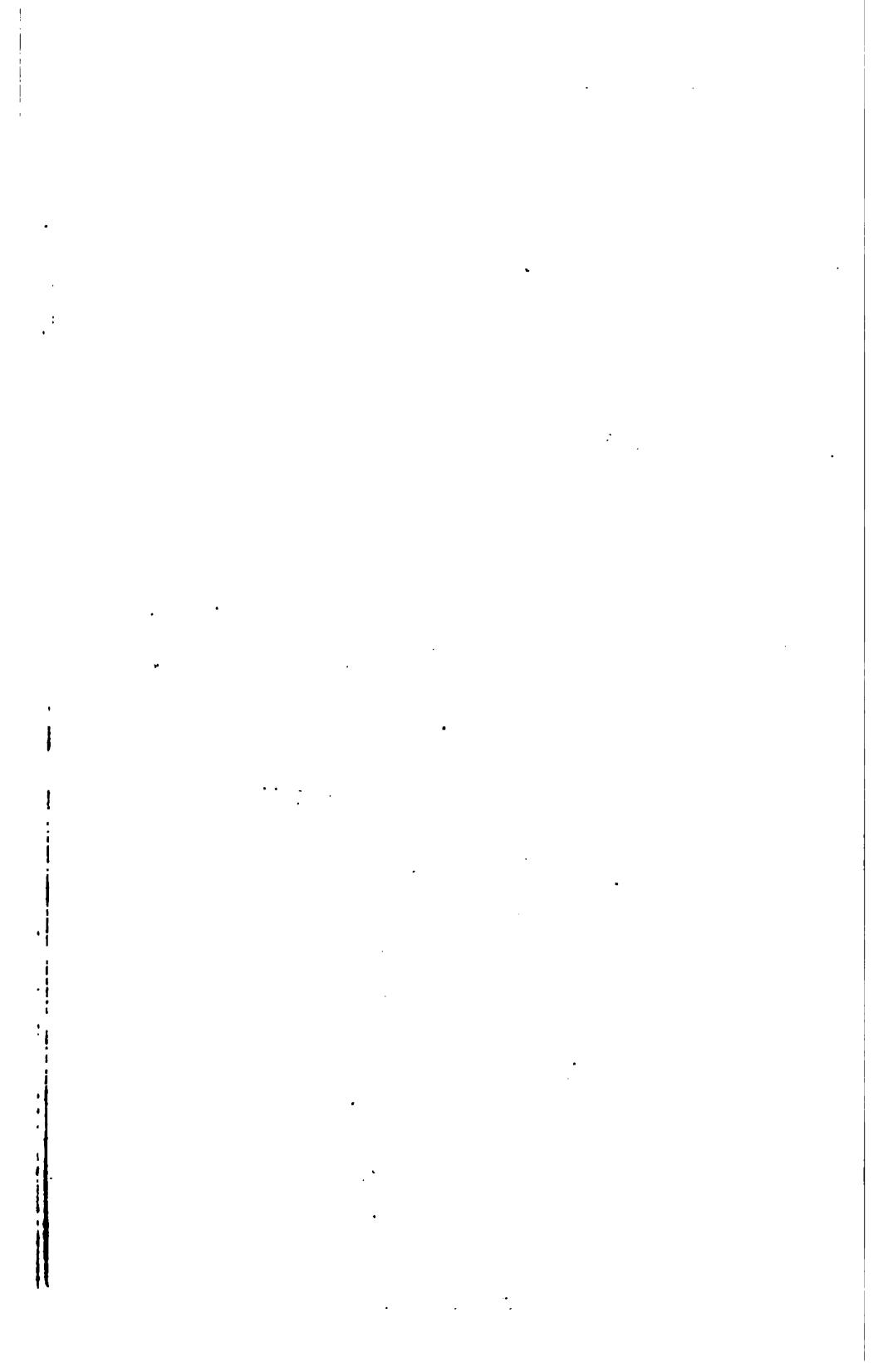


PLATE 54.



Arrangement of Narcissus (*Suisen*) of five flowers in bronze vase.





Arrangement of Pine (*Matsu*) Plum (*Ume*) and Bamboo (*Take*) in fancy  
flower vase (Shō-chiku-bai)

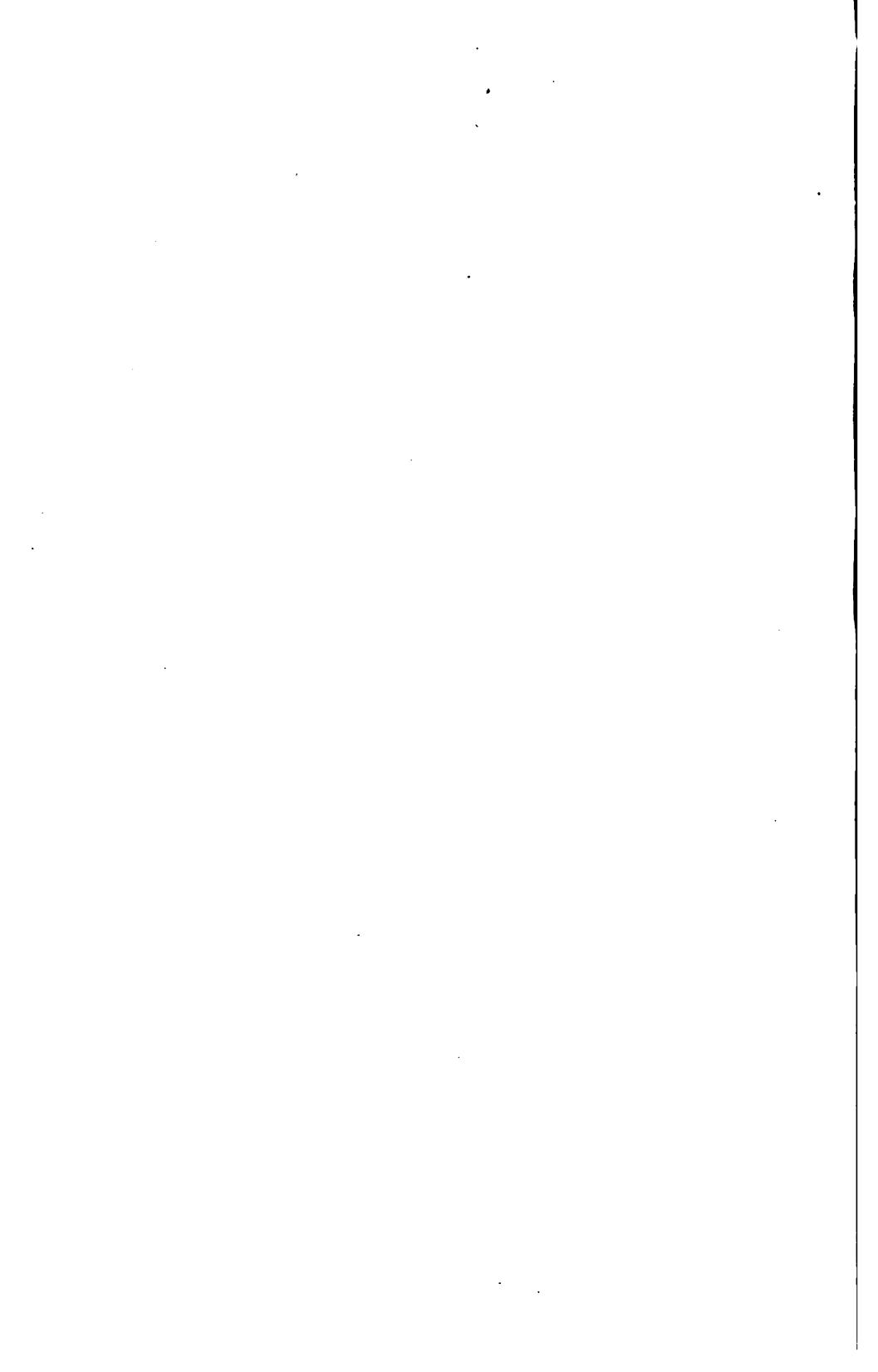


PLATE 56.



Arrangement of *Funkia ovata* (*Gibōshi*) with seven leaves in bronze vase on stand

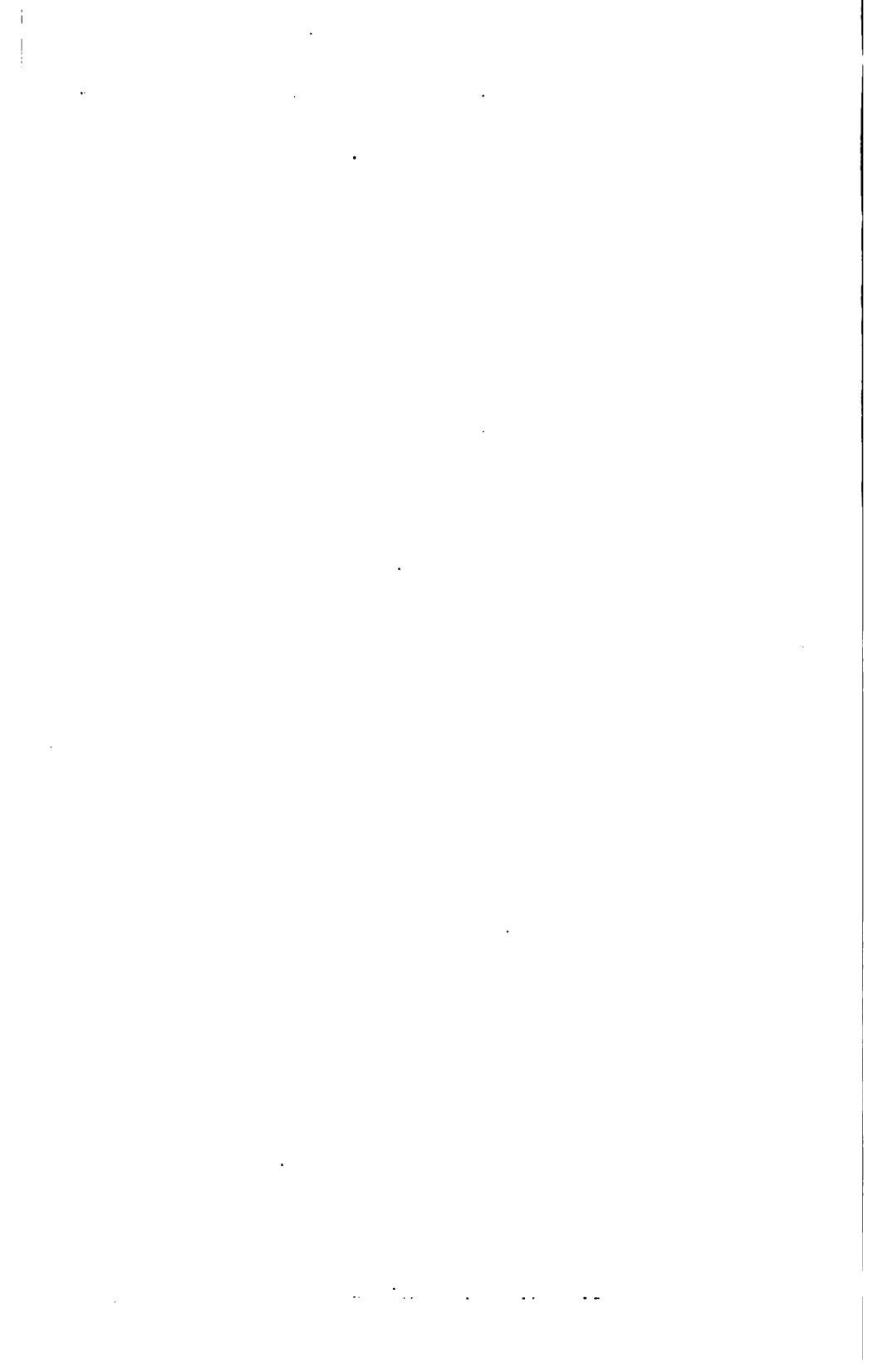


PLATE 57.



Arrangement of Cabbage (*Ha-botan*).

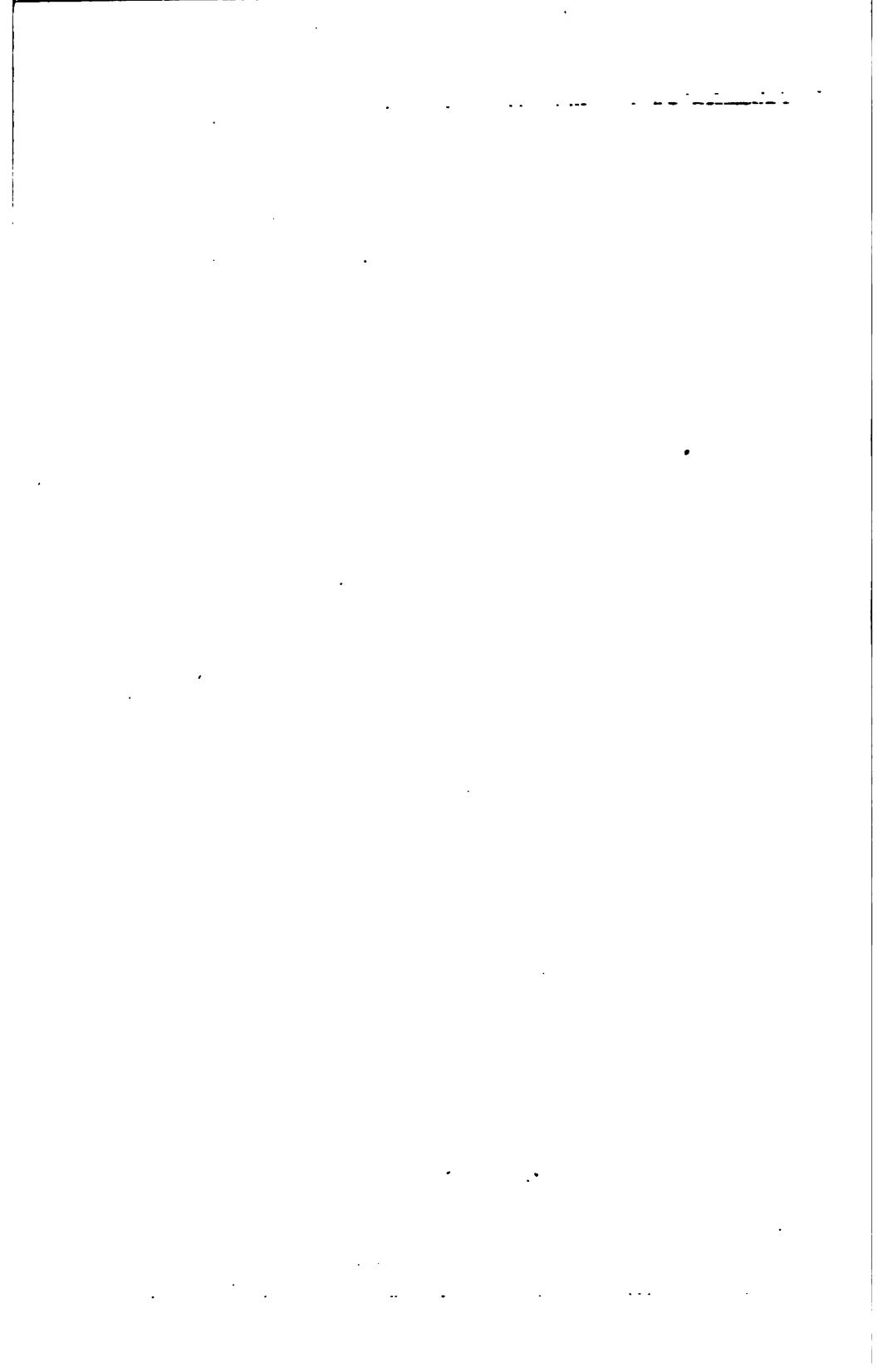
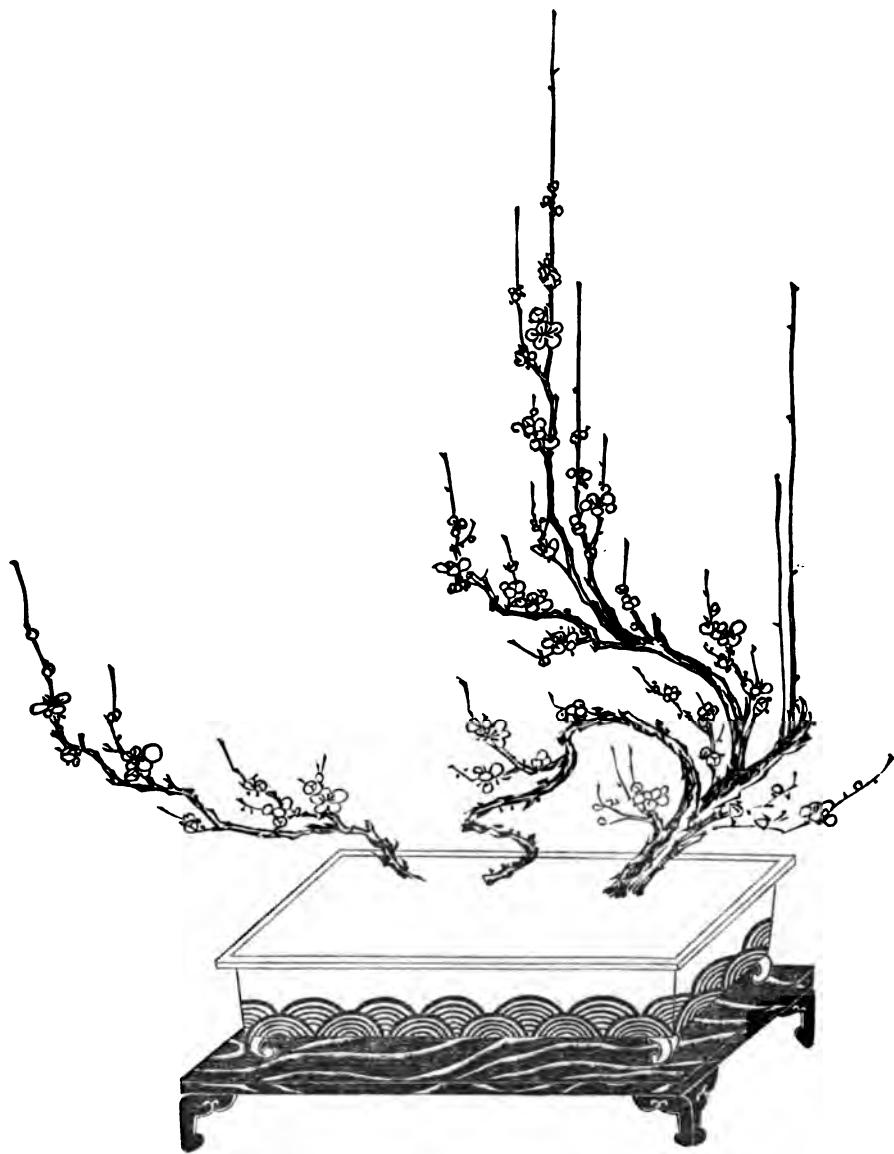
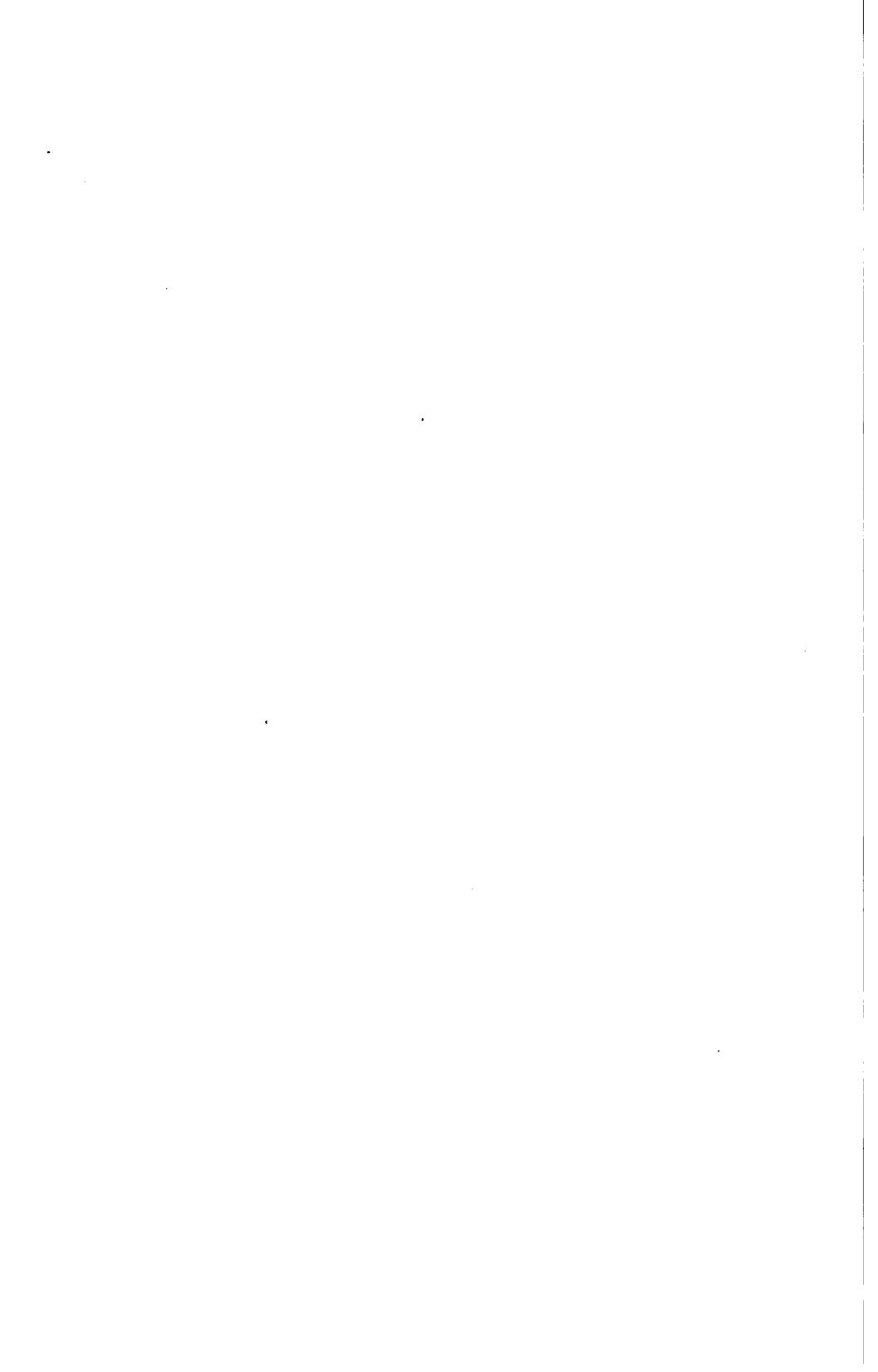


PLATE 58.



Arrangement of White Plum (*Haku-bai*) in shallow bowl with water.





駒口の事於  
かとく  
山の風  
むほの風  
井出の風川  
皇太子宮太夫  
俊成

Arrangement of Kerria Japonica (*Yamabuki*) in horse tub (*Ba-darai*) held by  
horse's bit fastener.

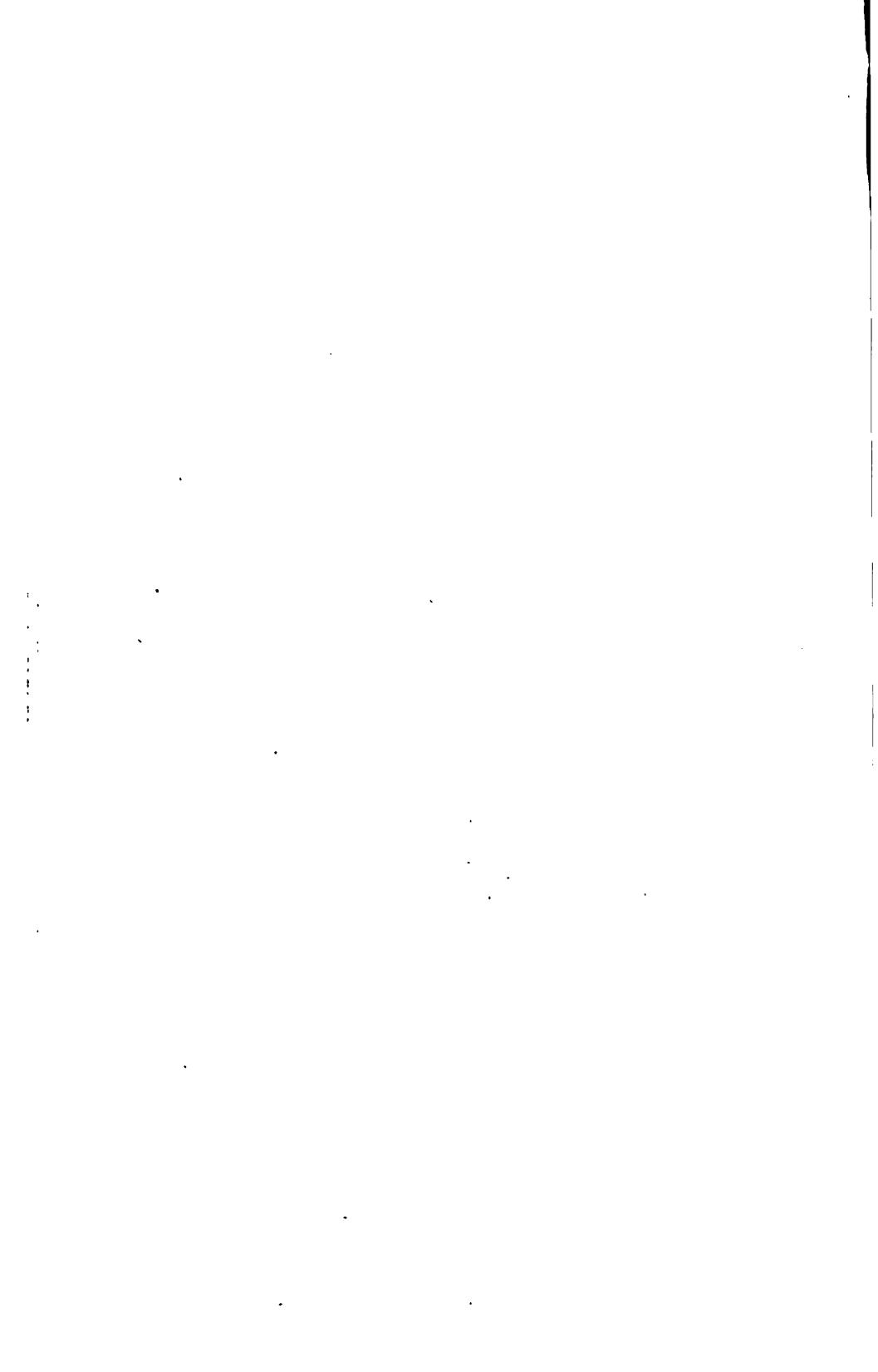
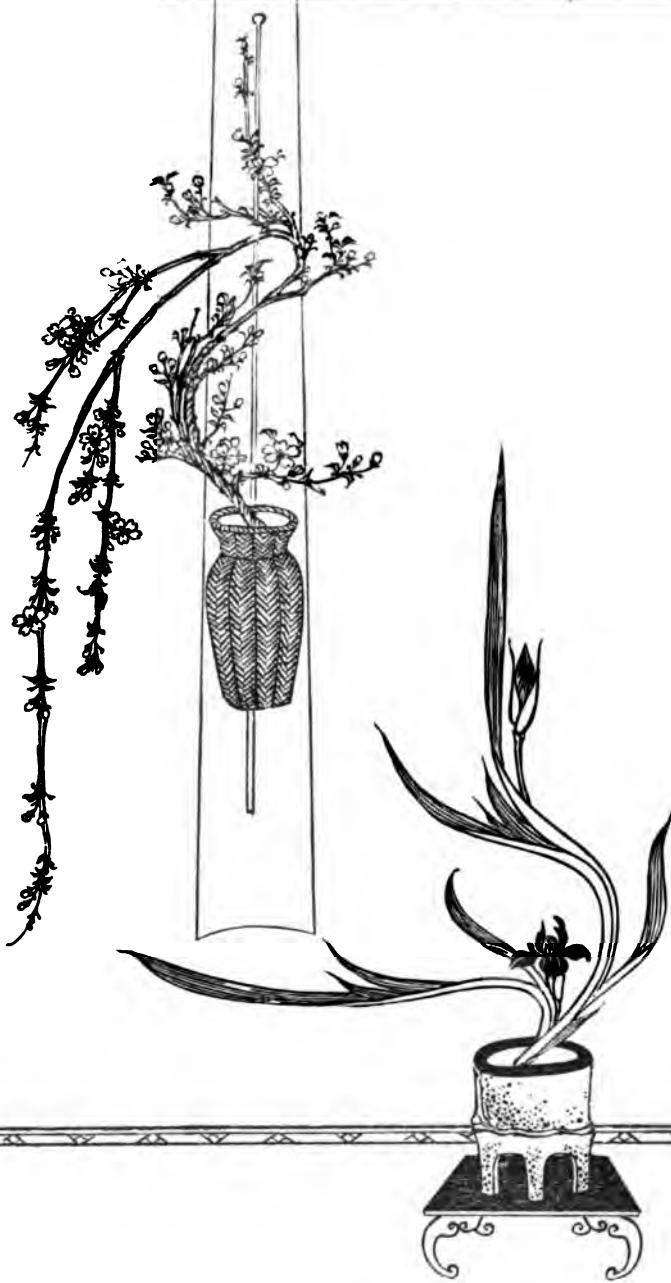


PLATE 60.





PLATE 61.



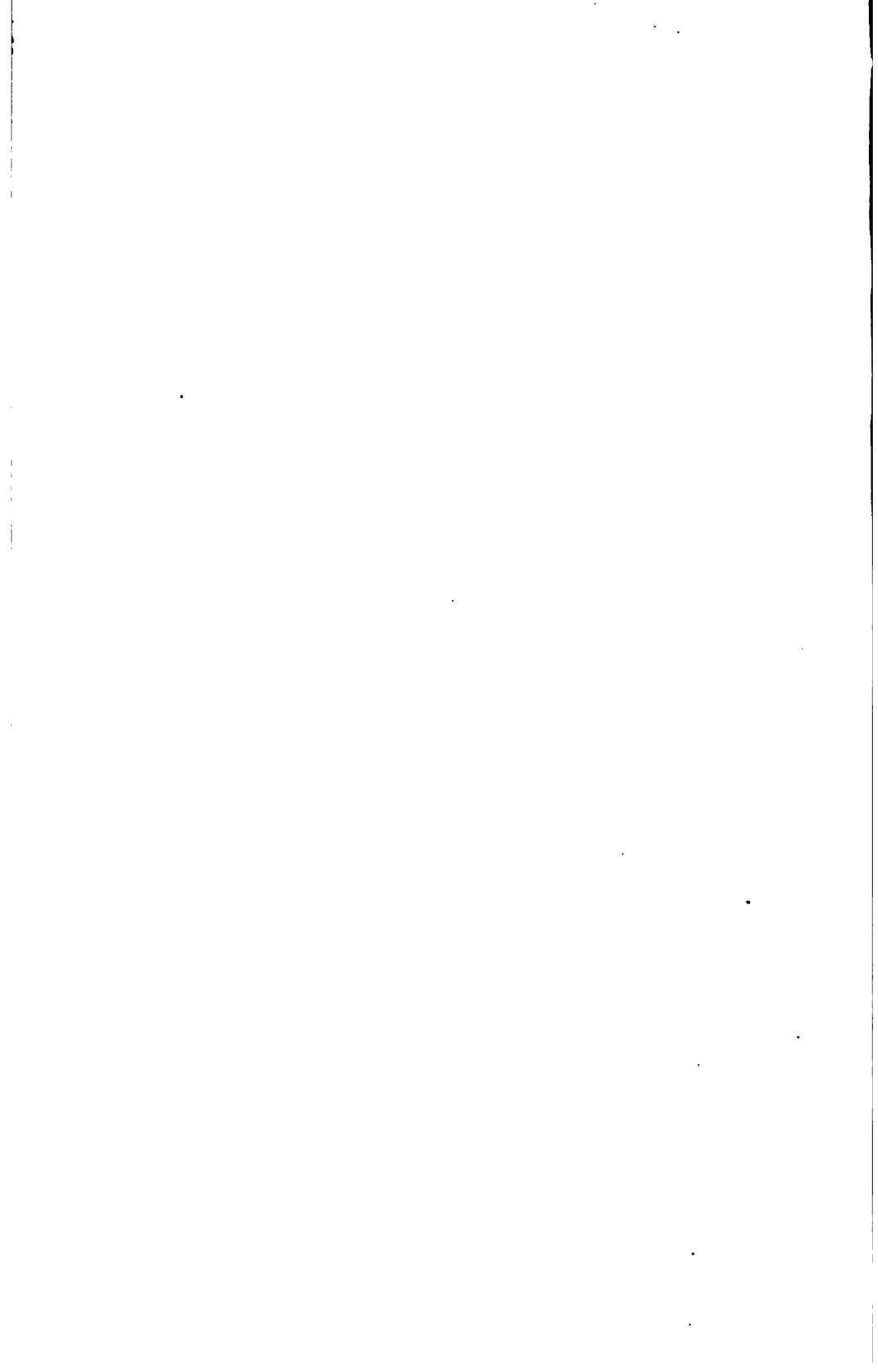
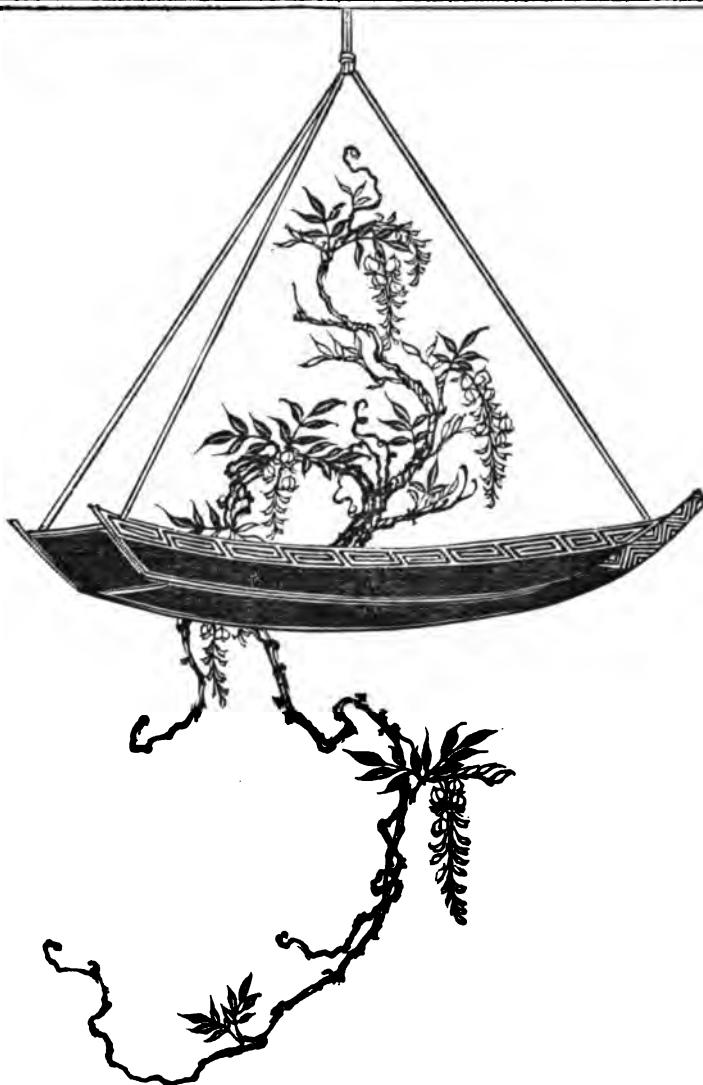


PLATE 62.



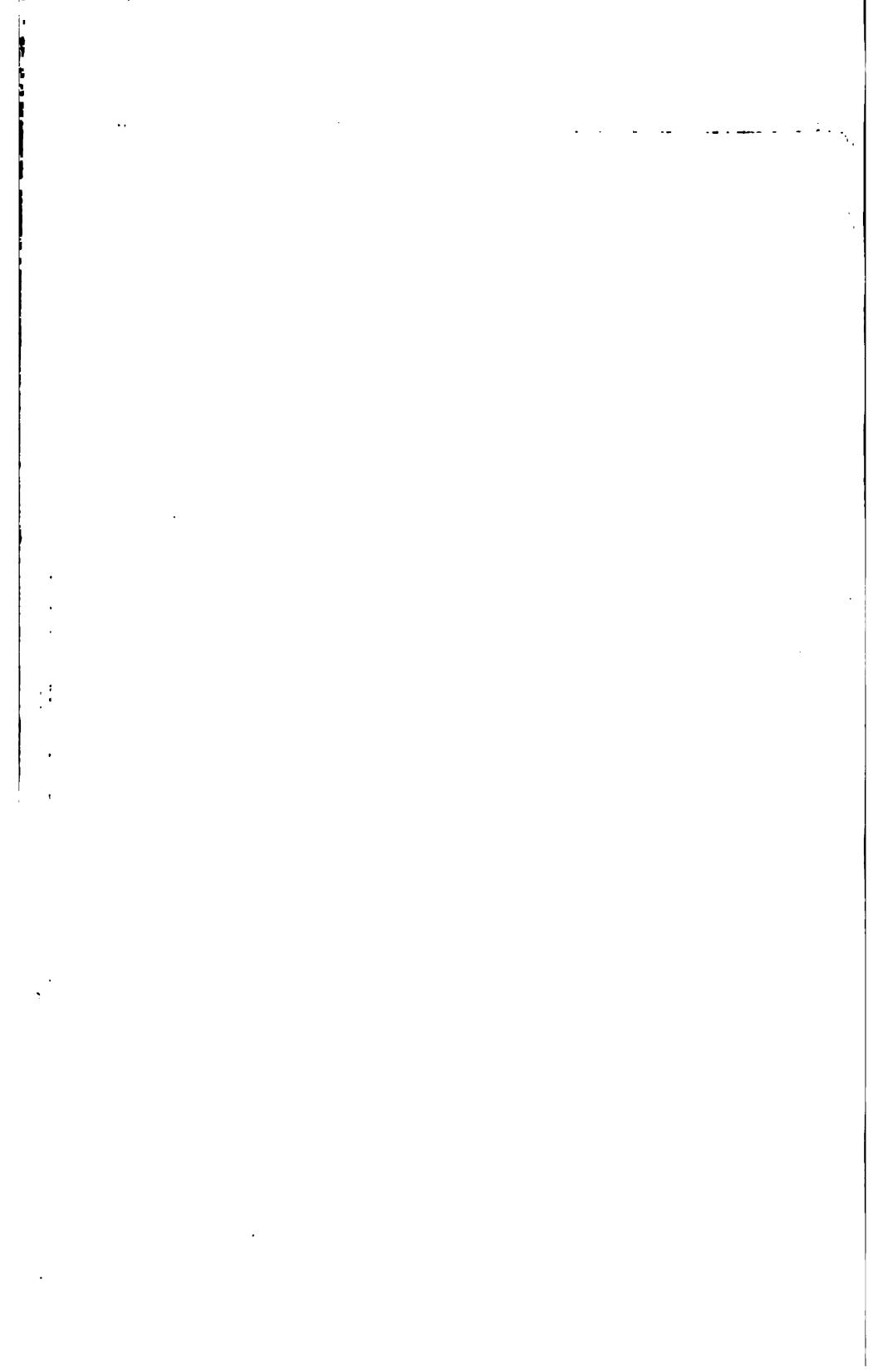


PLATE 63.



Arrangement of Lespedeza (*Hagi*) in hanging crescent shaped vessel.

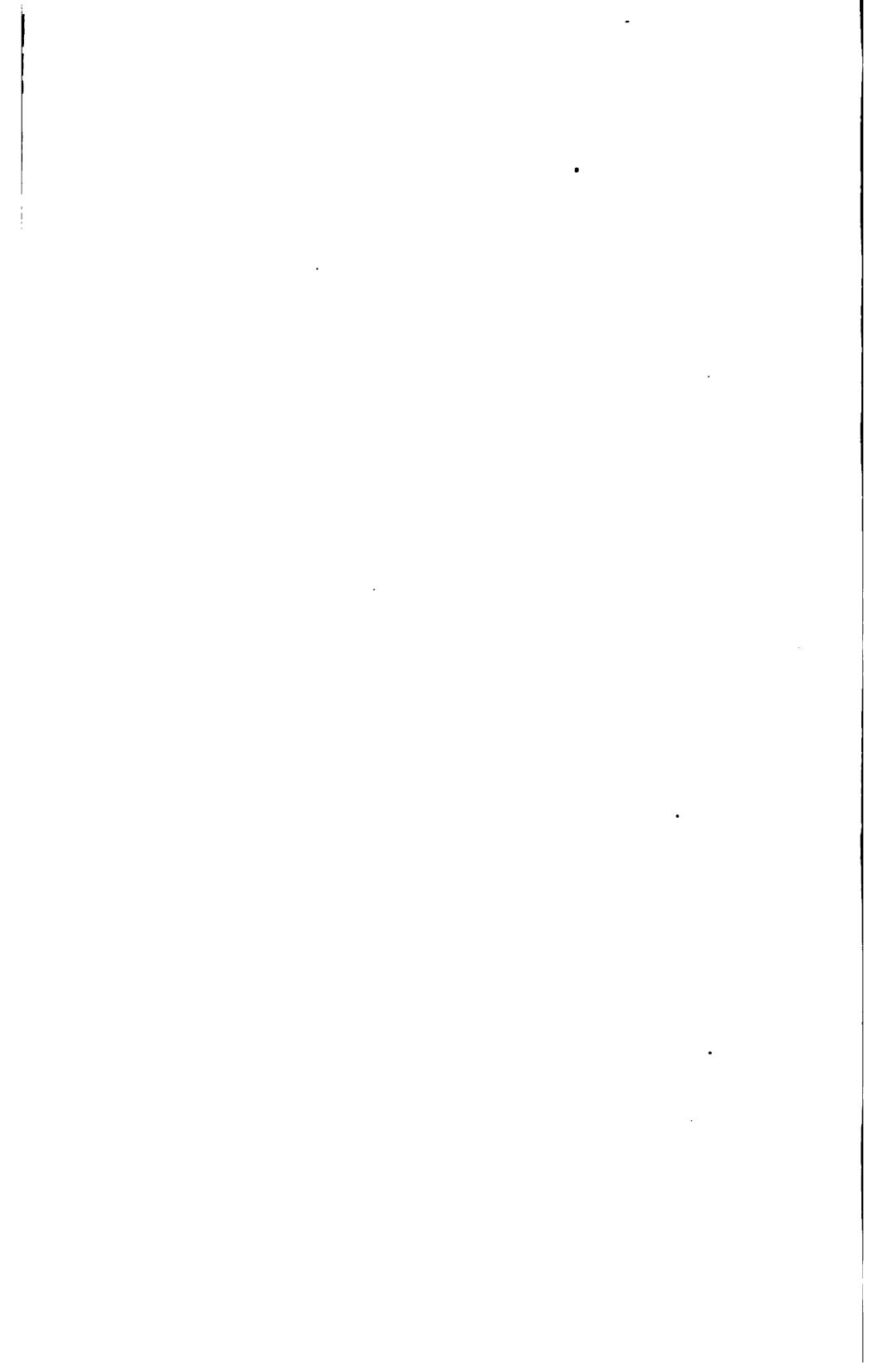
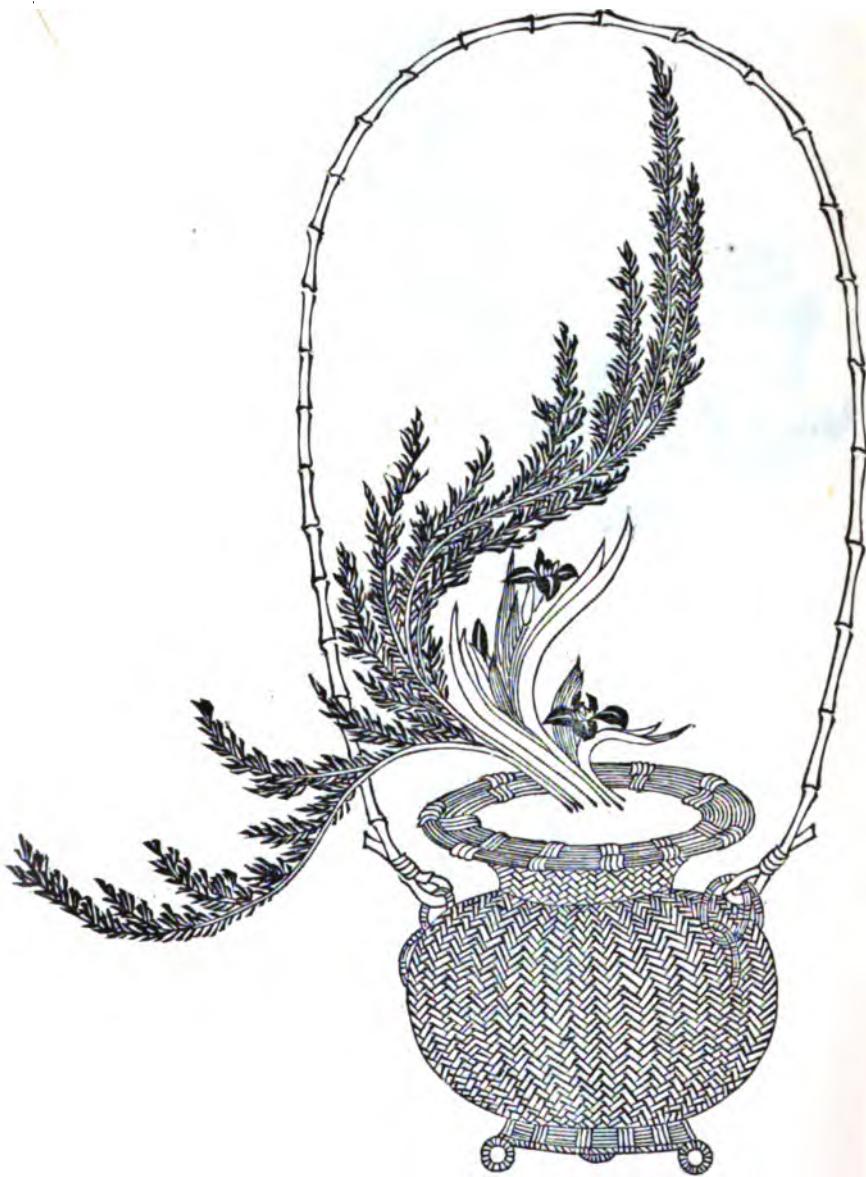


PLATE 64.



Arrangement of Fir (*Sonare*) and Iris (*Kakitsubata*) of 3 flowers  
in large handled flower basket

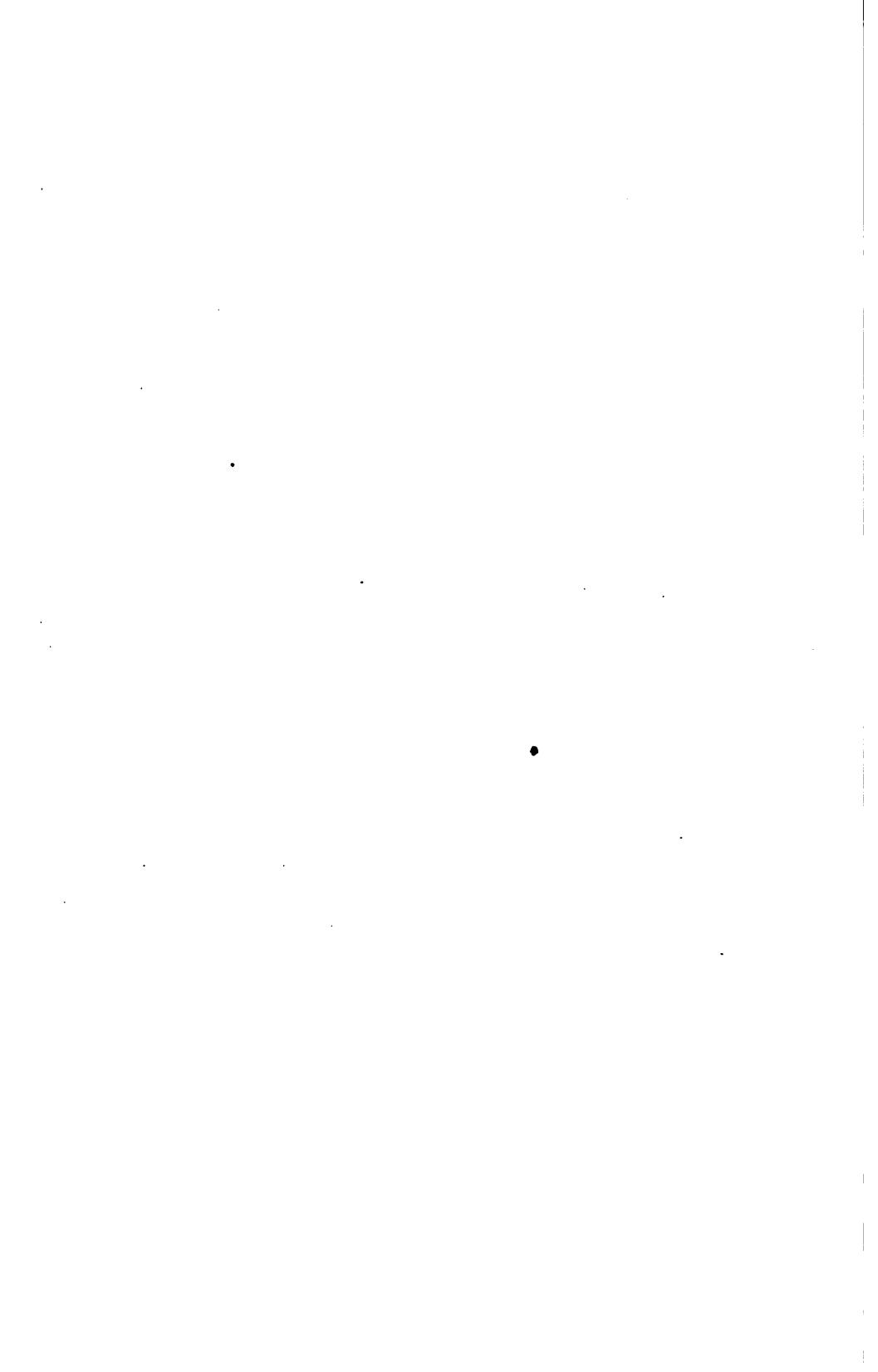


PLATE 65.



Arrangement of Peony (*Shakuyaku*) and Iris (*Kakitsubata*) in

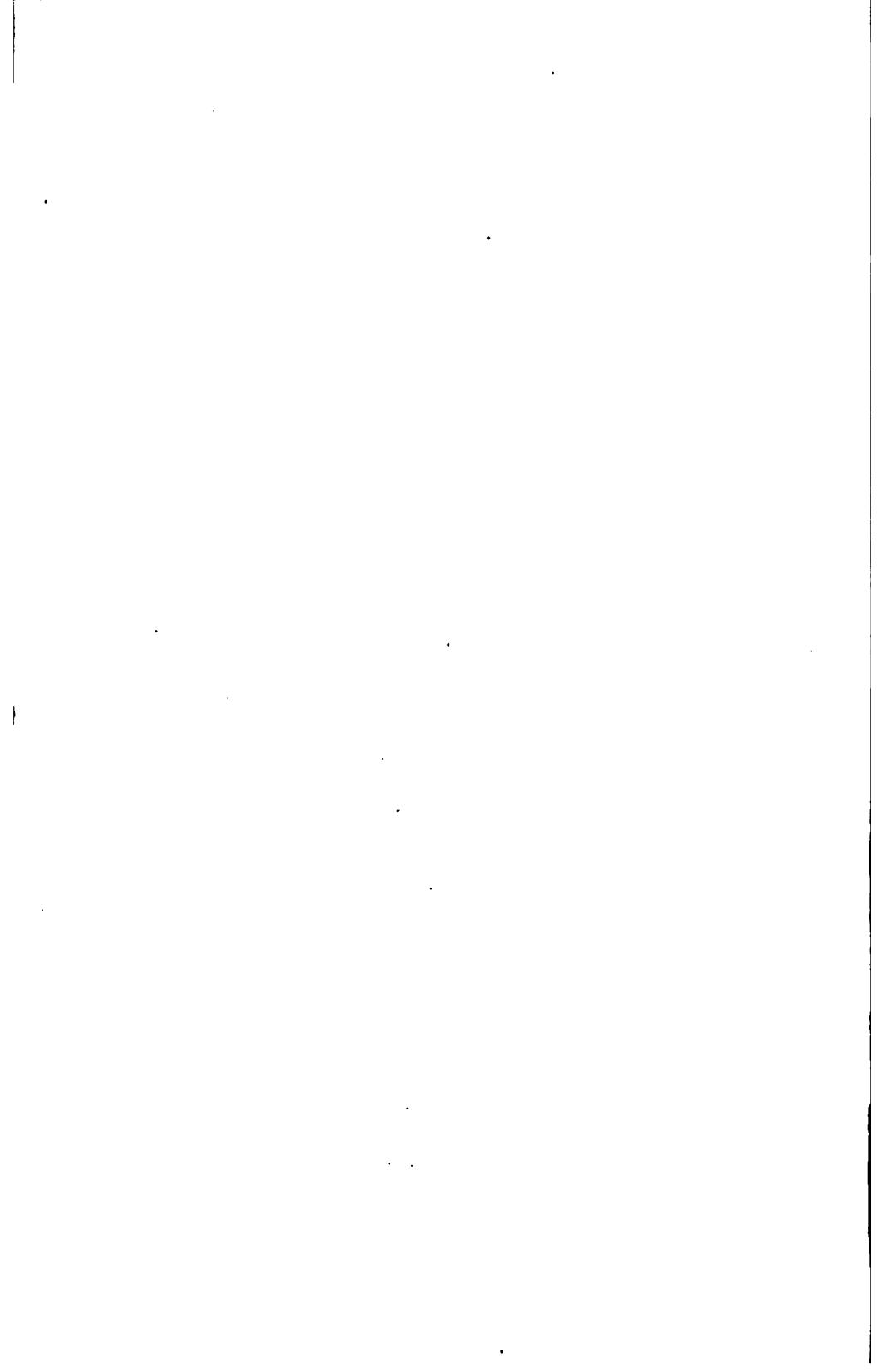


PLATE 66.



Arrangement of White plum (*Haku-bai*), Narcissus (*Suisen*), and Chrysanthemum

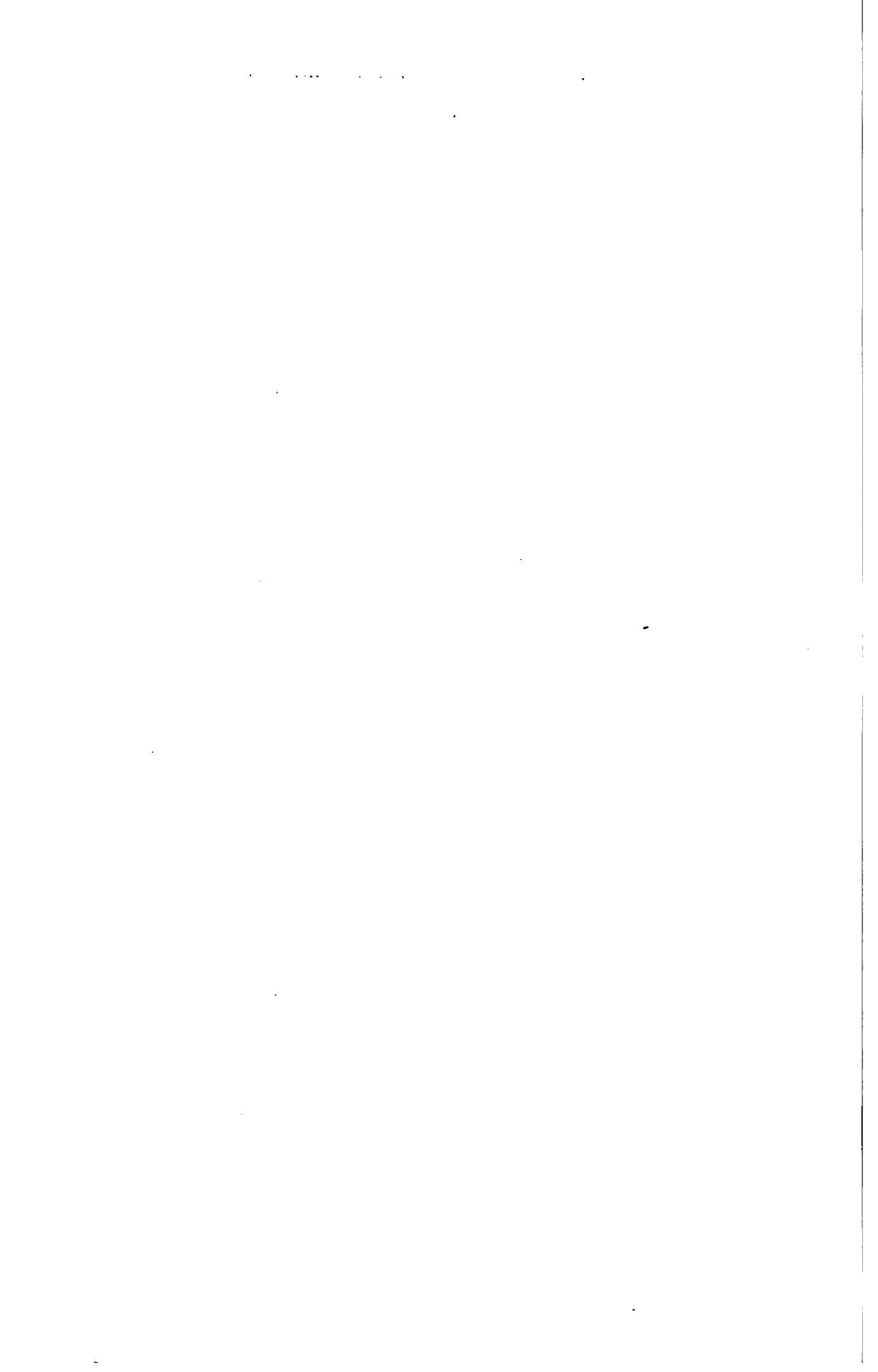
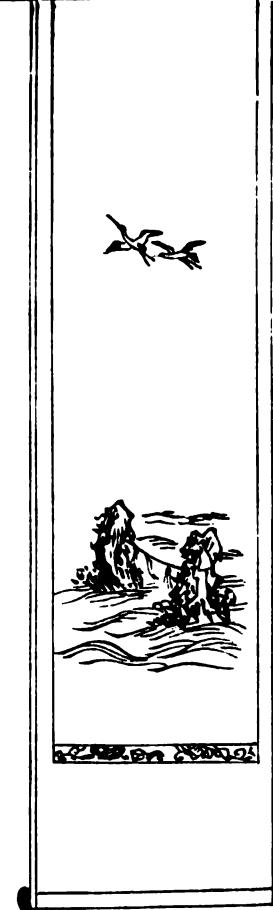


PLATE 67.



Arrangement of *Nuphar Japonicum* (*Kōhone*) showing seven

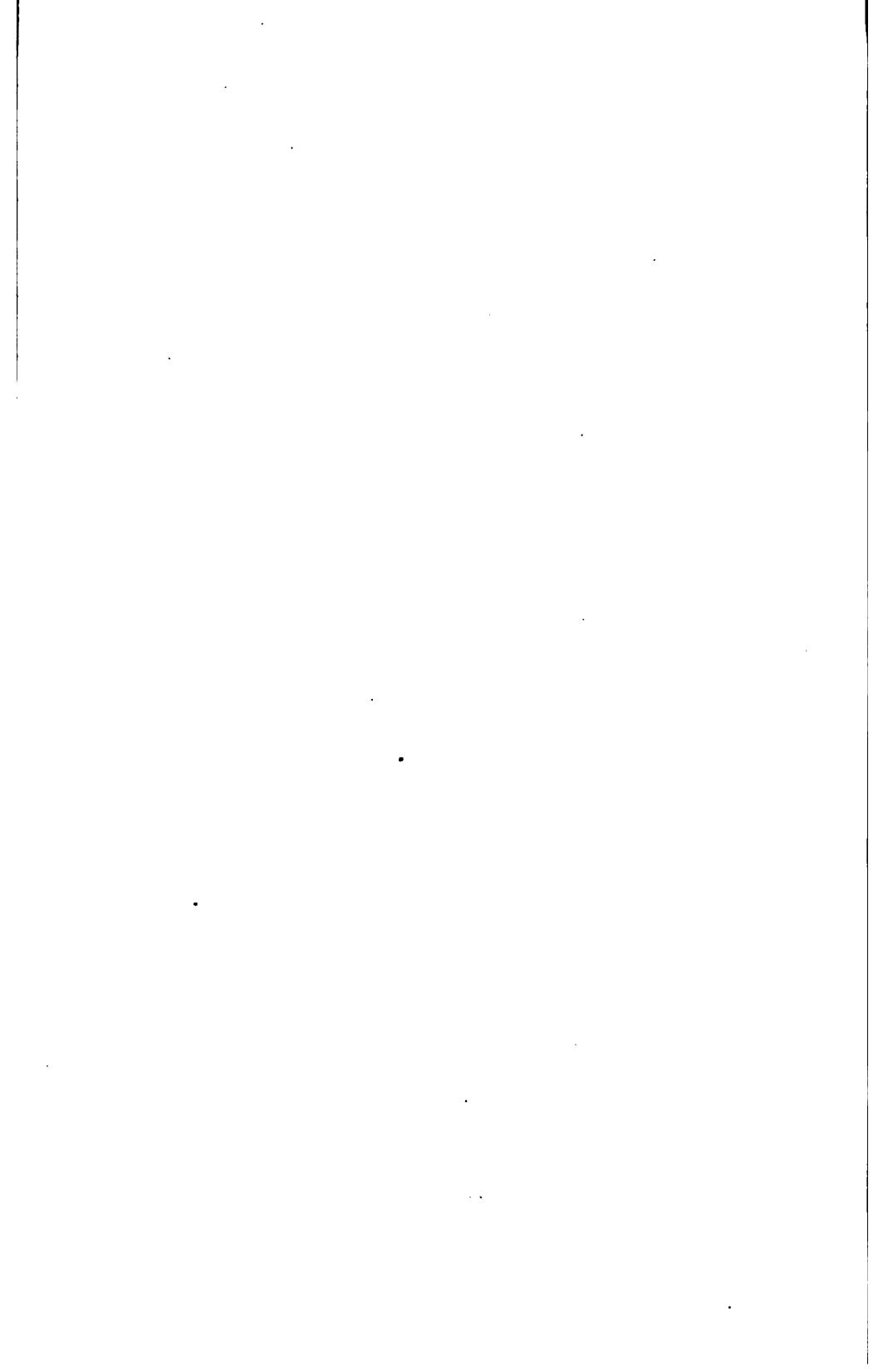
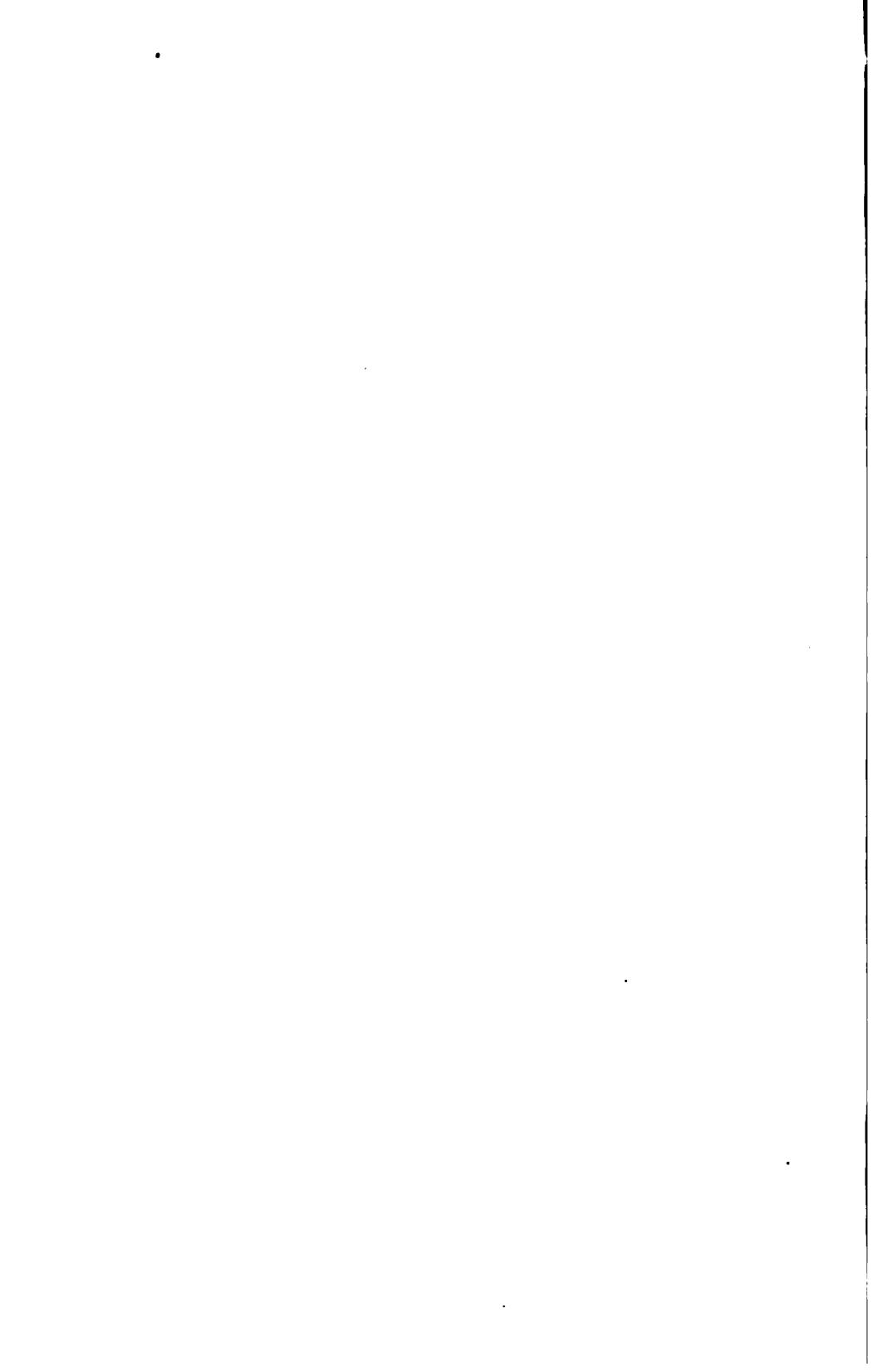


PLATE 68.



Arrangement of Clematis (*Tessen*) in gourd shaped iron hanging vase.



A GRAVESTONE IN BATAVIA TO THE MEMORY  
OF A JAPANESE CHRISTIAN OF THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

---

BY THE REV. A. F. KING.

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*Read 19th June, 1889.*

Rather more than three years ago I paid a short visit to the Island of Java in company with my friend, Mr. Edwin Freshfield. One day, while walking through the business quarter of Batavia, we noticed some old gravestones embedded here and there in the street pavement. All were inscribed with Dutch names, except one, which was to the memory of a Christian Japanese.

Our interest was at once roused, as we had only just come from Japan, and we made careful inquiry about the stone. It appears that, close to that part of the city, there was formerly a cemetery, which in comparatively recent times had been taken for building land; this and other grave-stones had been taken from it, and somewhat irreverently used for making the street pavement.

Such being the case, we at once took steps to have the stone removed to a more suitable spot. Having got permission to remove it on condition we had it replaced with another stone, we arranged for it to be carefully taken up and placed in the precincts of the English church at Batavia. As the Japanese had probably been a member of the Roman Communion, we left word that the Roman Catholics might have the stone should they wish for it, on condition of course that they saw to its careful preservation.

In answer to a letter I recently wrote on the subject to Mr. McNeil, the British consul at Batavia, I received the following reply:—

British Consulate, Batavia.

26th January, 1889.

DEAR MR. KING,

I duly received your letter as to the gravestone, and I have now pleasure in handing you an exact copy of the inscription on it, including the Chinese characters.

The stone remains where you had it placed, in the precincts of the English Church.

I have had the neighborhood where you discovered this stone carefully examined, but no other similar stones are to be found.

There are many other gravestones, but the inscriptions on them refer only to the Dutch nationality.

These stones were all removed from a cemetery which has since been built over.

It is curious that you should have saved from oblivion this ancient record of Japanese Christianity.

Placing my services always at your disposal,

I remain

Yours truly,

N. MCNEIL.

The inscription enclosed in Mr. McNeil's letter is as follows :—

永 安  
留 愛  
碑

HIER RUST D'EERSAME  
MICHEL T'SOBE  
CHRISTEN JAPANDER  
GEBOOREN TOT  
NANGASACKI DEN  
XV AUGUST<sup>o</sup> A 1605  
OBYT DEN XIX  
APRIL A 1663

OLD DUTCH.	NEW DUTCH.	ENGLISH TRANSLATION.
Hier rust d' eersame	Hier rust de eersame	Here <sup>(rests)</sup> lies the <sup>(honourable)</sup> respectable
Michiel T'Sobe	—	—
Christen Japander	Japansch Christen	Japanese Christian
Geboren Tot	Geberen in	Born in
Nangasaki den	Nagasaki den	Nagasaki the
XV. August° A 1605	15en Augustus anno 1605	15th August anno 1605.
Obyt den XIX	Gesterven den 19en <small>(obit)</small>	Died the 19th
April A 1663	April anno 1663	April anno 1663

eerzaam = decent, honest:  
 licty eerzaam gedraggen = to behave honestly.  
 een eerzaam Burger = a respectable citizen.

It seems almost superfluous to point out the peculiar interest attaching to what Mr. McNeil aptly calls "this ancient record of Japanese Christianity." Speaking of the persecutions here in 1624, Griffis ("Mikado's Empire," p. 257, 5th ed.) says, "Thousands of the native converts fled to China, Formosa, and the Philippines"—We may perhaps with safety add Java to the list, for it certainly seems highly probable that this stone is to the memory of an exile for the Faith.

It is just possible that there are still living some Japanese who may be able to trace their descent from the Michiel T'Sobe. It is possible also that some notice of him may be found in the records of the Roman Catholic Church, in connection with their former mission here.

Whether this be so or not, the inscription is of itself perhaps sufficiently interesting to have a corner devoted to it in the "Transactions" of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

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## ON THE *JITSUIN* OR JAPANESE LEGAL SEAL.

---

By R. MASUJIMA, Esq.

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*Read 19th June, 1889.*

Those who have studied Japanese or Chinese paintings will have noticed that there is something besides the work itself to attract their attention ; I mean one, two or three stamps impressed in a red colour and generally at the corners of these works of art. The object of the stamp or stamps is no doubt for the verification of the work and the prevention of forgeries ; moreover it has itself a certain beauty. It is a separate art to know where and how many stamps to put on, so as to give more effect to the principal work, and to help it to produce a felicitous effect. These stamps can also often guide us in judging of the taste and ideal of the artist. They guide us by their shapes, by the manner of inscription, and by the words or phrases engraved on them.

Human experience has taught us that some means,—that is, some extraneous act,—is necessary to show that an instrument evidencing a transaction is genuine, and each society or system of law has adopted one as such a mark of *estoppel*. Thus your wafer seal and our impressed stamp are, after all, in practice merely an artifice to make things certain and definite, and to terminate disputes with despatch. I have taken up the subject, thinking that our so-called *jitsuin* has fulfilled the same office as that of your European seal, and has been more or less similar in its application and in the order of its development, though we have perhaps made it a little more artistic, in conformity with the prac-

tice of other departments of Japanese life. As you may be aware, your bond or conveyance of land must be always by deed. A deed, as lawyers define it, is a written or printed instrument, executed and made conclusive as between the parties by being signed, sealed, and delivered. The signature is not absolutely necessary but the seal is essential to identify a party to its execution, apart from its taking effect as a deed. Any transaction evidenced by a deed is the most solemn act one can enter into, and he is estopped from denying its effect, whatever extraneous proof there may be. The time within which a suit can be brought thereon is longer than is the case in any other kind of written contract, and the law would question its validity under no circumstances unless it be tainted with fraud. An English seal is now a round red wafer made for this purpose; but individuals rarely make use of one, though the seal is frequently employed in official acts. A public body, such as a corporation, must have its own seal to signify its corporate action, such seal being dispensed with only where the operation of the rule would defeat its object or occasion great and constant inconvenience, as when, for instance, trading corporations perform certain acts for which a seal is never used, or in matters of trifling importance or daily necessity admitting of no delay. The tendency is to dispense with this formality, unless absolutely necessary in accordance with the progress of the age. Thus, from your standpoint of progress, the use of the seal has become exceptional, the rule being that, unless otherwise specially provided by law, the signature is almost always considered sufficient evidence of recognition.

With us in Japan the present practice is otherwise. Stamped documents are used for almost all purposes, the Japanese nation still retaining that relic of old ideas, a fondness for solemnity of forms and for extending the use of such forms even into matters of daily occurrence, trifling as well as important. If we search back into still more ancient usage, we find that the use of the impressed stamp as an act of confirmation was neither old nor universal.

People made an impression with the palm of their hands, (Figure I) or else wrote their mark, named *Kaki-han* i.e., "written seal" (Figure II), and *Keppan* or "blood seal."

Here I may say a few words about the "*keppan*." The word *keppan* means "blood stamp," because it was a mark impressed by pressing the wound made in the fore-part of the finger under the signature, so as to leave a blot of blood over it. A document confirmed by the "*keppan*" was considered to be of the most sacred character, and the violation of any words or promise made by this evidence was believed to draw down divine vengeance on the offender. It was generally used in such public documents as treaties of peace, oaths of fealty, etc. This method of confirmation was resorted to much more rarely than was the *kaki-han*, or "written stamp," as the occasions for which it was required must necessarily have been very few, even in the old ages of violence.

It is only in recent times that the seals of which this paper specially treats came into general use. Indeed the use of the *jitsuin* as an act of confirmation marks the progress in the art of writing among different classes of the Japanese people, and in the arts of carving and inscription. An investigator qualified by ample time and sources of knowledge to trace its origin and write an account thereof might produce most interesting results. For my present purpose it must suffice if I go back only to the beginning of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shōguns. In those days, i.e., early in the 17th century, the people of the upper classes seem to have been well versed in the art of writing, as had indeed also been the case under previous dynasties. If we look into old records and manuscripts, we find evidences of both generals and their wives possessing great skill in this art. To this fact we may trace the law, which was at first made, to the effect that the upper classes should use the *kaki-han* as their mark of confirmation. The *kaki-han* was formed by the combination of some characters selected at pleasure for this purpose. It was, in fact, a monogram combining the flowery style with the individual peculiarities of handwrit-

ing. The word means a "written stamp" consisting of these monogram characters. The object of this combination was to prevent forgery and at the same time to preserve the ornamental and individual character. The *kaki-han* had to be registered at a certain government office for reference when its identification was required. In those times the signature might be affixed to the document by any other person, but the *kaki-han* must be added by the chief party himself. None were allowed to use an impressed stamp except by favour or special permission. When allowed at all, the stamp used was an official one on public documents. It was considered a want of respect and a breach of etiquette to use a stamp.

If we look to the lower class of people, the presumption was that they could not write, and hence they were allowed to use the *jitsuin*. This seems the real starting point of the extensive use of the *jitsuin* by all classes of people. It afterwards became a very prevalent belief that the absence of the *kaki-han* or *jitsuin* from any document was a violation of the proper respect due to the government, and even to-day the Japanese still use it for every purpose, not having yet passed on to that higher stage of progress, where more value is attached to a man's word or promise than to any mere matter of form.

The history thus briefly traced is intended to introduce the description of the *jitsuin* as now used. The *jitsuin* is an inscription of any word, character, name, or phrase engraved on the even or smooth surface of some solid substance, which may be in the form of a ring or *netsuke*, or of any other object tied with a string or put into a neat case that will be at once ornamental, portable, and safe against loss. Such word, character, name, or phrase may consist either of one's family and personal names, or of the latter alone, or else it may be a certain word or character chosen by its owner according to his fancy. In former times the *nanori* or "true name" was much used for this purpose, people being then usually called by their *sokumyō* or "vulgar name" instead of the *jitsumyō* or *nanori*, there existing

for men of a certain rank two or three personal names. The engraved face of the seal varies in size from 5 *bu* to 8 *bu*\*, and is generally round in shape, though sometimes oval, square, or oblong. The substance used may be any hard wood, stone, ivory, buffalo's horn, copper, gold, silver, or any other metal or precious stone. In old times wood and copper were more frequently employed than the other more valuable materials. The remaining parts of the seal are made into various shapes easy to hold for stamping, and decorated with various carvings according to the taste of the owner. The style of ornamentation and calligraphy varies, as does that of the *netsuke* so familiar to foreign collectors of Japanese art-objects. The impression is made with a kind of ink prepared with oil, and may be of a red, black, blue, or any other colour. In former times none but black was allowed to be used by private people, red being then reserved for government use. A trace of this usage is preserved in such words as *goshu-inchi* which denotes land granted by a red-stamped official document.

Every person may have as many stamps as he likes; but one of these must be the *jitsuin*. A *jitsuin* being his registered stamp, only one such can be officially registered and recognized at a time. This registration it is which constitutes any stamp a *jitsuin*. It is the fashion now-a-days to possess two stamps, called respectively *jitsuin* and *mitome-in*, the latter being used for informal matters, for instance by officials when stamping a document merely to show that it has passed through their hands. In this respect the *mitome* or *mitome-in* corresponds to the initials which Europeans set against any alteration or correction of a document. In former times, when only the head of each family was responsible to the law, he alone possessed a *jitsuin*; and as it was the custom to hand down the same name, both family and personal, from one generation to another, and as the occasions for the use of the *jitsuin* were rare, one stamp was sufficient for many generations, as

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\* 1 *bu* = .01 foot. = 12 inch.

there was but little wear and tear. In fact, the stamp was considered all the more valuable from the fact of its being an heirloom. But from about the time of the revolution of 1868, when individual rights began to be recognized and each person came to stand by himself, a stamp became a necessity to each individual, whether male or female, liable to have to deal with any business matter. For instance, the lady of a house must have her stamp if she is to draw money by cheque from her family bank.

The law does not actually direct that a man must have a *jitsuin*; but as a matter of fact, it has in modern Japanese life become indispensable to possess one. I will cite some of our statutes on this point: All documents used in legal transactions must be evidenced by the *jitsuin*, and those evidenced by the *tsume-in* or *kaki-han* are not be allowed to be produced as evidence in a court of justice, unless they be papers and documents relating to commercial transactions, such as receipt-books, which may be evidenced by a stamp provided for that purpose, and called the *miseban* or shop-stamp. Here I may explain in passing that the *tsume-in* is made by pressing the tip of the thumb on a document. It the mark is used at present only by prisoners who have not their stamps on hand, and is always to be found on criminal depositions. Again national banks and all their officials must register their stamps at the Finance Department; and all public acts, suits, contracts, guarantees, letters, and receipts must be evidenced with such corporation stamp. Moreover the stamps of the president, directors, and managers must be affixed in all cases of report, contract and guarantee, and their signatures must be inscribed personally by the officials in question. Private banks and corporations occupied with business other than banking generally register their corporate stamp at the office of the local government within whose jurisdiction their chief office is situated. Again all documents for the loan, sale, gift, deposit, note, etc., of money, cereals, land, or buildings must be signed and stamped personally by the parties. If any of the parties cannot write his name, the signatures of a

third person may be added per procuration with an attestation by him to that effect. This is the law as promulgated about the sixth year of "Meiji" (A.D. 1873), and obtaining from that time forward. From all this you will gather that the *jitsuin* is at the present time the only form of confirmation possessing official sanction, whereas the *kaki-han* no longer possesses such sanction,—a state of things entirely contrary to that which existed in the old Tokugawa times.

It may perhaps interest the Society to know the present criminal laws with regard to forgery of the *jitsuin*, etc:—

Article 208. Persons who counterfeit another person's seal and use such counterfeited seal, shall be condemned to imprisonment with hard labour for not less than 4 months and not exceeding 5 years, and be liable to a fine of not less than 5 yen and not exceeding 50 yen. Persons who use another's seal without the permission of its owner by theft or otherwise, shall be condemned to a penalty one degree lighter than that provided above.

I should add that, apart from the letter of the statute above quoted, according to the law as it is actually at present administered, the fact of the impression of the *jitsuin* will not improve the force of an instrument so impressed as to the time for the limitation of actions, differing in this respect from the peculiar force attached to a seal in English law. A *jitsuin* is not at all essential as evidence against a person, or so as to bind him, so long as a document is genuine, whatever its stamp may be. Now if there should be a conflict as to precedence between documents with and without the *jitsuin*, priority in time will alone decide the question, in the absence of special laws requiring a *jitsuin* to make a document valid at all. If there are two documents, one impressed with the *jitsuin*, and the other with any stamp which is not a *jitsuin*, the former will prevail over the latter, supposing the two to be of the same date.

The use of the *jitsuin* seems thus to have sprung from a desire to add solemnity to the act of an individual when dealing with the government; and the Japanese mental bias towards regarding government as a sacred thing has con-

sequently caused the idea of solemnity or sacredness to attach itself to any instrument impressed with the *jitsuin*. This must have been really the case in olden times, when people performed but few acts to which any importance was attached. Then as we can well imagine, the *jitsuin* of a family was a sort of precious heir-loom, handed down from father to son, and used only on extraordinary occasions, to say nothing of the fact that it was not easy then to obtain such a piece of carving. This combination of circumstances made the use of the *jitsuin* a rare, important, and solemn act. But now an individual possesses a number of stamps which he employs daily for such comparatively trifling matters as the confirmation of signatures, the evidencing of corrections in documents, and to mark that different documents have passed through his hands. Thus every body uses an engraved stamp every day for all sorts of purposes. The business of stamp-engraving is quite an industry, there being an engraver's shop in almost every street. When a student joins a school, he must have his stamp; when money is paid in to any government office, the payer has to hand in the sum with a paper stamped with his *jitsuin*; when an heir succeeds to a family estate, it is the general custom for him to provide himself with a new stamp. When a company is started, however small may be its capital, and however slight its credit, its stamp at least will be more or less a work of art and a thing of beauty. Documents of the kind first referred to are not, however, after all of prime importance, for which reason much trouble need not be taken to ascertain whether the seal is genuine, though the document will be discredited if, instead of being straight, the mark of the seal is impressed sidewise or upside down. Japanese custom does not allow documents to pass without the observance of this petty precision. In this point English law is more sensible, making, as it does, no difficulties as to the position of a seal on a document, provided the seal itself be genuine. Would that the people of Japan were free from the dominion of what (forming it on the model of your word "red tape") I will call

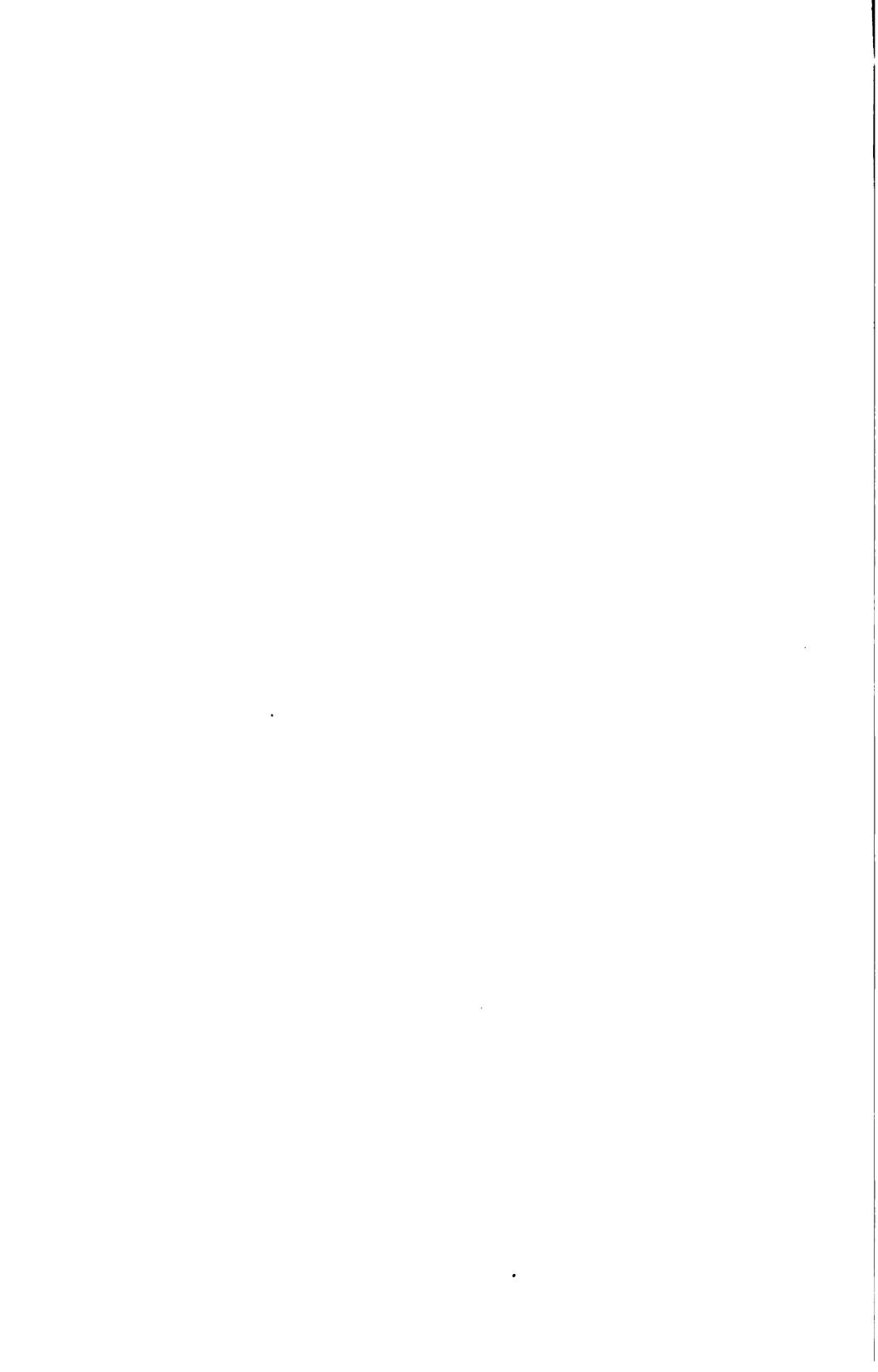




Figure I.  
Impression of the Palm of the Emperor Goshirakawa.  
(Reigned A.D. 1156—8.) Conf. p. 104.





Figure II.  
Masatsura's *Kaki-in*, 708 years old, p. 104.



Figure III.  
Mr. Masujima's old  
*Jitsu-in* defaced by cross  
showing that it is no  
longer used p. 106.



Figure IV.  
Mr. Masujima's old  
*Mitome-in*, p. 106.



Figure V.  
The Hakubunsha's  
*Mise-ban*, p. 107.



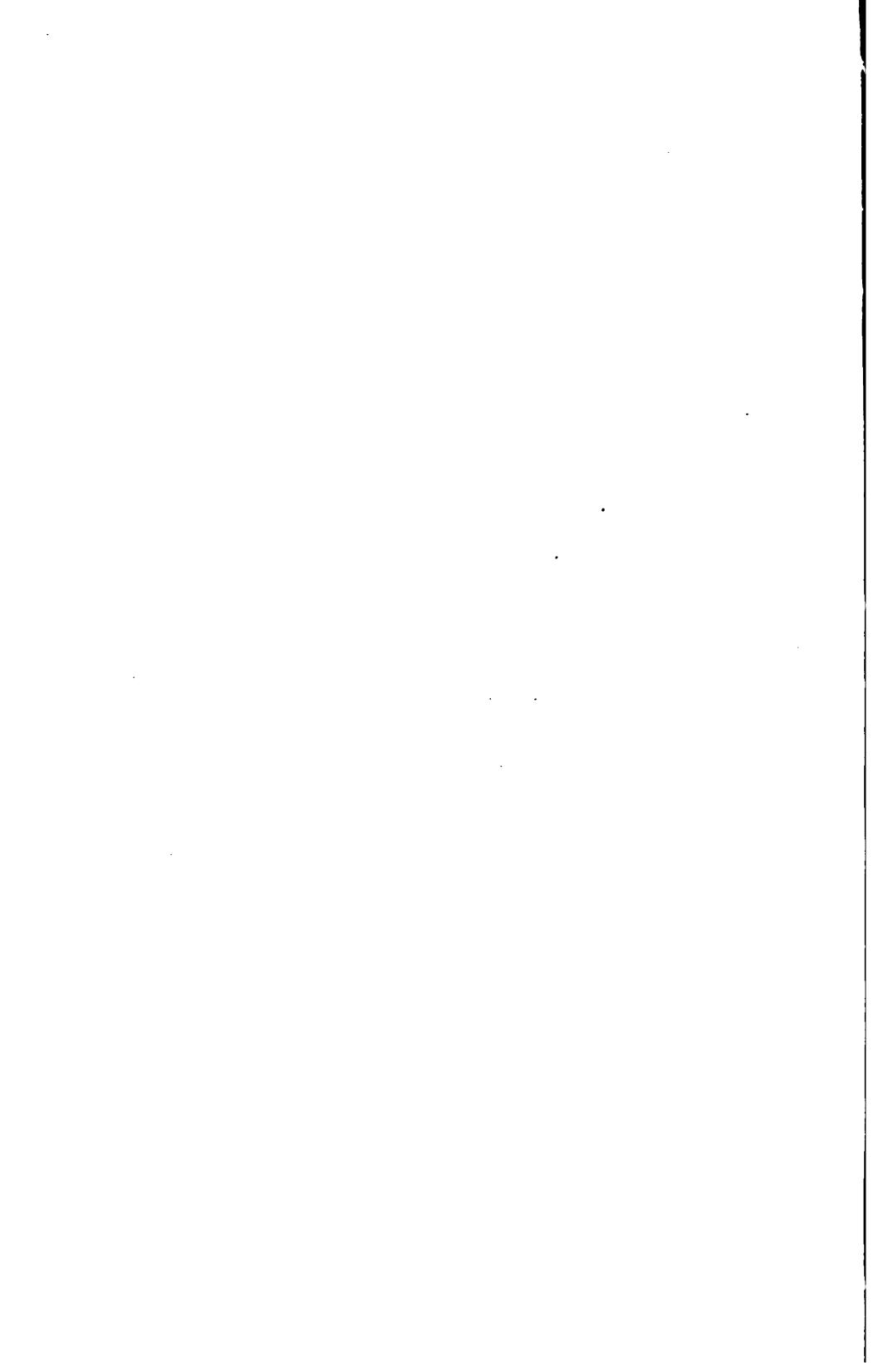
Figure VI.  
*Tsume-in*, p. 107.

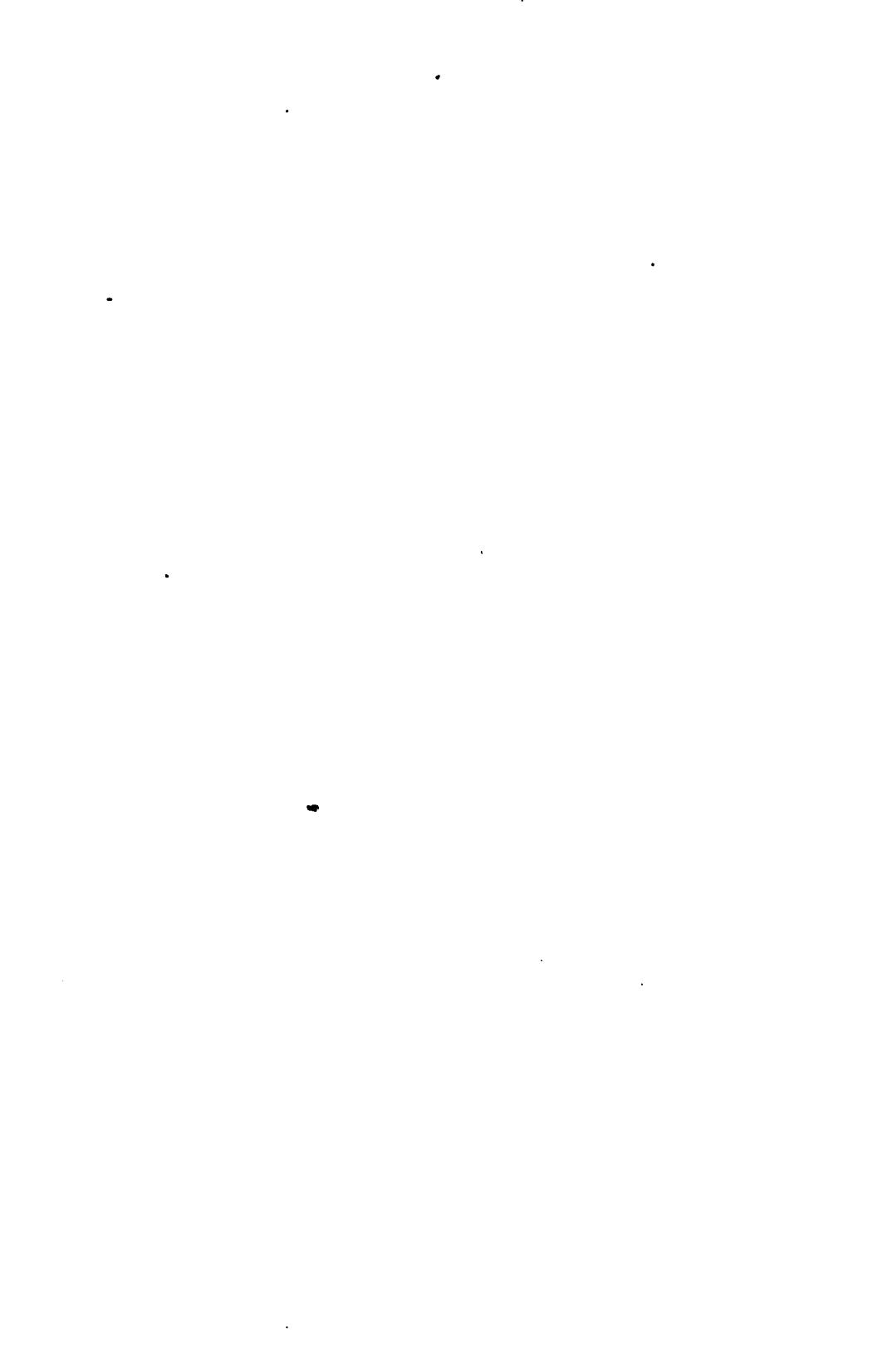


Figure VII.  
*Keppan*.

Figure VIII IX X.  
Some of Mr. Masujima's  
stamps, p. 102.





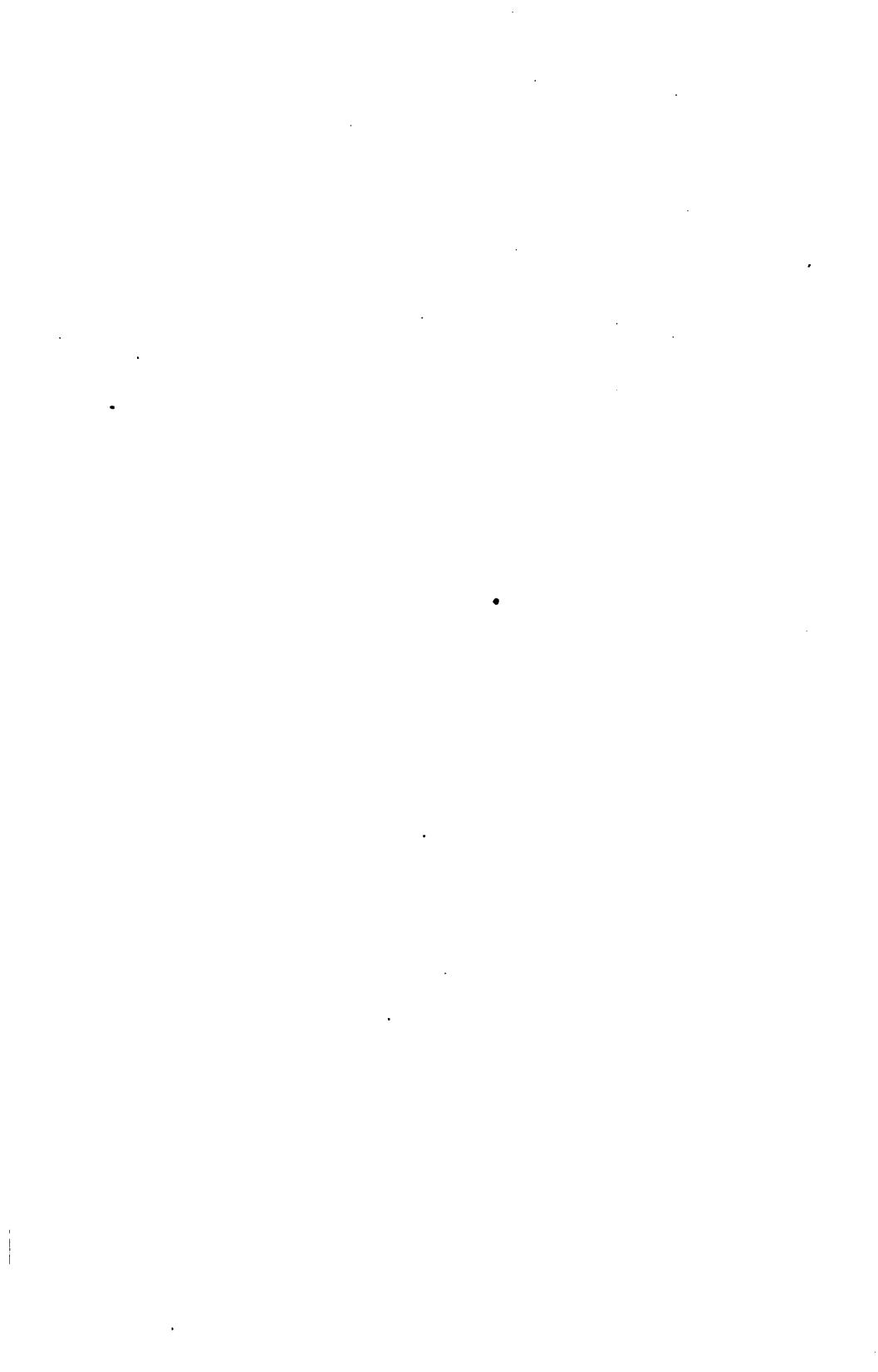


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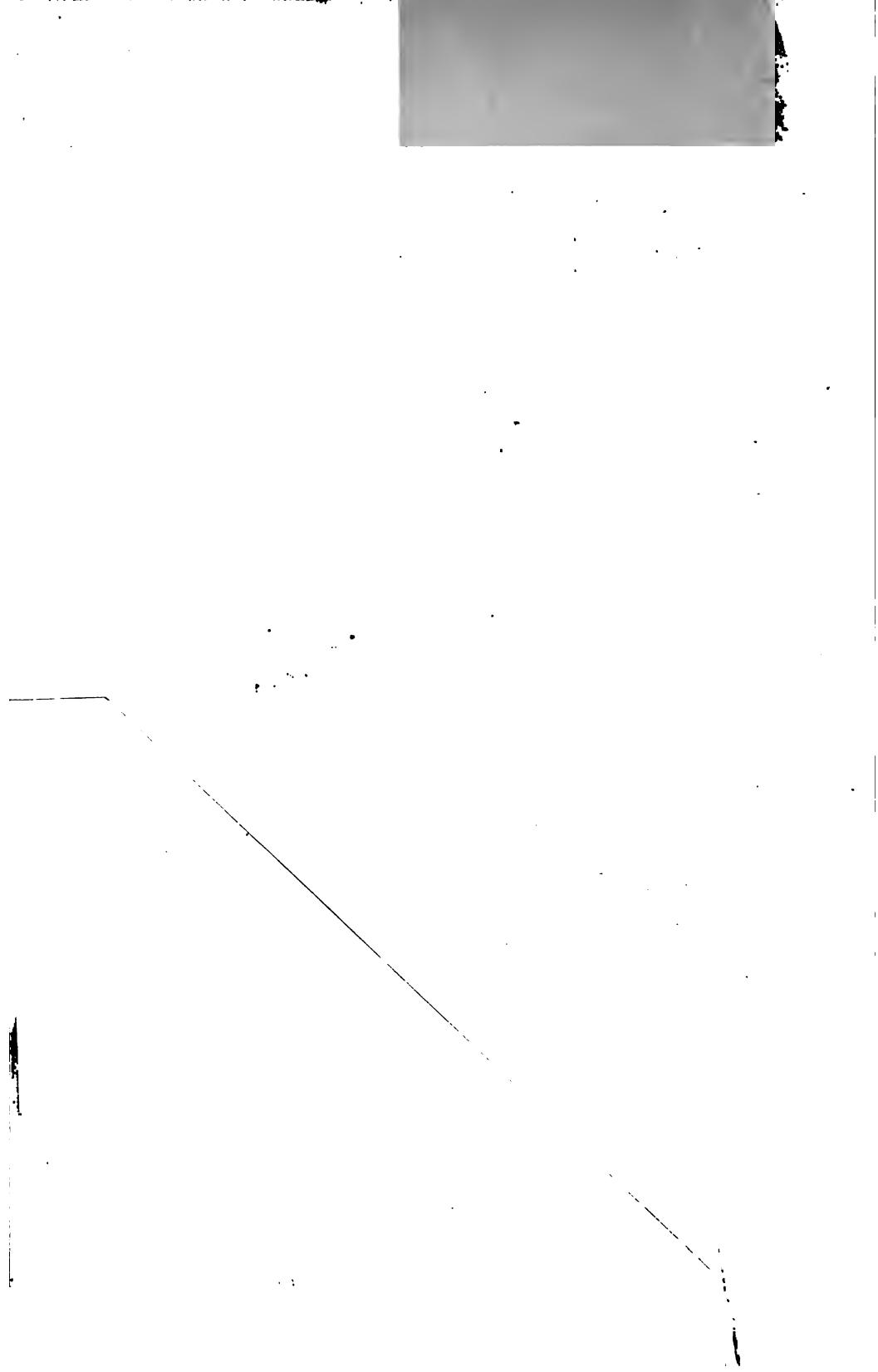
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